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BIENNIAL REVIEW OF ANTHROPOLOGY 1959

Edited by

BERNARD J. SIEGEL

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FOREWORD

The output of anthropological writing has become so great that even specialists find it next to impossible to keep abreast of all the relevant literature in their own fields. For this reason, we badly need stock-taking of the sort reflected in the volumes that resulted from the international symposium sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation in 1953. It is to be hoped that similar assessments will be undertaken every ten years or so.

Meantime, a regular series of reviews appearing at shorter intervals may best help to acquaint anthropologists with what is being reported by their colleagues. This is the first volume of such a series. It is intended to describe and summarize in a systematic manner the more noteworthy papers and monographs published since 1955 in five fields of major current interest: social and cultural change, physical anthropology, linguistics, social organization, and the psychological dimensions of culture.

Our coverage is by anthropological field rather than by geographical area, and our criterion for choosing one field rather than another is simply quantity of output within a given period. It seems likely that in this way most of the significant contributions will be reviewed. The series will be published biennially, with each volume covering primarily the two or three years prior to its publication, but in this as in other respects we shall remain flexible. From volume to volume some major areas of interest will presumably remain major, others will be temporarily eclipsed, and still others will lose their prominence or their identity as new concerns emerge. These changes will be reflected as accurately as possible in the chapter categories.

We have decided against extending our coverage to cultural history (archaeology, ethnohistory, historical ethnology) on the ground that this field is largely covered by the present and projected publications of the Council for Old World Archaeology: namely, the *COWA Survey*, an account of current archaeological activities in every region of Europe, Africa, Asia, and Oceania; and the *COWA Bibliography*, in which current publications in Old

World archaeology are listed, with appropriate annotations. Surveys and bibliographies for eleven of the twenty-two areas to be reviewed have already appeared in print; the remaining eleven areas will be covered by 1961, and then the sequence will be repeated.

New World archaeology is not so systematically reviewed, and may well find a place in future volumes of our series, as might any renewal of interest in historical ethnology. Meanwhile, current news of field activities, publication lists, and reviews are to be found in *Boletín bibliográfico de antropologíca Americano, American Antiquity,* and *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris.*

Two chapters in this volume depart from the prevailing review pattern described above. David Easton's chapter on political anthropology is not so much a review as a reevaluation of the study of comparative political systems. Mr. Easton is a political scientist. We hope that future volumes will also have room for critical examinations of the theoretical premises of anthropology by members of related disciplines. Lawrence Krader's chapter on Soviet anthropology we regard as a justifiable departure from the basic organizational scheme, since very few English-speaking anthropologists read Russian and fewer still are familiar with Soviet periodicals and monographs, and since the work of Soviet anthropologists has become increasingly more important. Again we hope to include similar chapters (e.g., on the work of Japanese anthropologists) in subsequent volumes.

The *Biennial Review of Anthropology* is aimed at three audiences: (a) preprofessionals in anthropology, (b) anthropologists who want to keep abreast of work in fields related to but outside their own specialties, and (c) members of related disciplines (notably psychologists, sociologists, historians, economists, political scientists, and biologists) who need a guide to work in anthropology that bears directly on their own.

Bernard J. Siegel
Editor

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BIENNIAL REVIEW OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1959

1

RECENT ADVANCES IN PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Gabriel Lasker . *Wayne State University*

Physical anthropology, in the widest sense, may be taken to include all aspects of the biology of man. For the purpose of the present review, however, space limitations dictate a much narrower definition, and we shall limit ourselves primarily to the work of those who are generally considered to be physical anthropologists and to research by others who use similar methods and who are directed to similar problems.

For some countries one can list those scholars who lead the research in physical anthropology. In the Union of South Africa one might well start with the studies of Dart (37, 76, 77),* Drennan (91–93), Robinson (294–95), Tobias (377–82), Singer (93, 328–30), and their associates, and one would find many of the contributions to physical anthropology included in their work. For Great Britain a list of twice the length, made up of the work of Le Gros Clark (60–63), Zuckerman (17–19, 141, 411, 412), Weiner (266), Ashton (16–19), Roberts (291–93), Tanner (365, 366), Trevor (252), Barnicot (25–30, 107), Mourant (31, 251, 410), and Hill (155, 156) would encompass most of the topics under active investigation there, but it would be incomplete. For the United States the question is still more complex and the number of professional investigators is even larger. Neither a list of scholars nor one of topics would be adequately inclusive. A reasonable approach for the United States, therefore, is to sample the kinds of studies that have appeared in the anthropological journals (the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology, Human*

* The numbers in parentheses refer to the list of works cited at the end of the chapter.

Biology, and the *American Anthropologist*). In other parts of the world—Switzerland, France, Germany, Poland, Japan, and Spain, for instance—research in physical anthropology continues at a relatively constant rate. In fact, there are at least one or two serious and effective physical anthropologists in most countries. However, publications in language other than English will be only partially sampled and, in general, only in respect to problems toward whose solution English-speaking scholars have also recently contributed. Despite interest in Soviet anthropology it has not been possible to review the Russian literature. A number of references will be given, however, to works published in China, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and, especially, Poland.

The present review is limited to the publications that appeared from 1955 through 1957. The *Yearbook of Anthropology*, reissued in part as *Current Anthropology*, covers the literature of the preceding two or three years. In it Schultz (314) examines primatology in relation to anthropology. Huxley (174) and Eiseley (96) deal with some aspects of human evolution, and Howells (162) considers some human biological variations and some universals. For earlier years (1945–52) the *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* (406) published annual bibliographic reviews. Among general works in physical anthropology two textbooks for students have appeared recently: a new edition of Martin's *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie* (230) and a manual in Spanish by Comas (67), who has also recently reviewed the present status of human paleontology (66). The question of training in physical anthropology as a branch of general anthropology is discussed by Kaplan (181) and as a part of medical education by Angel (11), Greulich (139), and Lasker (205).

The Process of Human Evolution

During the period under review one important emphasis in the field of human evolution was that placed on studies relating to ongoing processes. These studies are usually undertaken in small groups over short periods of time and hence are sometimes collectively referred to as studies in microevolution. Microevolution is defined in genetic terms as a change in the relative frequency of genes. The two chief processes of this kind, from the point of view of anthropologists,

are natural selection, the selective survival of genetic types who are more fit in some biological attribute, and chance selection, in which nonbiological or unknown causes are responsible for the selective survival of certain genetic types.

In respect to natural selection, a central question concerns the existence and extent of the adaptation of subgroups of man to different climates. Dobzhansky (87) has shown that balanced polymorphism, with the maintenance within the species of types adapted to different climates, is common in fruit flies and may occur in man. M. T. Newman (260), Schreider (312a), and Coon (68) examine such questions as the relation between body size and climate, and the ratio of limb size to trunk size in cold and in other climates. R. W. Newman and Munro (263) use the data from a survey of 15,000 army inductees to study the relationship of prevailing climates to physique. They conclude that in a continental area (the United States) greater weight and larger general size are associated with birth in a region of low winter temperature. In an experimental study of some soldiers, Baker (23) shows that loss from sweat and other indications of heat stress are greater in fatter and heavier physical types than in men of slighter body build. Wilber (401) cautions against the naive application of such findings to the question of the origin of human races. He does not believe that there is any necessary tendency in cold regions toward the evolution of races of large men with small limbs. Man's cultural adaptations radically influence the relationship between his natural environment and his physiological regulation; indeed, Wilber goes so far as to deny that temperature plays a causal role in the formation of racial differences in man. The factor of social environment is also stressed by Wolański, a Polish author (402). He apparently believes that it leads to some sort of Lamarckian breeding in human evolution, whereas Darwinian natural selection played a role primarily in prehuman and early human stages. Dunn *et al.* (95) have reviewed the evidence of effects of natural selection on human genotypes. In some cases such effects now seem well established. Dobzhansky and Allen (88) raise the question, "Does natural selection continue to operate in modern man?" They answer with evidence that man remains subject to natural selection, but under the new conditions of his present cultural environment,

not those of past natural environments. (See Huxley [174] and Eisely [96] for other discussions of the novel method man has evolved for adapting to culture so that he is prepared, if he will, to free himself from the factors that control natural selection in animals.) Goldstein (136) notes that those who deplore the "survival of the unfit" under modern conditions of social welfare can only mean those "unfit" for some past environment lacking pertinence to modern life.

Convincing examples of instances of natural selection in man are few. Boyd shows that a paucity of such examples should be expected: studies of the order of magnitude of 100,000 individuals would be necessary to demonstrate a 1 per cent selective advantage at the blood group MN locus (40). (See below, under *Blood Groups* and *Abnormal Hemoglobins,* for some cases of natural selection.) Krooth (198) gives statistical estimates of the degree of fitness of a genotype; he does this by measuring the fertility of siblings having the characteristics in question and comparing the rate with that of those who lack the trait.

Besides Darwinian natural selection there is also the possibility of human evolution caused by random (unexplained) selection. Kimura (188) has created a mathematical model to show that random genetic drift leads to a loss of heterozygosity per generation of the order of one divided by twice the size of the effective breeding population. That is to say, genetic variability will decrease, especially when the breeding population is small, even in the absence of any natural selection. Crow and Morton (70) present some modified estimates of such gene frequency drift in small populations. Glass (130), in a study of one such group—a highly endogamous community of Dunkers in Pennsylvania—demonstrates significant differences in gene frequencies in three generations (studied synchronically, however). Sirsat (331) gives some possible examples of differences in gene frequency caused by random drift in endogamous groups in India.

Inbreeding is of interest to physical anthropologists for two reasons. First, it tends to increase the amount of homozygosity, and second, it may be a useful measure of population size. One index of inbreeding is the frequency of first-cousin marriages. They are reported to occur in .95 to 6.8 per cent of marriages in four Swedish

communities (38, 203) and in 9.3 per cent of Lapp marriages (383). Morton (244), however, has shown that the frequency of first-cousin marriages is not a satisfactory measure of inbreeding; the ratio of first-cousin to other consanguineous marriages varies greatly from place to place. Others describe the inbreeding-outbreeding ratio in a different way (175, 204, 268, 291). They attempt to estimate the proportion of immigrants in a whole community or the proportion of parents from elsewhere in a circumscribed endogamous group. In an application of this type of analysis to an anthropometric survey, Oliver and Howells (270) examine four subgroups in each of two related populations on the island of Bougainville. In one of the two populations (the Siuai) there are more intermarriages between subgroups than in the other (the Nagovisi). The measurements of the Siuai also show the greater variances within subgroups. One might anticipate that the greater isolation of each subgroup of the Nagovisi might lead to more marked differences between the four Nagovisi subgroups, but this was not the case.

In general, most studies of human genetics are at least potentially valuable for anthropological studies of human evolution, but only a few other items will be mentioned here. These include a method to study the mode of inheritance from rates of concordance in twins (167), and attempts to allow for sex and age in family studies of hereditary transmission of anthropometric characters (138, 183). Spuhler (337) reviews human mutation rates and finds that they occur about one in 50,000, although some as high as one in 10,000 are just as firmly established. Until recently it was generally believed that man has 48 chromosomes, and one recent count seemed to confirm this (75). However, several subsequent counts use a new technique of spreading the chromosomes, and all of these studies reveal that there are regularly only 46 (376, 132).

In the application of population genetics to man, Hulse points out that drastic changes in the human genetic stock during the last 10,000 years may have been caused by fortuitous technological developments in populations of one race or another (168). To take an example from modern times, the Industrial Revolution is ascribed to cultural factors in no way related to race, but it resulted in an increase in the proportion of persons of European races in the world. Other racial groups have decreased numerically. Lessa (212) notes

a modern instance of depopulation in Micronesia which he ascribes to diseases introduced by Europeans.

Some anthropologists continue to view evolution in terms of embryological principles, notably neoteny; the presistence in adult modern man of infantile or fetal characters (1). Montagu (240) suggests that a series of neotenous mutations have led to the repeated appearance of infantile human types, and that "modern" types of man have occurred repeatedly since the Middle Pleistocene or even the Early Pleistocene.

The Fossil Record

Three years ago Le Gros Clark published an examination of the fossil evidence for human evolution (63). We shall here discuss subsequent announcements, descriptions, and reinterpretations of fossil specimens. Even this brief period has seen several discoveries that are particularly helpful for understanding human evolution.

A series of specimens of *Oreopithecus bambolii* have been uncovered in mining operations in Early Pliocene or Late Miocene lignite deposits in Tuscany. They seem to confirm Huertzler's view that *Oreopithecus* is certainly not a Cercopitheoid monkey but is actually allied in many respects with the Hominidae (86). *Oreopithecus* is probably to be classed either as a primitive Hominid or as a member of a new subfamily of Hominoidae closer to the Hominidae than to the Pongidae (344). That is to say, *Oreopithecus* may have been evolving in the human direction but was probably not evolving toward our contemporary great apes.

In China, Pei Wen-Chung, one of the original excavators of Peking Man, has collected some fifty teeth and a mandible of *Gigantopithecus,* a fossil form previously known only from isolated teeth (157, 277, 278). The mandible is clearly Pongid and, in view of the Middle Pleistocene date, serves to remove the form from any close relationship to human evolution (see also Straus [342]). Some of the new teeth are smaller than the three previously examined but by any human standard they are enormous. In other work in China Woo (404) describes *Dryopithecus* teeth from Yunan (similar to those of *D. punjabicus,* Pilgrim).

The Australopithecinae (see Reed [287] for a review with refer-

ences through 1953) are represented by little new material (35–37); nevertheless they have assumed an even more important position. Robinson (295) has published a study of 526 teeth and concludes from them that there are only two taxa (two genera of one species each). *Meganthropus* (despite differences especially in the premolars) is included with one of these, *Paranthropus,* perhaps as a separate species, but *Telanthropus* is excluded from both and placed with the Euhominidae, a third evolutionary line leading to man (294). Dart (76, 77) includes all these together. He finds little to distinguish the *Telanthropus* jaw from the others and thinks it may be that of a female of *Paranthropus* type. Resting his case on the evidence from the mandibles, Dart would include all the Australopithecines in a single species and would ascribe the species to the same subfamily as man.

The question of posture and gait has provoked a difference of opinion. Ashton and Zuckerman believe that the posterior position of the foramen magnum and occipital condyles, and the presence of a sagittal crest in Australopithecines link them more closely to living apes than to man (17–19). In the apes and monkeys these features are associated with their characteristic posture; the head is not perched upright on the spinal column. In their studies of the hip bone, however, Le Gros Clark (60) and Mednick (233) find many human features which, to them, indicate that the Australopithecines were erect bipeds. However, both investigators also find some primitive traits in the Australopithecines pelvis. They suggest that bipedal walking was not developed to the degree present in modern man, and that the Australopithecines could not balance as well in the fully erect posture.

One reason for the interest in the Australopithecinae is the tendency of some to link them closely to human evolution. Thus, Emiliani (98), extrapolating from radiocarbon dates of the Late Pleistocene, calculates a short time-span for the whole evolutionary period and argues from this that the evolution of the classic Neanderthals was rapid (about 50,000 years), and that rapid evolution of other hominids is thus more plausible. He concludes that descent of *Homo sapiens* from *Australopithecus* through *H. erectus* is more probable than was formerly believed. The exposure of the Piltdown fraud

(61–63) removed one piece of evidence for the view of the early evolution of large-brained ancestors of man.

In Algeria and Morocco Arambourg (12, 13, 341) found four Pithecanthropine mandibles in association with Chelleo-Acheulean biface stone tools. He ascribes these jaws to a separate genus, *Atlanthropus.* Nevertheless, they show relationships with *Sinanthropus, Pithecanthropus,* and *Telanthropus,* and they tend to bridge the gap from the large *Meganthropus* jaw down to the much smaller, although robust, *Rabat* jaw. Woo (403) has published illustrations of some new *Sinanthropus* material and some other fossil human material recently found in China. A few additional fragments of the Swanscombe skull have been recovered in England (405). They fit with the fragments discovered earlier but do not yield much new information. Drennan (92) believes that Swanscombe and possibly Fontéchevade skulls can be given a primitive status, the former being similar to Rhodesian and Saldanha skulls and the latter to Swanscombe and Neanderthal. Wiercińsky (400) finds that the measurements of both Swanscombe and Fontéchevade specimens fall within the Neanderthal rather than the *Homo sapiens* range of variability. Drennan and Singer (91, 93, 329, 343) describe the Saldanha skull and mandibular fragments and relate them to Rhodesian man, the Heidelberg jaw, and other forms. On the basis of these studies, Singer seems to see a single evolutionary trend in Africa, whereas Drennan favors the assumption of gerontomorphic and pedomorphic evolutionary developments in Africa, each related to similar lines of evolution elsewhere.

In 1956 anthropologists celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Neanderthal man (309) and the occasion prompted Skerlj (334) to reexamine the evidence; he concludes that Neanderthal man is more akin to *Pithecanthropus* than to *Homo sapiens.* Straus and Cave (345) have again studied the La Chapelle skeleton and find nothing to contradict the possibility of a normal upright human posture. Other recent publications include a general review of Neanderthal man by Patte (276), reports of the discovery of a Neanderthal frontal at Pinar, Spain (319), and of a pre-Mousterian mandible at Montmaurin (389). The latter is smaller but more massive than the classic Neanderthals and has a receding chinless

profile. In some details it resembles Heidelberg man. The Circeo III mandible is described (320) and shown still to contain organic matrix (14). The Palestine fossils have been studied again, and their relationship to Neanderthal man has been reconsidered by Trice (374).

Despite considerable exploration, no new remains of really high antiquity turn out to be of *Homo sapiens* type. Several moderately early remains, however, reportedly do not differ significantly from those of previously known forms of fossil *Homo sapiens* (241, 275, 305, 306, 391). Perhaps the earliest and most interesting of these is the specimen from Staroselje in the Crimea (388). Debets (80) states that it is Late Mousterian but of *Homo sapiens* type. A skeleton found at Midland, Texas, came from a stratum underlying one with Folsom points. It is the best documented discovery of remains of early man in America. Stewart (397) finds the skull similar to the Otomid type, but notes that there is nothing about the remains to deny a considerable antiquity (397). The C^{14} date of 7,000 $\pm$ 1,000 years ago is considered a minimum estimate.

Primatology

During the period under review two ambitious systematic surveys of the Primate order have been initiated (155, 159; see also 156). In addition, Primates have been used for a variety of concrete anthropological problems. For example, developmental tooth defects are shown to be rare in monkeys but frequent in wild chimpanzees (315). Dental occlusion varies in Primates but not on the basis of species or sex (81). Growth of the rhesus monkey is carefully plotted, and this species is used to lay the groundwork for experimental studies of growth (393). Formula-fed monkeys outgrow breast-fed ones. Washburn (396) has observed baboons and other monkeys sleeping while sitting and he interprets the ischial callosities to be a result of adaptation to a posture in sleep that has disappeared in man. Tappen (367) has weighed some functionally important muscles of the gibbon and concludes that the relatively great weight of the extensors compared to the flexors of the leg may be preadaptive to the human type of upright position. Giles (128) applies the relationship between the logarithms of pairs of dimensions to the com-

parison of the great apes. He finds that the closer similarity of the gorilla to the chimpanzee than of either to the orangutan is shown in this way.

Split-line and stress-coat analyses of bones of nonhuman Primates (101, 368) aid in the analysis of the mechanical principles involved in human bone architecture (99, 100): the stress-coat method analyzes mechanical strains, the split-line method describes certain morphological properties of less definite mechanical significance. Correnti (69) has studied the trabecular structure of Primate hip bones by means of X-rays and cross sections. Olivier *et al.* (271) have studied the skulls of langurs which they consider the least differentiated of the Old World monkeys. In a series of posthumously published works, Loth (218–20) notes some seventy pithecogenic or monkey-like characters that occur in man, usually as individual variants, some sixty anthropogenic characters many of which man regularly shares with the great apes, and a series of what he calls "eugenic" characters that differentiate man.

After a long period of limited interest in the subject, studies of free-ranging Primates have been resumed. The behavior of two species has been observed and described: the Japanese macaque (176a), the monkey with the most northern habitat, and the bonnet macaque of India (265).

Bones and Teeth

In the effort to analyze key factors in the evolution of the human skeleton, many studies concentrate on particular characteristics in various groups of human and nonhuman Primates. For example, Riesenfeld (288) has emphasized that the temporal lines may approach to within 7 millimeters of each other in a human skull, but Zuckerman (412) maintains that in man the temporal muscles are never so developed as to effect the formation of a temporal crest. In this respect, he argues, some Australopithecine skulls are nonhuman. Schultz (313) notes that the occipital condyles are placed well forward in fetal Primates; however, they usually migrate back in adults. In man they remain forward, but in an occasional man the condyles are as far back as those of adult squirrel monkeys and pygmy chimpanzees. Despite this overlap Ashton and Zuckerman

(17) stress the closer approximation of the position of the condyles in *Paranthropus* to that of the great apes than to that of man.

Other bony characteristics studied during the period under review include multiple infraorbital, ethmoidal, and mental foramina (289); the shape of the superior orbital fissure (286); the arrangement of the sutures at pterion (254; see also 271), and in the anterior cranial fossa (253); the chin (255); the nasal bones (310); the precondylar tubercle of the basiocciput (44); the shape of the sternum (15) and the occasional appearance of suprasternal ossicles (340); variations in the vertebral column (6, 7); and the arch of the foot (264).

Lasker and Lee (206), in a review of the racial traits of human teeth, report only a few dental characteristics that appear with different frequencies in various races. These traits distinguish groups of Mongoloids from non-Mongoloids but little is known of other major races or of microgeographic differences. The data collected by Klatsky (189), in a study of over 8,000 skulls of twenty-five geographic regions, similarly reveal little difference among groups in features of the teeth, but some features of the jaws, such as torus palatinus and torus mandibularis, occur with different frequencies in different groups. The criterion of the order of tooth eruption also seems to be of less diagnostic value than has usually been supposed. Differences in timing between eruption through the gums and through the bony alveolus have been found to be great; when they are taken into account, the alleged differences in eruption sequence between modern man, fossil man, and other hominids tend to disappear (118, 195). Two studies are concerned with the teeth of Bushmen. One describes cusp patterns (185), and the other presents a case of taurodontism (378). Riesenfeld (290) has examined the incisors of skulls from Oceania. He finds shovel-shaped incisors are more frequent in the western than in the eastern Pacific, and he reasons that one would expect the reverse if the original Polynesians were Amerindians who migrated from South America by raft. Suzuki and Sakai are engaged in significant studies of dental anthropology of the Japanese and the Ainu (296–99, 353–57); they have also assembled a bibliography of 428 items in this field published in Japan prior to 1954 (352). Hanihara (148) has completed a com-

parative study of the teeth of children of Japanese mothers and Japanese, American-white, and American-Negro fathers. In the Japanese-white children the frequency of shovel-shaped incisors, proto-stylid, and Carabelli's cusp resembles that of whites more closely than that of Japanese.

Other studies of dental anthropology include a comprehensive monograph on the teeth of Aleuts (243), a survey of dental disease on the island of Pukapuka (79), a review of the order of eruption of the teeth of fossil hominids (318), and a comparison of dental eruption in Koreans with that of other groups (409). Elsewhere in this review there are references to studies of the teeth of nonhuman Primates (16, 81, 315) and of Australopithecinae (295).

An increasing number of studies in physical anthropology seem to be directed toward discovering the meaning or significance of one or a few traits. As we have seen, the method adopted is often a comparison of various types of material in respect to only a few characteristics. Nevertheless, the interest in historical reconstruction remains prominent; there are numerous attempts to recount the story told by the available skeletons from a particular country, region or archaeological site. Among such studies are surveys of prehistoric Denmark (46), Northwest Africa (43), Southwest Asia (102), and Polynesia (229), as well as studies of more limited areas. A series of skeletons from the Eneolithic and from later periods in Spain (104–6), and various Japanese series (124, 176, 308, 323, 349) have been reported on, as have a cranial collection from Uganda (137), the Avars of Hungary (215), and findings from and excavations at Jericho (216), Jebel Moya in the Sudan (252), and Nippur (358). Laughlin and Jørgensen (208) analyze measurements of various series of Greenland Eskimo crania and demonstrate that the Southeast and Northeast coast groups are probably terminal isolates of a double-pronged shorewise migration from West Greenland.

Identification of Remains

Partly as a result of the impetus given by the U.S. Army graves-registration program, several studies have been directed to questions of determining the sex, age and other attributes of skeletal remains (339). In determining sex from skeletons, Pons (281) has applied

discriminant functions separately to measurements of the femora and sterna of individuals of known sex. Thieme and Schull (373) have developed a similar method which, by using femur and hip bone, correctly classifies virtually all of the skeletons. The scapula (22) and the weights of long bones (390) are also used in sex determination. Because the pelvis begins to show some differences before birth (39) measurement of it has long been used for establishing sex (165), and this seems to yield the best criterion of sex in the adult (307, 373). Teeth show sexual dimorphism in some Primates; in the gorilla, sexual differences are present, with some overlap, even in the milk teeth (16). The relative lack of sexual differences in dental as compared with skeletal maturation can be used as a clue to the sex and age of unknown remains when wrist and jaws are present (173). A skeleton with delayed ossification at the wrist, as compared with the state of tooth eruption, is probably male, and its age can be estimated by male standards.

Determination of age at death from skeletal remains is aided by attention to a large number of criteria (231, 232). The age determination of females is often less accurate than that of males (45, 338). New studies also permit more accurate reconstructions of stature (386) and more certain matching of bones from the same skeleton (24).

Identification of disease processes from skeletal remains is a generally neglected subject. Goldstein's (136) survey of the pathology of a large series of Texas Indian remains and Obando's (267) study of dental fluorosis in prehistoric Peru are exceptions. Other pathological studies using anthropological methods deal with cervical ribs (317) and the shallow acetabulum of Lapps which, in conjunction with extreme antetorsion of the femur, apparently predisposes them to dislocation of the hip (127).

Race

As noted earlier under the subject of evolution, there has been considerable study of the process of race formation. Less attention has been paid to race as such, but in one discussion Garn and Coon (115) show that the current view of a dynamic and continuing process of race formation and flux is consistent with an endorsement

of ten or fewer major races. These are considered to be categories of convenience, and not all of the large number of microgeographical races can be assigned to any one such major race.

Racial surveys of regions are now rare. One such survey covers the whole of Ireland (161); others include the Baltic area (72), some peoples of the Caucasus (398), the Near East (102a), and the Congo (164). A study of some Swiss soldiers indicates a reduction in brachycephaly in West Switzerland in the last twenty years or so (134). Other studies are limited to island populations (49, 193) or to such "remnant" populations as the Bushmen and Hottentots (377, 380–82), and the Australian Aborigines (2, 3).

Racial Traits

What was true of the study of bones and teeth is also true of studies of racial traits: most current anthropological publications deal with a single system. Indeed, the development of specialized tests now permits scholars to pose questions concerning relatively small differences in respect to some features; and in the literature under review, the analytical-comparative method has largely replaced the racial typing of individuals. This is particularly true of the studies by those who attempt a genetic analysis of race differences.

The skin, for instance, can be examined by various techniques. Besides the questions of dermatoglyphics and subcutaneous fat (see below), skin has been studied mechanically and microscopically (210), and in respect to reflectance of light from its surface (119). Hair, too, has been examined grossly in respect to distribution (375), and microscopically in respect to a series of characters (385); its pigment has been studied in the same way as well as by reflectance (347), by electron microscopy (27, 30), and by chemical extraction and colorimetric studies of pigments (25, 26, 149). One wonders why differences in the physical properties of hair, notably tensile strength, have not been studied.

Other detailed studies include those of eyelids (182) and ears (89, 182, 201, 387); classification of breast form in Japanese girls aged eighteen to twenty (200); studies of the presence or absence

of the palmaris longus muscle (350–51); radiological studies of the ossification centers in the toes (394–95); and an examination of the angle of the hallux in West Africans (28). Arcus senilis, it appears, is rarer in Eskimos than in Finns (332).

Blood Groups

Of genetic traits, the various blood groups claim the most attention (131). Publication has continued at a rapid rate since Mourant's almost complete survey of the literature in 1954 (251). Mourant's survey has been subjected to brief synoptic treatment (273) and deficiencies in its coverage of eastern European literature (and hence in the maps for the ABO genes for the area) have been corrected (226). New attempts to blood-type ancient bone have indicated sources of unreliability (371) but by the use of a wide variety of types of controls some material from Midland man (see above) has been ascribed to type A (372).

No attempt has been made to assemble a comprehensive bibliography of blood group studies for the period under review, but among those of interest to anthropologists there have been surveys of Basques of Idaho (207), Jews of Rome (94), North Africa (144), Iraq (145), Iran (142), India (143, 331), and elsewhere (224); Russians in Paris and Teheran (184); American Negroes (129, 242, 280); Nilots (292); Yoruba (107); Hottentots (410); peoples of the Congo (154) and of Madagascar (330); Gorkhas of Nepal (31); East Indians (52, 331); peoples of East Asia (191); some Japanese (192), Melanesians (326), Polynesians (41, 325, 423), and Australians (327); the South American Indians (303); the people of Chile (304) and Venezuela (209); and American Indians, including Northwest Coast (169, 170), Plateau (170), Chippewa (59), Stoney (56), Sarcee (56), Blood (57), Cree (58), and Apache (196). Glass (129) has used the frequency of R° in American Negroes to demonstrate that there is a non-African admixture of about 22 to 29 per cent among them; and use of the frequency of other genes, such as A and r, leads him to estimate that no appreciable fraction of this admixture can be ascribed to American Indians. Saldanha (302) has used the frequency of the gene for R° to calculate the degree of white

admixture in the Negro population of Brazil; he estimates that there is an average of about 40 per cent white admixture but that it ranges from about 25 to 50 per cent in different parts of the country.

African studies seem to point to long African residence for such peoples as Bushmen, Hottentots, and Nilots (292, 410). Polynesian studies are believed to show points of comparison to some South American Indian groups (324, 325). Among the blood group systems studied are Kell (31, 59, 213, 324), Henshaw (31, 280), and Diego (209, 324, 327). Kraus (196) has analyzed intra- and intertribal differences in blood group frequencies among the Apaches in the light of mating patterns and clan sizes; he concludes that random genetic drift may have been a significant factor prior to the nineteenth century. The possibility of natural selection affecting ABO gene frequencies is raised by the different frequencies of these in different diseases (53), and the question of age, sex, and health must be taken into account in blood group studies (54). Cohen and Glass (65) find differences in the sex ratio that are related to the ABO groups of the parents.

Abnormal Hemoglobins

One promising development in physical anthropology has been the study of types of human hemoglobins. Neel (257, 258) and Allison (9) review the subject, to which they themselves have contributed so materially, and they discuss the distribution of abnormal hemoglobins. Neel (257) explains the theory that individuals heterozygotic for various anomalous hemoglobins are resistant to malaria and that this offsets natural selection against homozygotic individuals and produces situations of balanced polymorphism. This theory seems more plausible than a theory of an equilibrium in which the genes are maintained by mutation, because the observed cases of possible mutation to sickle cell are far too rare to have the trait persist in the face of the natural selection against sickle cell disease (392). Allison (9) shows that the viability of individuals homozygous for sickle cell is lowered about 80 per cent but that in matings between two sicklers there are more children than in those between two nonsicklers.

The world distribution of the sickle cell trait is considered by

Heuse (152). In two attempts at anthropometric studies of sicklers and nonsicklers the series are small and the results inconclusive (152, 107). The African distributions of the genes for the abnormal hemoglobins have led to various theories of racial origins, but it is not always possible to trace the direction of population movements, especially in respect to such highly adaptable traits (153). Thus, the occurrences of sickle cell trait in certain tribes of India (52) could represent a spread from Negroes rather than a Veddoid origin for Africans. Singer *et al.* (330), however, interpret the 5 per cent incidence of sickling in Madagascar accompanied by a high frequency of the "African" Rh blood factor R° as evidence for an African rather than Indian or other Eastern source for the sickling in Madagascar. This is compatible with the theory that sickling was introduced into Africa, perhaps about the seventh century A.D., by people who herded shorthorn Zebu cattle, because neither the trait nor the cattle are found south of the Zambezi River. In any case, the Malagasy are shown to be predominantly African rather than Indonesian. (Madagascar finger and hand print characteristics (126) seem to be intermediate between Asiatic and African samples.) The recent spread of the sickle cell trait has also been traced along the coastal fringe of West Africa (217). Here linguistic and archaeological evidence seems to support the view that Akan and other Kwa-speaking peoples from the East carried the trait. The distribution of the sickle cell trait coincides with the spread of yam cultivation—perhaps because *Anopheles gambiae* and rampant malaria occur only where the rain forest is broken by villages of agriculturalists. In other parts of the world, such as the southern Sudan (293) and Melanesia (359), sickling is lacking even though malaria may be present. This also tends to support the view of a recent spread of the trait.

Dermatoglyphics and Taste Sensitivity

The growth of blood group and hemoglobin genetics in anthropology has been accompanied by renewed efforts to interpret the genetics of digital prints and to use them in anthropology (see 166, for example). Among the racial dermatoglyphic studies published (71, 125, 126) are several from Japan (178, 186, 321, 322, 369). Pons (284) finds the majority of dermatoglyphic traits to be uncorrelated

and not linked to the ability to taste PTC (Phenylthiourea) (283). The taste threshold to PTC has been studied in Spaniards (281), and in Brahmins (78) and Pallar (52) of India, as well as in various peoples of Brazil (180) and Malaya (222, 223, 370).

Chemical Anthropology

Individual differences in the chemical constituents of normal body fluids vary among different ethnic groups and may have a racial basis. Thus, the differences in urinary amino acids between Chinese and Caucasoids cannot readily be explained on the basis of diet alone (348). Concentrations of one substance (beta-amino isolentyric acid) in the urine give bimodal distributions in some populations and familial distributions consistent with a monogenetic hypothesis (123). Furthermore, chromatographic studies of the urine of mono- and di-zygotic twins indicate that genetic factors participate in the control of some substances that occur in the urine (29, 121). On the other hand, this is not true of all substances studied. Urinary amino acid studies of 48 anthropoids show striking differences not only from man, but also among species and, at least in the chimpanzee, among individual animals (122).

Growth

Krogman (197) has presented a bibliography and a digest of data on human growth for the years 1950–55. Garn (111) has appraised the current research and concludes that there is no drastically new direction of study: the problem remains how and why we grow. Meredith (236) considers longitudinal studies and appeals for the publication of individual increment curves.

Morton (245) has analyzed birth weight data for half-sibs, full sibs, twins, and offspring of consanguineous matings: he finds the data consistent with a nongenetic explanation of the resemblances of sibs in birth weight. Similarly, weight gains during an infant's first year in various South African racial groups have been ascribed to differences in feeding pratices rather than to differences in race (300, 301). One of the largest studies of school-age children is an analysis of more than a million measurements that demonstrates an increase in height and in weight of five-, eight-, and twelve-year-old

British children of each sex from 1911 to 1953 (42). Adolescence is a point of flexure of growth curves (82), and is a subject of clinical interest; for studies of this phase of growth, Tanner (365) supplies a review and critical appraisal. Variations in the timing of puberty lead to considerable variations in measurements of children at about this time (80a).

The degree of skeletal maturation at any age remains a subject of interest. Pyle and Hoerr (285) publish radiographic standards for ossification at the knees. For the hand and wrist one study shows relatively little bilateral asymmetry (90), while another concludes that such as does occur is a function of variability in the initiation of ossification (21). Skeletal maturation is apparently related to nutritional status, as the finding of frequent epiphyseal anomalies in children with nutritive failure (335, 336) and the fact that maturation is slower in more ectomorphic children (5) would indicate.

Changes in particular measurements or parts at different ages are reported in numerous growth studies. The thorax is shown to be deep at first and then to flatten and to deepen again. Young males have a lower thoracic index than have females after the age of fifteen (360). The human form of the pelvic index also appears during ontogeny: in the fourth fetal month the inlet has a form much like a quadruped, but it flattens in older fetuses (199). Growth of the lower limb (237) and of the foot (10) has also been analyzed.

There is particular current interest in growth of the bones of the cranial vault (187, 235, 246, 251, 408), the base (33, 141, 250, 247, 411), the face (20, 32, 362), and the jaws (160, 238, 259) and teeth (83, 133, 195). Mednick and Washburn (235) show that sutural growth is especially important and that appositional growth is a later, superimposed process, important chiefly in the modeling of the skull of thick-boned animals such as the pig. In a series of studies Moss and his co-workers have assembled considerable evidence bearing upon the mode of growth of fetal cranial bones (246–50). Growth of fingernails (158) and muscle (316) are the subjects of other studies. Growth in subcutaneous fat is also a matter of some interest (110, 194), and it is shown that the relative volume of parts of the body also changes with age (333).

Hammond (146) has applied factor analysis to measurements of

children and shows that growth itself yields the same kinds of factor as does type, but that there is little correlation between types and rates of growth. Such individual constancy of type as is noted depends largely on the attained fraction of growth at the time the individual is first measured. That is to say, the kind of growth that has occurred previously is no indicator of the growth that will follow.

Body Type and Body Composition

The importance of factor analysis, especially for evaluating the worth of different dimensions for future studies using simple dimensional analysis, is shown in two publications by Howells, one on body form (164) and the other on the head (163). Some of the difficulties inherent in this method are noted by Schreider (312). Hammond has also attempted an appraisal of factor types and somatotypes (147). He claims that somatotypes are arbitrary and complexly interrelated, whereas factor types, although objective, offer no general agreement because they are peculiar to each use. As a compromise he uses factor types to suggest specific measurements of value: those of length, muscle, and fat.

Another mathematical technique, allometry—the comparison of the ratio of the logarithms of two dimensions—has been applied to a variety of growth problems (128, 150, 249, 250, 408), including that of relative changes in body composition in man and other animals (172).

Body build is also approached in other ways. Osborne (272), in an as yet unpublished dissertation, analyzes the body build of 100 pairs of adult twins. The ratio of body weight for stature (64) or for stature and chest or bi-iliac breadth (399) is a simple way of expressing standard weight. In Canada a random sample of the whole population has been measured in respect to height, weight, and one skinfold thickness (279). One study reports significant differences in height (but not weight) according to month of birth (103).

Body fat is studied in various ways. Skinfolds and X-rays yield comparable results for subcutaneous fat (116). Subcutaneous fat is a good indicator of total body fat (112, 274), and certain sites, such as the area over the pelvis, are good indicators of general fat (113).

Anthropometric measurements therefore can be used with profit to determine fatness (47, 48). The same methods may apply equally well to leaner or fatter populations, such as American Negroes and whites (261), although Negroes have relatively, as well as absolutely, less fat over the pectoral region and triceps than have whites (262). A series of papers by Garn and others deal with the question of the pattern of fat distribution over the body. This pattern varies among individuals (108, 109) and between the sexes (114). The individual pattern, the relative amount of subcutaneous fat over different parts of the body, tends to persist during loss or gain of fat, but it changes with age in children (120, 194). Patterns are more constant in adults, but the amount of fat changes (279, 117). In one study of the aged, however, there was little evidence of any systematic change in the amount or distribution of fat (211). Using a variety of methods, Macy and Kelly (225) have attempted to estimate intracellular water, extracelluar water, and fat in living children. Another aspect of body composition, skeletal weight, has been studied by Trotter and others (221, 239, 384).

Other studies of body build or composition attempt to relate these variables to activities or health. Damon and McFarland (74) review the literature on occupational anthropology and conclude that in the relationship between job and physique selection is probably more important than the direct influence of the work. Suda (346) finds that growth, selection, and nutrition are probably all involved in the extreme body build of Japanese wrestlers. In a study of military fliers, Damon (73) notes some physical differences between those who succeed and those who "wash out."

In terms of health there is a higher mortality in overweight persons than in others, and even those of standard weight have a lower life expectancy than the underweight (228). In males, but not in females, skinfold thickness does not show the same positive correlation with heart disease as do other measurements of obesity (202). In heart conditions, therefore, it may not be fatness alone so much as some other aspect of overweight that is involved. Lindegard has published a series of studies on body build, body function, and personality, showing the interrelation between somatotypes, fat distribution, and some functional variables (214). Other studies note a

gain in weight in men who stop smoking (51), and some relationship between bite development and body build (34). Brŏzek and Grande (50) point out that the active tissue mass is heterogeneous in respect to its oxygen consumption and that the high correlation between the basal metabolic rate and mass of muscle does not imply a causal relationship.

Other Problems

Racial studies of blood pressure are critically reviewed by Murrill (256) who notes the difficulty of achieving adequate control of nonracial factors. In his own study of Negro and white Puerto Ricans he found no significant difference in blood pressure between the two races. Regional differences in blood pressure in Japan are discussed by Taneka (363); and in an analysis of the distribution of hypertension and the incidence of cerebral hemorrhages in Japan, Takahashi *et al.* (361) note that the frequency distribution of these conditions corresponds to a climatic map of Japan, especially to a map of the indoor winter temperature; however, diet also seems to be a factor. Two other aspects of applied anthropometry may be mentioned merely in passing: human engineering (4, 151) and anthropometry of the body in action (84, 85, 97).

Appraising the physical anthropology of the general American population, Kluckhohn (190) notes that there is little new material and that few new problems have arisen since Franz Boas. Some of Boas' interests continue, however. Greulich (140) compares the physical growth and development of American-born and native Japanese children and notes that the former are taller, heavier, and more advanced skeletally. Ishihara (177) also reports that Nisei (second-generation) Japanese children are taller, heavier, and longer-legged than native Japanese, and that the breadth, but not the length, of the Nisei's head is greater. He reports, however, that second-generation Japanese children in the Philippines, Sumatra, Korea, and Manchuria are shorter and lighter on the average than Japanese children raised in Japan. Markowitz (227) notes that in twelve countries for which data has been published there was a retardation in child growth during World War II; it was most marked in those places where food shortages and social and psychological stress were greatest. Schlagin-

haufen (311) has returned to the problem of rural-urban differences and finds in most of his studies that city dwellers are heavier, longer-headed, narrower-headed, more brunette, and different in other ways from the rural population.

There have also been a few anthropological studies of twins (8, 167, 272, 379). Taniguchi (364) has reviewed the literature on the anatomy of twins and gives a bibliography with over 300 references, chiefly to the Japanese literature.

There are a number of articles referring to new techniques and equipment. Among them one describes a recording caliper (366), another, a camera which, with the aid of mirrors, photographs all aspects of the body simultaneously (171). Young (407) has developed a detailed method of measuring cranial contours. Another new measuring technique involves the use of external cranial volume above the glabella-inion plane as a measure of cranial capacity (179).

In conclusion, it seems that on the whole the works under review—perhaps more than those of an earlier two-year period—are directed to specific anthropological problems rather than to the study of a particular period or geographic region. These problems, if they continue to interest scholars, presage trends in findings; and the accomplishments of physical anthropology today project in greater relief the questions that remain to be answered tomorrow.

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2

CULTURE CHANGE

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INTRODUCTION

For the purposes of this chapter the term culture change will refer to all cultural processes, such as growth, disintegration, reintegration, and acculturation. Briefly defined, culture change is any modification in the way of life of a people, whether consequent to internal developments (such as invention) or to contact between two peoples with unlike ways of life (acculturation).

A generalized history of anthropological theory from its beginnings to the present could be reconstructed from an examination of writings in the field of cultural dynamics. The early works in the latter part of the nineteenth century reflected contemporary involvement with evolutionary theory. The "historicalist" and "diffusionist" approaches, with their emphasis on specific traits and complexes related to time and space, appeared in the early twentieth century; and in the last three decades the emphasis has been on functionalistic and configurational approaches, with psychological processes included as a legitimate type of phenomenon for study.

This survey of the literature on culture change will review exhaustively only those materials published in 1957 and 1958, although a brief discussion of earlier publications will be offered to provide a general background. The reader will find that Beals's article on acculturation in *Anthropology Today* (10), Keesing's massive bibliography (66), and Siegel's critical abstracts of acculturation literature on North America (104) are indispensable for a coverage of materials through 1952.

Memos on Culture Change: 1936 and 1954

One way to call attention to the important changes that have occurred in the conceptual ordering and treatment of culture change in the past two decades is to examine briefly two formulations of the field, produced under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council by two committees working approximately twenty years apart. The earlier statement, published in the *American Anthropologist* in 1936 (98), included such topics as types of contacts between acculturating groups; situations in which acculturation can occur; selection of traits by the recipient group; factors affecting what traits are presented by the donor group; the modification of traits in the process of selection and reinterpretation; and the role of the individual in the selection and modification of traits. The more recent statement, published in the *American Anthropologist* in 1954 (7), included attention to these topics: boundary-maintaining mechanisms as one signficant order of difference among cultural systems; self-correcting mechanisms that refer to the ability of the "cultural organism" (their quotes) to shift function and adapt internally; the ecology and demography of the contact situation; intercultural roles that provide channels for communication and transmission between systems; cultural (system) creativity; disintegration, progressive adjustment, fusion, and assimilation; rates of change; and personality and acculturation.

Although such headings taken out of context do not give an adequate picture of the substance of these formulations, important differences in the two treatments probably appear obvious. The 1936 memo includes references to many, if not all, of the processes discussed in the 1954 memo. But how it contextualizes these processes is quite different. The image of culture in the earlier statement centers on traits as the unit of analysis, though concepts like "cultural focus" do appear as the problems of reinterpretation and modification of these traits are considered. This emphasis on traits was in keeping with the intellectual framework in anthropology of the time, which conceived of relations between culturally differentiated groups in terms of the diffusion of particles of culture, rather than as an adaptation on the part of one or both groups to changes created by the impact of one group upon the other. In contrast, the 1954 state-

ment is marked by its analogies to organisms. The internal structures of cultural systems are characterized as relatively "rigid" or "flexible." Terms like "hard-shelled vertebrate" and "soft-shelled invertebrate" (their quotes) are used analogically to describe the propensities of cultural systems for adaptive change. The emphasis on structure and system, rather than on traits, is likewise appropriate to the intellectual temper of anthropology at the time.

It can probably be said fairly that the earlier formulation suffered from fragmentation in its conceptualization, and that the culture change analyses developed within its framework tended to lack a model for structural adaptation. It is also probably true that the 1954 formulation suffers from the grossness of its analogies and that analysis within its framework would lack discrete models for the construction of definitive variable complexes that can be treated empirically. This circumstance, however, is somewhat ameliorated by the attention paid to relatively specifiable dimensions of process, such as intercultural roles viewed as channels for communication.

As the following review of the literature on culture change will indicate, current analyses do not go to excess in the direction of the holistic approach nor do they suffer particularly from fragmentation into small and structureless units of analysis. Most of the writings cited treat relatively isolable dimensions of change that produce social-structural or cultural system modification.

1955 and 1956

The two years immediately preceding the period under review deserve a brief summary. A survey of the articles published in 1955 and 1956 in the *American Anthropologist* suggests that culture change is one of the liveliest problem areas in contemporary anthropology, rivaled only by interests in social structure. The range of subject is impressive. Most of the twenty articles explicitly concerned with culture change treat with specific problems *in situ*, rather than with global topics or with theoretical generalizations. Some represent traditional concerns with matters such as diffusion, totemism, and kinship, which are treated in an innovative fashion (16, 68, 132). Others deal with such nontraditional concerns as the acculturation of American ethnic groups (112). Still others are socio-

logically based—for, example, an analysis of the validation of acculturation (15),—or include attention to psychological processes as a major dimension in the process of adaptation (19).

A systematic summary and citation of works on culture change during 1955 and 1956 would go beyond the restricted time scope of this review. However, a few other pieces that appear on the peripheries of established interests or that seem potentially innovative or useful may be cited. Julian Steward (114) has furnished anthropologists with one of the few recent attempts to develop a theory of culture change that treats with broad developments in human history and emphasizes relationships between developmental stages and subsistence techniques. Hallowell's volume of selected papers (50) brings together his important contributions on the psychological dimensions in culture change. Spindler (109) has produced an exhaustive treatment of the covariance of psychological and sociocultural variables in Menomini acculturation. Kluckhohn, with Gerard and Rappaport (41a), has analyzed aspects of biological and cultural evolution for analogous models. The Keesings (67) have provided a needed model for the study of new dimensions in culture change situations in their systematic analysis of communication among elites in Samoa. Wallace (127–29) has produced several papers that introduce an innovative and combinative treatment of physiological, cultural, and psychological dimensions in religious inspiration and culture change. Voget (123) gives us an interesting analysis of creative reformation in cultural transition among American Indians. Bruner (17, 18) calls attention to processes of cultural transmission and primary group identification in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Dorothy Eggan (32) furnishes a penetrating analysis of the sociopsychological antecedents to cultural continuity among the Hopi.

1957 and 1958

The following detailed survey of published writings in culture change from 1957 and 1958 includes materials from anthropological and other relevant journals throughout the world as well as from books and monographs.

The categories listed below and used to organize these writings were derived inductively from the studies themselves. They are nec-

essarily dependent upon the particular emphases in the studies and are inevitably somewhat arbitrary. The list below indicates the number of articles in each category.

Urbanization (including a separate category, Technological Development and Culture Change)[1]	21
Theory and Method	17
Culture Change and Social Structure	13
Historical-Descriptive	11
Values and Culture Change	11
Controlled Acculturation[2]	10
Psychological Processes and Culture Change	9
Nativistic Movements	8
Special Problems	7
	107

It is interesting to note that the study of culture change has remained sensitive to the cultural milieu in which it is developing. The importance of rapid urbanization in the twentieth-century world, for instance, is reflected in the large number of studies dealing with this phenomenon. The number of studies with prime emphasis on theory and method is also notable, and may indicate an increased maturity and self-consciousness in the field.

THEORY AND METHOD

The problems in this category represent a wide focus of interests, ranging from concern with general theories of functionalism, diffusion, anxiety, and the urbanization process, to the old problem of the development of family groupings.

In an article focusing on methodology, Ianni (63) makes a plea for the use of more rigorous scientific controls over the observation and analysis of cultural phenomena. He suggests the application of the comparative method and points out that the student of acculturation can manipulate with some degree of exactness the variables of

[1] Publications included in this category might logically be considered a subgroup under "urbanization" but we have placed them in a separate group because they represent a rather specialized and segmentalized aspect of urbanization.

[2] This category is more arbitary than most in that many articles placed elsewhere could be included here. The studies listed here are those in which an applied anthropologist to some degree manipulated events in a given situation.

place (which can usually be considered constant) and *time* (which can be controlled by repeated studies over specified time periods).

Geertz (41) criticizes the functionalistic approaches that the majority of anthropologists use in discussing the role of religion in society. He contends that the main explanation for the inability of functional theory to cope with change lies in its failure to treat sociological and cultural processes on equal terms. Geertz defines culture as an ordered system of meaning and symbols in terms of which social interaction takes place, and social system as the pattern of social interaction itself (after Parsons and Shils [92]). He uses a case study of ritual failure in Java to demonstrate his approach.

Coser (21) uses familiar functionalistic and neo-Marxian propositions to construct broad hypotheses concerning societal changes. He hypothesizes that changes in structural relations can be expected when changes in equilibrium of a society lead to the formation of new groupings or to the strengthening of those existing groupings that are determined to overcome the resistance of vested interests. He adds that the amount and kinds of change will depend upon the degree of cohesion that a system has attained. He does not cite any empirical data.

Rands and Riley (96) introduce an original interpretation of the familiar diffusionist theories with emphasis on pattern and interrelationships. For example, they introduce the concept of "complex demand" to be used in reference to the secondary traits that develop sequentially according to the needs of the trait complex. In another article, Lord Raglan (95) discusses diffusion in a vein reminiscent of the European diffusionists, arguing against multiple inventions.

Goody (45), adopting a broad Durkheimian frame of reference, questions the sociological theory that would attribute increased individual anxieties and emotional malaise to culture change. He cites the case of the Ashanti of Africa, where background materials are available that do not bear this out.

In the general area of kinship and social organization, Hermann von Baumann (8) reviews slight changes made by Schmidt in his posthumous work *Das Mutterrecht.* Apparently the problem of social origins is still important to German anthropologists. Ghurye (42) makes a sequential reconstruction of kinship changes in the Sanskrit,

Greek, and Latin traditions, suggesting that the early Anglo-Saxon family was nuclear in type. This contrasts with the sociologists claim that nuclearity is due to the Industrial Revolution. Ghurye would assign "beliefs and ideas" to the role of causal factors in changes in kinship systems. Goody (46) develops an idea set forth by Meyer Fortes in 1949 ("Time and Social Structure: An Ashanti Case Study"). In brief, the theory is that the domestic group goes through a regular developmental cycle—it expands by procreation, disperses by fission as the offspring marry, and is finally replaced by one of its offspring's families. Goody, like Fortes, emphasizes the fact that the continuity of the "social capital" or culture is maintained by the domestic group.

Dealing with the broad subject of urbanization processes, Gibbs and Davis (43) submit a quantitative method for comparing the degree of urbanization in various countries by determining the proportion of people living in cities. In another article emphasizing human ecology, Gibbs and Martin (44) hypothesize that the degree of urbanization of a country varies directly with the extent of the dispersion of its objects of consumption. And the magnitude of the relationship (by countries) between a measure of this dispersion and the proportion of the population living in cities increases directly with the size of the cities. The sociologist, unlike the anthropologist, is more interested in quantifying end results of urbanization than in dealing with processual aspects. Rose and Warshay (99) validate their hypothesis concerning urbanization processes—that migrants who have contacts in a new community remain isolated from the rest of the community longer than do those who have none. They find that even rural-urban background differences among the migrants are less important than the presence of friends and relatives in a new community. Frazier (38) discusses types of social organization concerned with the creation of a social order in which peoples with different racial and cultural backgrounds can develop mutual interests and achieve a common identification that will transcend racial and cultural differences. Nash's (85) related study focuses on adaptations to nonwestern societies. He offers a concept—that of the multiple society with plural cultures—for use in the study of heterogeneous, complex societies such as Guatemala.

Majumdar (80) submits a theoretical paper distinguishing be-

tween the roles of the anthropologist and the sociologist in the field of community development; he emphasizes the importance of dealing with process—the study of the effects of and resistances to a given change in relation to culture patterns. Another contribution to theory and method is Vogt's (125) outline of a conceptual framework for the analysis of American Indian acculturation in various areas of the United States. Vogt points out that the rate of basic change is slow among American Indians; however, the trend toward pan-Indianism is continually gaining momentum.

A theoretical study by Hawthorn and Belshaw (56) centers on the various evolutionary approaches used in dealing with societal development in Polynesia. These are contrasted with the studies in acculturation made in the area that are concerned primarily with an exposition of change and are built upon small scale examination of observed or historically recorded developments. The authors critically evaluate evolutionary studies of development in Polynesia, pointing out that complex institutions and values are difficult to arrange in rank order and that culture change phenomena lose their meaning when abbreviated into the general statements required by evolutionary schemes.

HISTORICAL-DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES

Although in this period the majority of articles and books dealing with culture change have been problem oriented, historical-descriptive studies and articles continue to appear. Anthropologists no longer debate whether anthropology belongs to the field of history or to science. Either a historical or a scientific treatment may be applied to data, depending upon the particular purpose of the author, and both kinds of treatment are often combined in the same study.

Five American anthropologists, relying upon historical and ethnographic materials, present data on adjustments among American Indians to American culture. Hallowell (51, 52), choosing the other side of the coin, describes the impact of the American Indian on American culture; he lists both material traits and creative influences. Fenton (35) adds a useful book to the libraries of American Indianists and historians in his historical summary of Indian and white relations to 1830, which includes a comprehensive bibliography of

sources. Another study of American Indians is that of Hawthorn and Belshaw (57) who report on the present situation and adjustment problems of the Indians of British Columbia; they include materials on education, crime, industries, and political participation, plus a summary of the traditional culture. Wike (130) also deals with the Northwest in his attempt to reexamine the changes brought about by the fur trading among the Northwest Coast Indians. She evaluates the consequences of this trade in the light of the many discrepant statements of other students, showing that one balance sheet can express changes in the status of the native economy as a whole, but a separate accounting is necessary to record shifts in the distribution of advantages or disadvantages for the individuals involved in the trade. In dealing with the Southwest, Lange (73) reconstructs culture history in order to make a detailed comparison of items in Pueblo and Keresan cultures; he suggests the types of diffusion that probably occurred.

Smith and Reyes (106) trace the changes in a Japanese agricultural community over a period of twenty-five years, with attention to intensity of contacts. The study is more than a historical reconstruction, since problems of the amount and types of change are introduced. Ferdon (36) also traces changes in a community and contributes an elaborate, methodical listing of those customs that have changed and those that remain basically the same among present day Easter Islanders. Under retentions he lists items such as sexual freedom of adolescents, gift exchanges, lineages, marriage feasts. He contends that changes occur most often in areas that affect the church, such as the customs surrounding death, marriage, and divorce.

Several authors describe the situation of various African groups. Hutchinson (61) describes the effects missionaries had upon the South African Bantu in the nineteenth century. He states that missionaries helped transform the Bantu into a resource for European economic exploitation by introducing western education, European crafts, and the notion of Christian individualism. Lawrence (75) reconstructs from historical documents and first hand observations fifty years of change among a Nilo-Hamitic tribe of Uganda, the Iteso, from a pastoral type subsistence to settled agriculture. Also

using African materials, Mair (79) draws from case studies to explain the present day role of the African chief. During the initial period of English-African relationships the traditional chieftains were supported by the English. Today there exist sharp conflicts between the traditional chiefs and the recently formed native authority groups.

Again in the historical-descriptive mode, Levenson (77) discusses the modern Chinese intellectual world as it has been affected by the intrusion of western ideas.

CULTURE CHANGE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Interest in this problem area has gained impetus in the past decade. The publications appearing in 1957–58 ranged from technical analyses of hypothetical changes in kinship systems to generalizations concerning complex functional interrelationships between a social structure and a culture during the process of dynamic interaction.

Three authors analyze the changes occurring in kinship systems. Kant (65) presents a historical reconstruction of Southern Athabascan kinship systems from Proto-Apache beginnings, ending with an elaborate description of present day Cibicue Apache clan systems. Comhaire-Sylvain (20) traces kinship change in three groups near Lake Leopold II in the Belgian Congo. Patrilineal tribes are found in the forest region, matrilineal in the savanna, and mixed in the zone of transition around the lake itself. The author hypothesizes that change to patriliny may be the result of slavery imposed by patrilineal conquerors. The Lanes (71) give a detailed account of the evolution of Ambrym kinship, contrasting the present system with the earlier, emphasizing the accompanying linguistic changes.

The role of the family during the acculturative process is the topic that four authors selected for study. Sahlins (102) examined the relationship between change in ecological practices (land tenure and use) and changes in family structure in Moala, Fiji. He found that the traditional extended family was maintained when scattered land resources were exploited, whereas a nuclear family structure emerged when a family depended upon land in the environs of a village. Hunt and Coller (60) have analyzed the conse-

quences of marriage between Filipino women and American army personnel in the Philippines. The distinct social group that these marriages create, the authors claim, does not assimilate either American or Filipino practices. Rosenfeld (100) deals with the processes causing structural change within the Arab village extended family, with emphasis on the process of fission. He concludes that although personal conflicts and psychological factors can be given as reasons for fission, they are secondary to property and work relations. Stoodley's study of the family (115) deals briefly with the effects of industrialization and urbanization on Tagalog (Philippines) family patterns. The adoption of achievement values, diffused from the United States, tends in general to cause members to reject their obligations to the family group. However, when Tagalog women take jobs they continue to observe their family responsibilities, even when they hold important positions. The authors contend that one explanation may be the fact that Tagalog women have traditionally held important roles within the family—such as family treasurer—and have been consulted on family decisions.

The majority of studies dealing with social structure and culture change focus on the relationship between the rate of change in a particular culture and the social structure. Spicer (108) emphasizes in general the importance of the social structure as a determinant in the acculturation process, claiming that no change can be explained without some consideration of the nature of social relations. He cites examples of Yaqui religious acculturation, analyzing the process of syncretism and the effects of changes in patterns of social relations caused by the shift to concentrated settlements. In another article with major emphasis on problems and theory, Nash (86) questions current explanations of cultural persistences in terms of "culture core," "basic cultural structure," and "cultural focus." He suggests using a broader framework that would distinguish "culture," "society," and "the individual" as three distinct but interrelated categories. He illustrates his method by relating certain kinds of calendrical persistences found in Mesoamerica to a particular kind of social structure in which the calendar expert's role is institutionalized or divinatory. It is Nash's hypothesis that those elements intimately related to a pattern of social relations survive.

Little (78) describes the role of voluntary associations in the West African city as a means for adapting to new urban conditions. He views these associations as syncretistic in character since they combine modern and traditional traits, and he points out that they serve many of the same needs as the traditional family. In contrast, Wolf (131) analyzes a particular kind of social structure that prohibits acculturation: the closed, corporate peasant community in Mesoamerica and Central Java that is culturally isolated from the larger society. This type of autonomous group, the author explains, serves to exclude cultural alternatives by limiting the individual's incentives to learn the ways of his neighbors. Donaghue (26) finds a somewhat similar situation among a group of eta in Japan where a series of sanctions in the group engender exclusiveness and prohibit intercourse with non-eta. This situation, plus the discriminatory attitudes of non-eta, constitutes a barrier to assimilation. In dealing with a related problem, Fink (37) describes the caste barriers existing among a group of semi-aborigines in northwest New South Wales that present apparently insurmountable obstacles to assimilation. In the particular situation the preoccupation with status has caused people to reject even their own relatives.

URBANIZATION

Articles and books dealing with the urbanization process comprise the largest single category; the sharp increase in such studies since World War II reflects a world-wide interest.

United States

Focusing on urbanization processes in the United States, two authors study the particular problems of adjustment of ethnic groups. Ianni (62) describes changes in the patterning of an Italian colony in an urban center; he concludes that residential and occupational changes serve as measures of changing status in those groups that show increasing vertical mobility. Padilla (90) studies Puerto Rican adjustment to the New York City slum environment, taking consideration of the effects that American citizenship has on this minority group.

Lantz (74) analyzes the changes that occur when a large industry is brought to a small farming town. His study deals with ramifica-

tions of the urbanization process, for he traces the effects of industrialization on the socialization of the individuals involved. Emphasizing the organizational aspects of a community, Vidich (122) studies American society as it is mirrored in the life of a rural community in upper New York State; he points out class lines, hidden channels of power, and the clashes of personal and public demands.

Two studies deal with the consequences of urbanization in the social order. Tumin (120) critically scrutinizes some of the consequences of social mobility that are rarely made explicit. He analyzes such phenomena as the fragmentation of the social order, the diffusion of insecurity, the imbalance of institutions, and the conservatism of older people. Bendix and Howton (12) take issue with the hypothesis that American social structure has become more rigid in the course of time. The authors were unable to make a convincing case in terms of statistics, but they claimed that during the last two generations a significant number of well-to-do families with relatively low social status have moved upward into the ranks of the business elite.

Middle America

In studying the urbanization process in Mexico, Edmonson, Carrasco, Fisher, and Wolf (31) see the changes reported for Mexico as representing a double process found everywhere: the extension of a superior technology to technologically inferior peoples and the adjustment of native systems of values to altered conditions. They laud the modern studies that treat a segment of the cultural process at more than one level at a time, since Mexican culture is divided into various levels of acculturation.

India

Studies of urbanization processes are of prime importance to Indian anthropologists, who show interest in both the theoretical and the applied aspects of the process. One group of writers studies conditions conducive to change and another author deals with barriers to change. Ryan, Jayasena, and Wickremesinghe (101) have collaborated in a sophisticated description of the smooth transition of a Ceylon village from a rural to an urban status. They hypothesize that the process is aided by the loose structuring of sociocultural integration. For evidence they point to the imprecise role specifications, with

alternative roles tolerated, and the inexactness in kinship reciprocities that has permitted redefinition rather than disruption. On the other hand, Akhauri (3) finds resistances to culture change in an East Bihare community. These take the form of a "barrier-complex" which, the author contends, consists of congeries of items such as rural prejudices, factions, illiteracy, caste interests, and leadership problems.

With attention given to the human factors in community development, Dube (30) generalizes about the urbanization process taking place in Indian villages. Gould (47) studies a more specialized aspect of the urbanization process—the dynamics involved in the relationships between folk and scientific medicine as a group becomes urbanized. He found a dichotomous tendency in his north Indian village: the villagers would use country medicine for nonincapacitating ills and "doctor medicine" (western) for incapacitating ills. There is, the author claims, a correlation between socio-economic status and the type of medicine used.

Africa

Africa furnishes social scientists interested in the urbanization process with a wealth of materials for all aspects of the phenomenon. The English anthropologists continue in an attempt to make their findings applicable to practical administrative problems, yet many offer important data for theory building.

Banton (4) produces a community study of a West African city, focusing on the tribal life in Freetown. He discusses the problems accompanying rapid growth, the ethnic composition of the population, the character of the rural districts from which migrants came, and the social effects of culture contact.

Political systems become the central problem for Epstein (33) in his study of an urban African community in northern Rhodesia. He presents a complex analysis of how the social environment, traditional political systems, and the emerging political systems are interrelated during the process of urbanization.

Other

In 1958 Halpern (53) contributed the first study in English on a Yugoslavian community. He describes the processes of social and

cultural change in a Serbian village that in the past has often felt the influence of foreign cultures.

Lange's contribution (72) to the problem of urbanization is an unusual type of comparison of Pueblo Indian cultures with Tyrolean cultures of central Europe. He treats both as peasant cultures and emphasizes the similarity in their cultural processes using Redfield's framework for typologizing peasant societies. The most obvious area of similarity between the two cultures lies in the dynamics of their common participation in Catholicism.

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURE CHANGE

There have been several articles that deal specifically with the introduction of new technologies and the accompanying reactions of the communities. Mayer (81), an architect experienced in town and rural planning, summarizes the situation in Etawah, Uttar Pradesh, where the inhabitants were persuaded to build earth barriers to prevent vast erosion from the rains. Drawing from both successful and unsuccessful operations, he discusses planning theory, administrative innovations, and constructive use of local culture and traditions. Nash (87) describes a remarkable case of adaptation in the Indian community of Cantel in Guatemala. Originally a farming community, the community has been able to incorporate a textile mill into its structure with relatively little cultural loss or social disorganization. The researcher attributes this to the fact that the community's members exercised self-conscious "felt" control over their social circumstances and therefore could accommodate without threat. The culture may be characterized as "receptive" with many elements congruent to factory work. Another antecedent factor to be considered is that factory production was added to the community without bringing with it new notions concerning political and social organization. This unusual situation should offer important clues for hypotheses and theories concerning culture change.

Two authors analyze the far-reaching effects of changes in a group's economy upon other areas of the society. Paine (91) presents a case study of a Lapp community where agriculture was introduced and analyzes the concomitant changes in the ecological-economic equilibrium. Danielsson (23), a member of the "Kontiki" crew, re-

cords quantifiable data on the social and economic aspects of contemporary life in Raroia for use in a comparative analysis with other Pacific Science Board studies.

Hamamsy (54) selects for study the effects of the Navaho's changing economy on women's roles; the unrewarding nature of the new roles is conducive to poor mental health. Murphy (84) focuses on the changes in economic and social structure created by the involvement of the Mundurucú Indians in the rubber extraction industry. The greater emphasis of the book is on changes in religion, and he describes the manner in which the Indians have syncretized Christianity into their own belief system.

CONTROLLED ACCULTURATION

Spencer (107) describes an interesting case of "controlled" culture change during the Kemalist regime in Turkey where a modern state was created, with Durkheimian constructs used as a guiding rationale. Consciously borrowed elements were aligned to fit existing patterns. The marginal quality of Turkish culture has facilitated borrowing. Particular Durkheimian concepts (interpreted for use by a scholar) that were applied to the modernization of Turkey include "organic integrity," "cultural and intellectual unity of society," "collective consciousness," "identification of society with nation."

Sol Tax, an active leader in the field of "action anthropology," is identified in particular with the Fox Indian project. In two related articles (117, 119) he justifies interference and hypothesizes that any change is possible if it does not interfere with Fox identity or violate Fox moral beliefs. He states that neither assimilation nor its opposite are inevitable. In another article Tax (118) outlines the problems that the Indian community faces with termination of federal control, and that this program must deal with—such as problems of land ownership, civil rights, services, and economic development. La Farge (70) also examines the termination problem and makes a plea for more study to allow for a smooth transition period for groups. He points out the dangers and unjust aspects of the bills terminating federal control over the Klamath and Menominee Indians who have valuable timber resources.

Ewald (34) discusses the problem of controlled culture change

in a Guatemalan community where national policies concerning education are having many consequences. He deals with the problem of differential acculturation among the various city groups in terms of the receptivity of each group (ladino, protestants, conservatives).

Describing a unique, controlled, experimental situation, Holmberg (58) explains the values and scientific implications of a well-planned interventionist program in Peru (Vicos). A series of goals were set by a group of scientists with specific periodic scheduling for intervention experiments. This combination of applied anthropology and scientific theory and method seems to hold great promise for the future.

Havighurst (55) evaluates the education program of the Indian Service, pointing out that the inherent conflict between Indian and white values and the extreme emphasis on competition account for the Indian student's ranking lower than the white on achievement tests.

Drucker (29) analyzes the cultural adjustment of the Indians of the Northwest Coast, focusing on the roles played by the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. These organizations were formed by acculturated, Christian Indians for the explicit purpose of aiding the Indians to adjust to western culture.

Wagley and Harris (126) examine minority groups adjusting in the New World; their study was made for UNESCO as an aid in solving administrative problems. The study comprises six cases (Indians in Mexico and Brazil, Negroes in French West Indies and the United States, Jews in the United States, and French Canadians). Using a historical, comparative approach, the authors analyze the degree of assimilation of the three racial stocks represented, investigating common characteristics of the minorities and their shared experiences in the New World environment.

NATIVISTIC MOVEMENTS

A considerable number of anthropologists continue to study the reactions of nonwestern groups to situations of "forced" acculturation. These reactions may be called "nativistic movements." Aberle and Stewart (1) study Navaho and Ute peyotism, tracing in detail the

diffusion of the cult, particularly its spread from the Ute to the Navaho. The study is related to the larger body of theory that classifies nativistic movements as reactions to deprivation because the authors attribute the tenacity and spread of peyotism among the Navaho to the stock reduction program.

Three authors select the Indians of the Pacific Northwest for study. Suttles (116) reconstructs the westward spread of the Prophet Dance to the Coast Salish, tracing the distribution of elements during the process of diffusion. Barnett (6) describes the development and spread of the Indian Shaker Cult throughout tribes of the Northwest. The development of the cult is viewed as a response to oppression. Voget (124) analyzes the social and ceremonial systems of three reformations—the Pacific Northwest "Shakerism," the Iroquois "Great Message," and the Plains "Peyotism"—in the light of the roles they played in furnishing social approval and relatively new sets of statuses in periods of social and cultural disorganization. The study is in the framework of role theory, dealing with the renewal of the "self" as a function of improvement in social status.

The "Cargo Cult" was studied by two anthropologists during the period under review. Stanner (113) writes that it is incorrect to call Melanesian movements such as the Cargo Cult "messianic" since they are based on crude materialism rather than on spiritual preoccupations (as were the Ghost Dance and Prophet Dance of North America). In a philosophical vein he attempts to see the relationship between cult movements and Radcliffe-Brown's theory about ritual acts, with its assumption of a magic-religion dichotomy. Read (97), stressing the importance of the study of the Cargo Cult as a social process, describes an incipient Cargo situation and offers partial analysis of its failure to crystallize.

Two peripheral articles may be placed in this category. Bohannan (14) applies the terms "extra-normal" and "extra-processual event" to a Tiv reactionary movement against the British authority structure designed "to refortify aspects of Tiv institutions which they considered acceptable." He would argue, however, that this movement is not "nativistic" because it was a means for changing the power situation. Freed (39) proposes that there are limited possibilities in the forms that perpetuative movements may take, and he attempts

to typologize societies with successful perpetuative movements. He suggests two type of societies where "boundary maintaining mechanisms" have been highly successful, using as examples the shtetl of the Jews in a small town of eastern Europe and the Old Order Amish of Pennsylvania. The former possesses a group of specialists dedicated to maintaining distinctive features of its groups by infrequent use of extreme forms of social control; the latter depend upon strong social controls and economic threats in order to discourage conformity to the larger society in which they live.

VALUES AND CULTURE CHANGE

The specific linking of values to culture change phenomena is of recent origin—the first study was made around 1942 (66). Since then recognition of the importance of the values dimension has been steadily increasing. Whereas there were only fourteen specific discussions of values and change prior to and including 1952, there are eleven studies in the two years under review that explicitly recognize values as a primary factor in the dynamics of culture change.

Several authors discuss values and culture change related to adaptations among the American Indians. In two articles (48, 49) Gulick examines the value conflicts among the Eastern Cherokee that are leading to a breakdown of the community. The problems that the Cherokees face in communicating with middle-class whites are traced to gross discrepancies in core values relating to ideas concerning man himself and his place in the universe. Freilich (40) analyzes cultural persistences among the modern Iroquois steelworkers. He points out that these persistences may be explained by the fact that the vocation of steelworker allows for retention of basic Iroquoian values such as displaying daring and courage, bringing booty home, etc. This is a good example of acculturative convergence. Honigmann (59) describes the successful integration that has been achieved by the Attawapiskat (Cree) Indians of Canada. They have learned by choice to adapt facets of western culture such as hard work, changes in economic patterns, and religion, and have incorporated these in a meaningful configuration. Dozier, Simpson, and Yinger (28), analyzing the problem of integrating Americans of Indian descent, emphasize the need for tolerance

of cultural variation and for individual freedom. The authors predict that Indian groups on reserves will continue indefinitely as separate groups—however, each will be constantly making adjustments.

Two studies deal with adjustment problems that peoples from other cultures face in adapting to the United States. Beals and Humphrey (11) view Mexican exchange students in the United States as agents of contact in the process of cultural transmission. The majority of the students are from the urban middle and upper classes, which directly influences their reaction to the host society. The value orientations of this group are contrasted with those of comparable middle-class Americans. The authors conclude that the most common changes to take place in the value systems of the Mexican students are toward a greater egalitarianism, increased cooperativeness, and greater open-mindedness. In many cases, however, experience in the United States only reaffirms their Mexican nationalism and anti-Americanism. Iga (64) studies the conflicts in values between immigrant Japanese and their children in a Utah farming community. He attributes the source of tensions to the fact that parents, cherishing the value of personal success, attempt to realize their own frustrated ambitions in their children.

In an eclectic study emphasizing conflict of values, the Dutch scientist Schoorl (103) analyzes the effects and potentials of directed culture change and offers an elaborate item-by-item description. He attributes the administrative difficulties to the native values surrounding shell money and the strong emphasis on individualism.

Patai (93) contributes a study of the conflict of eastern and western values in the Middle East, with particular emphasis on Israel. His discussion includes the main themes in Arab culture such as the value placed on familism, personal contact, estheticism, and religion. He states that whereas western material culture is favored, western ideology is regarded as threatening. In a study made in the same geographical area, Adams (2) describes the current social revolution in Egypt as it was mirrored in an Egyptian village. Dealing with the factors involved in the acceptance and rejection of governmental propaganda, he uses four leaders as case studies. He considers such variables as personality and personal conflict situations to be important dimensions in differentiating between the traditional leaders and those who readily accept change.

A unique case of plural and differential acculturation in Trinidad is analyzed by Crowley (22). He attempts to show how Trinidadians of diverse origins adjust to a complex social situation without losing their subcultural identity. Because the Creoles comprise the majority of the islanders, and because their culture is permissive, other groups have become partially assimilated, and Creole English is accepted by all classes. Plural acculturation occurs when members of each group learn some of the ways of each other group; differential acculturation results from the fact that each group preserves traits and complexes of its parent culture.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE CHANGE

Since the 1930's, recognition of the individual and of psychological processes as legitimate areas for anthropological studies has steadily gained in status. There is some indication, however, that the number of articles on culture change making explicit use of psychological concepts has decreased slightly in the past five years (69). Some of the psychological theories used by anthropologists in the study of cultural dynamics would include psychoanalytic and neo-psychoanalytic theories, stimulus-response reinforcement theory, frustration-aggression hypotheses, Gestalt theory, cognitive theory, role theory, and the use of projective techniques and I.Q. tests.

Four studies deal with psychological aspects of culture change among American Indians. Boggs (13) relates culture change to personality changes among Ojibwa children. The problem of the persistence of personality among Ojibwa through several levels of acculturation, noted earlier by Hallowell and others, is his subject, and he uses two Ojibwa groups, representing different degrees of acculturation, for certain comparisons of child rearing and personality. He concludes that parent-child relationships during the formative period are not responsible for persistence of personality, since patterns of child rearing change with acculturation as a function of loss of constant parental self-roles. The Spindlers (110) outline the core features of psychological structure shared by American Indians, describing how they function differently in variant tribal and areal cultures. They stress the persistence of psychological structure and its influence upon choices when a group is presented with cultural alternatives. A typology of personality types emerging from the accul-

turative situation is also posited. Dittmann and Moore (25) attempt to correlate Peyote Cult membership with disturbance in dreams among the Navaho. They view the Peyote Cult as an "adaptive" device that is looked upon with disfavor by nonmember Navahos. The authors found that peyotists were more disturbed than the rest of the Navaho and there was a far higher proportion of bad dreams than good among the peyotists in the area of "health-illness." The Spindlers (111) describe male-female adaptations to culture change among the Menomini Indians. Their primary emphasis is methodological. Males and females are placed on an acculturative continuum through the use of objective sociocultural indices. Typical psychological adaptations for each sex are located on this continuum, based on the use of Rorschach and observational data. The authors discover that the typical male is transition centered, whereas the typical female is native oriented.

In a study of social change in the South Pacific islands of Rarotonga and Aitutaki, Beaglehole (9) analyzes what was accepted, what modified, and what rejected in terms of rewards and punishments, social factors, and the underlying character structure of the people. The author sees major changes mainly in content and notes great persistence in the cultural framework caused in part by the "easy-goingness" of the people.

Leblanc (76) studies Bantu women during the process of acculturation. Bantu women obtain positive or negative attitudes toward themselves depending upon whether or not they are able to attain the Bantu ideal of transmitting the vital impulse through fecundity. The author hypothesizes first that the attitudes both toward women and toward the female personality vary according to the degree of acculturation; and second, that with acculturation the women change their views on the traditional roles more rapidly than do the men. The hypotheses were considered confirmed by the results of sentence completion tests and TAT's. A new hypothesis then emerged: that the traditional attitudes toward women disappear before the deeper personality variables that determine it are really modified.

De Vos and Miner (24) compare Rorschach protocols and personal observational data on Arab men living in a small oasis near

Algiers with the data from men who left the oasis after adolescence to take up residence in the city of Algiers. The urban group showed more tendencies toward diffuse anxiety and less control over affective reactions. The Arab group as a whole, however, produced a mean score on the maladjustment scale comparable to the American neurotic sample. The study revealed that those individuals with inflexible patterns became maladjusted when attempting to adapt to new conditions in the city. An increase in hostility was noted among the city Arabs, associated with the partial unveiling of women. The findings would suggest that the effect of early training and experience is not conclusive in personality formation. Rather it is, the authors state, the continuity of influences through life that makes men as they are.

Mischel (83), a psychologist, experiments to see whether observations made by anthropologists regarding personality differences between the East Indian and Negro populations of Trinidad are valid—that is, whether the Negroes are indeed impulsive, and whether they do prefer smaller gains and immediate satisfactions as opposed to the Indians who are said to postpone immediate gains for greater gains in the future. The author's test results did reveal significant differences (.05 level) on this point between the Negroes and the Indians.

M. K. Opler (89) makes a case study of a Japanese youth in a war relocation center. He had lived in both Japan and the United States, and is an ideal case of a person torn by conflicts in cultural premises and values. And although there were additional, idiosyncratic factors that contributed to his eventual breakdown, the antecedents of greatest importance in the case, in a causal sense, are expressed in terms of value conflicts.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

The studies in this group include those dealing with musicology, religion, and law as related to culture change. Two authors relate cultural changes to changes in music forms. Nettl (88), in a broad, neo-evolutionistic manner, discusses the various types of changes in music forms and the reasons for them. He raises the question whether these changes are cumulative or substitutive and introduces tech-

niques for measuring them that might be considered innovative in this field. Merriam and d'Azevedo (82) study how Washo Peyote songs are related to changes that have occurred in the Washo Peyote Cult itself.

Four authors consider the role of religion to be an important factor in the acculturative process, the first three focusing on American Indians. In a summary article Underhill (121) analyzes the persistence of religious ideas and the manner in which they affect the acceptance of western culture. She views the Peyote Cult as a transitional institution that leads to the acceptance of Christianity and that may be considered an amalgamative religion. Dozier (27) deals specifically with Spanish-Catholic influences on Rio Grande Pueblo religion. He notes that Spanish religious elements are literally grafted on Pueblo religious systems, creating coexisting systems distinct from each other but sharing similar purposes. The author contends that the centralized character of Rio Grande culture has made retentions possible. Barker (5) compares religious changes among the Yaqui with those found among the Rio Grande Pueblos. Whereas the Yaqui have fused Catholic rituals with their own rituals, the Rio Grande Pueblos have compartmentalized Catholic and Pueblo rituals. Barker poses the question whether or not these two methods of incorporating Catholic rituals involve a single process with differing rates of change; he concludes that they should be considered as two separate processes. Skinner (105) deals with religion in Africa. He suggests that Islam has spread in Africa south of the Sahara more rapidly than has Christianity partly because Christianity was brought by white conquerors and Europeans recruited Mossi men and women for forced labor.

Primitive law is related to social change in a Papuan village in a study by Pospisil (94). He presents a case study of a chief who initiated change by breaking an incest tabu. The repercussions were far reaching, resulting in the formation of a new law. Political factors such as the position of the innovator were responsible for acceptance of the new regulations.

IN RETROSPECT

Any attempt to characterize the developments in the study of culture change over the past two years must give recognition to the

eclecticism manifested in all categories. These studies are for the most part problem-oriented, and the theoretical assumptions, techniques, and methods used in securing and analyzing data range widely. Anthropologists are becoming keenly aware of the value of incisive methods and techniques and are eager to adopt any that may prove useful alone or in combination with others; they have begun to utilize tools and theories from the related fields of sociology and psychology in a rather creative fashion.

"Schools" and exclusive theories do not hold sway. The investigator need not decide whether to endorse a historical or scientific, diffusionistic or structural, Freudian or non-Freudian viewpoint, since useful methods and theories from all branches of social science are adopted according to the particular problem at hand. Approaches to the analysis of culture change have always changed as the intellectual milieu and the conditions of reality undergo change. However, anthropologists have for the present avoided the limitations inherent in overresponding to the demands for immediate applicability of their work to problems stemming from the world-wide consequences of rapid and frequently disjunctive urbanization and westernization. It is apparent that applied anthropologists are currently as interested in studying "process" as they are in obtaining data readily applicable to solving pressing practical problems.

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PSYCHOCULTURAL STUDIES

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Studies published between 1955 and 1957 that deal with psychological characteristics viewed from the standpoint of culture and with cultural phenomena conceptualized in psychodynamic terms form the main subject of this review. In a few instances earlier or later publications are mentioned, and references to socialization have also been included. The broad definition ascribed to "psychocultural" hardly allows us to stay solely with the publications of anthropologists. Four main sections comprise this review: general works (including publications concerned with theory and method); descriptive-analytical studies of personality in different cultures; studies in which psychological variables or personality is the dependent variable and cultural factors (including socialization) are the independent variables; and studies reversing the order by considering how certain elements of culture are associated with variables of personality. Assigning some papers to the third and fourth categories required quite arbitrary judgments. On the whole, psycholinguistics, intelligence testing, small group research (except where culture is explicitly designed to be a variable), and other traditional areas of social psychology have not been covered in this article.

The reader may be initially surprised at the plethora of work found suitable for inclusion in a review of psychocultural studies. The area of culture and personality, in America at least, is supposed to be dead, presumably having lost its popularity in the fifties. Of course, the two areas are not precisely the same. Culture and personality traditionally has meant that an anthropologist reporting on a community uses psychological concepts without abandoning the

approach of cultural anthropology. Or else he studies the socialization of children in terms of explicit and implicit group norms, perhaps showing how these are inculcated in the new generation. Psychocultural studies, however, also include investigating the relationship of motivation to group membership, the incidence of hospitalization for mental illness in relation to cultural categories and ethnic groups, and interpreting gambling or folklore in psychodynamic terms. All such studies, like traditional culture and personality research, attempt to relate behavior of a real or typical individual to the cultural setting in which it occurs. Such an interdisciplinary viewpoint, it would seem, is firmly entrenched in the disciplines that study human behavior.

GENERAL

History, Reviews, and Critiques

Before examining current periodical articles and critical assessments of the psychocultural approach, it may be worthwhile to call attention to a few reviews published shortly before 1955: notably those by Hallowell (137), Honigmann (165), Inkeles and Levinson (178), Kluckhohn (197), and Mead (247). Heuse (162) is systematic in a programmatic sort of way but covers little actual data.

Perhaps the most inclusive critical review of personality and social structure belonging to the time under discussion is by Bert Kaplan (188), who also examines methodological issues. Chapters by Hellpach and Weiss in Ziegenfuss' mammoth *Handbuch* (407) are in the nature of summaries. Henry (154) gives a resumé of the anthropological view of mental health and illness, and Spindler (354) sketches the subject matter of culture and personality in a paper that also includes discussion of other anthropological trends and applications. Changes in the anthropological approach to childhood are noted by Mead and Wolfenstein (255). Piddington (289), reviewing culture and personality studies, charges certain anthropologists with "highly colored popularization," misinterpretation of ethnographic data, holding questionable assumptions, and making spurious comparisons. Questioning whether the culture-personality approach is at all possible, Riemer (306) answers that it is, if limited to questions of "social motivation." Several publications take rather worried looks

at the gains and shortcomings of this research area (14, 101, 173, 232, 319). More narrowly focused are critiques that examine the validity of the Boas-Benedict view of Kwakiutl life (19, 55), of Carothers' approach to the "African mind" (155; see also 46), and of Jungian theory applied to myth (33). It is suggested that anthropology has not contributed much information that is useful for predicting behavior (310).

Collections

Important collections, mostly of previously published work, are the third edition of *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu* (141) and *Culture and Experience*, consisting of papers by A. I. Hallowell (135). A special issue (Vol. 7, No. 1, 1955) of the *International Social Science Bulletin*, entitled "Social Factors in Personality," is chiefly oriented toward social-psychology. This is also true of the second edition of *Outside Readings in Psychology* (144). Farber (99) has edited a small volume containing papers by Margaret Mead, Alex Inkeles, Geoffrey Gorer, Jules Henry, and others.

Theory and Concepts

On the whole, psychologists have been more preoccupied than anthropologists with systematic psychocultural theory. Inevitably, many departures in theory have been only partially new. They may represent a fresh perspective from which to view personality as a product of interaction with environment (2) or for relating some psychological needs to characteristics of the external, behavioral environment (172). Parsons and Bales (286) propose a theory of personality using concepts of need, value system, and role expectations. They believe that there is "only in a very abstract sense" a trend to a "modal personality" type which is independent of sex, class, and some other variables. An equally general theory of the relationship of psychiatric disorders to social environment is based on the concepts of striving and frustration (214). A textbook chapter offers a good summary of personality in its social setting (314). Evidence is presented for questioning the adaptiveness of some human behavior and intelligence (318). More or less programmatic attempts are made to integrate sociological and psychoanalytic concepts (56, 292) and to sug-

gest intervening variables mediating between stimulus and response in learning theory (284). One important book, based on a three-year interdisciplinary study program, carefully examines the application of learning theory and related concepts to a variety of social science fields (227). Fromm (114) describes how human needs limit the social patterning of personality. If culture is regarded as a means of self-realization, modern culture must be rated as performing this function poorly. What is needed, says Fromm, is a "sane society" that will give man the opportunity to love and to express his freedom, power of reason, and creativity (see also 235). Malinowski's need theory has inspired little work apart from a favorable evaluatory essay (290). Serious shortcomings continue to be found in psychoanalysis as an explanatory system (293). Revisionists of Freud, who were influenced by cross-cultural thinking, also receive criticism (118, 235). Other essays examine Freud's position on religion (298), the value of psychoanalysis in fieldwork (76), and that theory's influence on American behavioral science (208). Goffman's work (125) has relevance for understanding social behavior in psychodynamic terms. He focuses attention on the expressive component in social interaction and on how an individual impresses or tries to impress others.

The still unresolved question of what is abnormal cross-culturally speaking appears several times in the period under review. One tendency favors a transcultural or "metaethnographic" conception of abnormality in which, for example, "there is no reason and no excuse for not considering the shaman as a severe neurotic and even psychotic, who may, however, be making a contribution to his community" (74, 75, 231). Greater specificity in conceptualizing the abnormal is sought by distinguishing between psychopathology (breakdown in functioning under too heavy a load of coping difficulties) and "bad mental health" (190). In a fashion reminiscent of Lévy-Bruhl, it is argued that similar "primitive or paleologic" patterns of thought occur more frequently among patients in mental hospitals and small-scale exotic peoples than in other populations (12) and that there are "distinctively primitive forms of cognition" that are not entirely displaced in civilized man (394; see also 123).

Particular psychocultural concepts treated include: the anal character (27); intimacy and isolation—a concept taken from Erik Erik-

son's eight stages of individual growth (406); reference groups as they operate in culture change (174); the feeling of security (201); social character, "the core of the character common to most members of a culture" (115); snobbery (379); themes (85); and sentiments—a concept Leighton regards as akin to themes (215). Several papers in *Psychiatric Research Reports* (Vol. 2, 1955) deal with approaches to the study of human personality and offer discussions of both theory and method.

Values

The study of values has increased in popularity during the last decade or so, although all references to that concept in literature are not equally psychologically oriented. A number of current papers are general, offering outlines designed for conceptualizing values cross-culturally (200, 263), and a model for a sharper ordering of values (illustrated with data from the American Southwest [5]); a popular resumé of work done by the Harvard Values Project (384) and an introductory chapter in a new textbook (106) fall in the same category. The construct nature of values is given due emphasis in a paper that discusses problems connected with their inference (4). The importance of values for mediating interpersonal and intercultural relations is also indicated (166, 205), and their function in guiding culture change is examined.

Method and Technique

The critical studies and reviews mentioned above offer reflections on and evaluations of more discrete techniques. Other studies that are concerned with method, in this sense of the word, are a defense against allegations that national character studies are haphazard and impressionistic (244); the methodological appendix to *Nine Soviet Portraits*, which shows how a series of Soviet types were synthesized from a variety of data (23); and an article that offers a warning based on Hopi test data (which recalls a similar point made by Thomas Hobbes) that traditional patterns of behavior, in this case noncompetitiveness, cannot always be taken as safe clues to actual motivations (69). How acculturation might be studied using the experimental psychologist's approach to perception is outlined by Goldstein

(126). Another paper looks at how language may be used to gauge the mental patient's perception of reality (288). One author proposes that clues to Gujarati (India) personality formation may be found in aspects of village social structure and in the local or national trends that help to shape personal and social life (359). Klineberg (196) programs the psychologist's role in international affairs.

Several methodological works examine the utility of the Rorschach test in cross-cultural research (138, 157, 192), and six papers evaluate aspects of work by specific men: Boas' psychology (202), Boas' and Benedict's pictures of Kwakiutl life (19, 55, 229), Lichtenberg's (328) contribution to psychoethnology, and Nadel's use of psychology (111). Field evaluations of the Machover figure-drawing and Goodenough draw-a-man tests find them largely inadequate for cross-cultural use (168, 275). Another study suggests that signs of aggression in the Thematic Apperception Test possess little validity (224). An attempt is also made to define Rorschach determinants in psychoanalytic terms (339). Experimental approaches to ethnography show that informed respondents used in data collection compared well to anonymous survey respondents in a study of shipboard morale (44) and also demonstrate that a sample of Canadian Indians selected for their availability did not deviate significantly from randomly selected subjects in the responses given to a single Behn Rorschach card (167). Two experiments were made to determine the advantages of photography in field work (59). A critical statistical analysis raises questions concerning the method followed in Whiting and Child's notable work, *Child Training and Personality* (399).

More specific examples of technical advice cover field procedure in general, including use of the Rorschach test (145); approaches to the study of child behavior and rearing (242, 255); "naturalistic recording" of interpersonal behavior (17); suggestions for training interviewers in other cultures (366); advice on applying the depth interview (128); discussion of what the question of validity involves when applied to psychoanalytic interpretations—a subject of potential interest to anthropologists who employ depth interviews (183, 326); the use of popular literature to discover cultural norms and values (7); a scheme for evaluating mental health (190); suggestions for the cross-cultural use of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality

Inventory (367); problems and procedures in participant observation (331, 380); and directions for using the Thematic Apperception Test (158, 159). Readers of this review may also find useful a summary of recent Rorschach literature (404). Mandelbaum suggests that one avenue to understanding a people's world view is to examine some recurrent and highly meaningful situation in their lives (233).

Primary Data

A project for collecting and storing the primary data on which anthropologists base their interpretations of personality materialized during the period under review. Two "volumes" of *Microcard Publications of Primary Records in Culture and Personality,* edited by Bert Kaplan (187), have so far been published. They contain Rorschach and TAT protocols, autobiographical materials, dreams, and children's school compositions, all from a world-wide selection of communities.

DESCRIPTIVE-ANALYTICAL

In this section we will call attention to work that clarifies personality systems found in different world areas. Titles listed here may also be discussed below under another heading. The geographical regions for grouping follows that used in the Human Relations Area Files (266).

Comparative

Investigations undertaken as part of the Indian Education Project are reported in a volume that compares the development of American Indian children in six tribes by means of five socio-psychological tests. These tests measure moral, emotional, and intellectual behavior. Data for New Zealand children are included for the first two attributes. The Indian tribes studied are the Hopi, Navaho, Papago, Sioux, Zia, and Zuni (147). In another book brief discussions of the cultural differences in bathing babies and meeting childhood rivalry in Bali, among the Iatmul, and in a Hollywood suburb are intended to supplement films on those subjects (243, 245). A study of American and Soviet themes and values derived from an analysis of pictures in popular magazines (392), like several anonymous short arti-

cles in Vol. 8 of *Explorations* (published by the University of Toronto Press, 1957) that deal with oral and anal characterizations of people, is only indirectly psychological in orientation. Muehlmann (264) attempts a comparison of Occidental and Oriental personality types using historical data and drawing on Weber's knowledge of eastern religions. Psychological aspects of abortion and illegitimacy are explored for a series of cultures by George Devereux (72, 79), and papers by Dorothy Lee compare attitudes toward individual autonomy (210, 212) and equality of opportunity (211). *The Varieties of Human Values* by Charles Morris (263) is an ambitious work that utilizes statistical analysis to interpret questionnaire data secured from the United States, Canada, Japan, India, China, and Norway. Two papers report on Mormon, Texan homesteader, Spanish-American, Zuni, and Navaho values (200, 384). Several prisoner-of-war studies throw light on various European and American personality syndromes (237, 375).

Asia

One full-length book falling outside the date limits of this article is concerned with the character structure of Rajputs in Rajasthan. It uses Rorschach as well as other data (48; see also 47). Steed (359) offers an analysis of Indra Singh, twenty-six-year-old "overlord," made against the background of his Hindu village culture. A study of the Kota reveals their preoccupation with peer relations; Kota men are not very worried about their life roles and show little anxiety in relation to women. Comparisons are made with other Indian villagers (233). One Rorschach-based study derives Indian personality from early permissiveness and a subsequently rigid behavioral code (13), while another (not seen) is reported to contrast Abors and Gallongs (300). Another investigation used newspaper reviews of Indian motion pictures to infer themes believed to have potential significance for understanding Indian national character (170). Of a different caliber are a popular approach to Indian social personality by the novelist Khushwant Singh (344), in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, December 18, 1955, and the letters in response published on January 8, 15, and 22, 1956. Of possible value for discovering Pakistan national character is a review of themes de-

rived largely from published speeches by national leaders (169). One report of Sinhalese personality finds considerable variation in infant feeding and toilet training and no reliable associations between those variables and personality characteristics (363). Another offers Rorschach material to support the hypothesis of a high degree of insecurity in Sinhalese children (365). For Japan there is a detailed study of early child rearing in Takashima with little extension of the interpretation to adult character structure (274). An attempt to test accounts of Japanese child rearing with urban family data (207) collected relevant information by questionnaires distributed to over 400 households. The data "would hardly account for any important personality differences in the behavior of Japanese and American children or adults unless certain minor differences in practice are assigned major influence in determining behavior." Another essay compares the "psychology" of the inhabitants of Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto (193; see also 355). Publications available for Asia (excluding the Middle East) also include notes on Vietnamese personality (222), an essay on "the spirit of Chinese culture" (52), and a study of Chinese conceptions of genital sexuality (393).

Europe

The principal sources for psychocultural writings about European people (exclusive of the Soviet Union) is the *Revue de psychologie des peuples* published by the Institute Harvais de Sociologie economique et de Psychologie des Peuples. The articles, however, are usually impressionistic, superficial, and often anecdotal. In the *Revue* we noted reports of the Alsatians (79); Catalonians (80); Dutch (83); English (15); Flemings (71); citizens of the former province of Languedoc (271); people of Liége (81), Luxembourg (82), Lyons (30), and Normandy (341); and the Romans (312). There is also a report on prisoners of war belonging to different nationalities and living together in a large German concentration camp (237). Several articles based on research on German, Russian, Jewish, and French children are included in *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures* (255). Useful for understanding French character is a review of new trends in French films (402). An ethnographic account of a Drents (Netherlands) village includes chapters on the

life cycle and character structure. The authors find the people sentimental, tense, hospitable, mostly reluctant to display leadership, and tending to subordinate their individual wills to that of the group (195). A book-length account of Norwegians is based chiefly on interviews covering family life, child rearing, sex roles, relations between the sexes, and political-religious trends. The orientation is not primarily psychological (309). A questionnaire also served for learning about socialization and certain relatively peripheral aspects of English personality (129).

Africa

Apart from comparisons of African intelligence and related psychological processes with those of European controls (161, 400) and reports on psychopathology (for which see p. 85 below), little psychocultural research has been reported for Africa south of the Sahara. British and American anthropologists continue to produce polished societal analyses with an occasional nod to the significance of personality differences within social structure (for such a nod, see 376). One more psychologically oriented approach uses essays by Bemba school children to discover occupational values and phantasies (296).

Middle East

However much attention current events in the Middle East may receive, personality factors remain neglected. One pertinent study constructs an "ethnotype" of the Lebanese character by ascertaining, with aid of a questionnaire, the proportions of such character traits as passion, cholera, sentimentality, and apathy (133). Another author applies the F-scale for authoritarianism to a sample of the Lebanese population (297). A volume on the Kurds reviews many casual observations by travelers on Kurdish character structure (272).

North America

We shall distinguish in this section between research on Indians and studies of Euroamericans. In the first category belongs a general description of how common core features of Amerindian personality function in variant tribal settings. Highly stable traits include "non-

demonstrative emotionality and reserve accompanied by a high degree of control over interpersonal aggression within the in-group;" generosity that varies in its emotional depth; respect for individual autonomy; ability to endure pain and frustration without any overt sign of discomfort; high evaluation of bravery; generalized fear of the world as dangerous; a "practical joker" strain; attention to concrete realities, and dependence on a supernatural power which is conceived of as determining one's fate (356). Another author indirectly warns against overgeneralizing about personality in a continental area. Despite their uniform cultural veneer the precontact Cheyenne and Comanche were different kinds of people (122).

The Navaho continue to be well represented in the literature. One report finds Navaho men more successful than women in adjusting to Euroamerican culture (139). The values of the Navaho together with those of other southwestern peoples are examined in several publications (5, 147, 199, 200, 384), and a study of Zuni values is also available (6). Test scores show that some Hopi children are more competitive than some white children (69). Another writer suggests that much can be learned from Hopi respect for individual differences (210). Devereux presents an analysis of the neuroticism of a Mohave shaman (73). Ute Rorschach data show personality to change with age, the assumption being that age is a valid index of the degree of assimilation to Euroamerican culture (145). The "moral advice" that figures in Klamath exhortations is related to their "compulsively ordered world" and to the socialization of children (351). A paucity of ethnographic data is blamed for the divergent views on Yurok psychodynamics held by different students (294), and Jacobs (182) offers observations on the world view of the Clackamas Chinook Indians. How complementary and noncomplementary values govern interaction between Canadians and Cree Indians is examined by Honigmann (166). Several writers have studied the problem that Hallowell introduced: the persistence of personality among the peoples of the Eastern Woodlands despite sociocultural change (35). Hallowell himself (136) discusses how Ojibwa (Chippewa) Indians maintain their sense of spatial orientation. Friedl (112) is concerned with the continuity of one personality trait among the Chippewa—"a detailed, practical, and noncreative approach to problems." She sug-

gests that the aboriginal Chippewa were habituated to change, for the "expectation that any given situation will be unique and shortlived in its consequences may well have resulted from . . . conditions of incessant change" and "such an expectation is congruent with the development of a detailed, practical, and noncreative approach to problems." The same conditions of change were maintained throughout Chippewa acculturation, "thus making it possible for the same expectations to continue and for the same approach to problems to continue to have some adaptive value."

Several of the articles on the Euroamerican population of North America treat American culture and character. Demands for conformity in Euroamerican culture continue to be noted by Riesman (307) among others (see, for example, 397). In a related vein, the docility of middle-class children in the schoolroom is ascribed not to authoritarian control but to fear of the loss of the teacher's love (153). Taking a lead from Riesman, one researcher (278) discovers that girls in a woman's college tend to ascribe inner-directedness to parents rather than peers and another (151) suggests that other-directedness is a function more of "migratory mobility" than of incipient population decline. A full-length book reports on an upper-middle-class Canadian suburb, including socialization techniques and values (334), and a briefer work examines the fears and hopes held by a new American middle class, "the intellectuals and discontented" (307). An inquiry into the mass media (171) calls attention to the way programs simulate a face-to-face relationship between performer and spectator (a trait perhaps similar to what Riesman in another context has called "false personalization"). Insights into American character structure are also contained in reflections on community life written by two anthropologists (28) who have subsequently published an ethnography of "Springdale," New York. Fromm has remarked that modern society needs the kind of man it has: one who wants to consume, whose tastes are standardized, who feels free yet can be commanded, and who worships the state. But modern man is alienated from himself because his center of reference is so far removed from his inner needs and potentials (113; see also 36, 114).

Consistent with the new trend, a number of papers deal with various aspects of American values (90, 91, 121, 250, 252). Included here

are a book-length survey (405) of the values of six ethnic groups ("Orientals," Mexicans, Negroes, Italians, Jews, and "middle-class American"), a look at Jehovah's Witnesses in the light of American values (38), and an essay on the image of scientists among high-school students (254). Work done under the auspices of the Harvard Values Project produces a report on Texan homesteaders' values, such as "hopeful mastery over nature," "living in the future," periodic hard work, a belief that some people are better than others, and a version of "rugged individualism" (383). Louisiana Creoles are also appraised in psychological terms (105). A cooperative report on the Doukhobors of British Columbia includes notes on the genesis of the social personality through child rearing and lists passivity, repression of aggression, and low frustration tolerance as characteristics of the people (148). The modal personality of Hutterite men in Canada and the United States is described. They are found to carry strong dependency needs which they expect to satisfy in a nurturant environment. Both achievement and recognition are goals of behavior, and there is a need for, and anticipation of, violent asocial aggression. Reaction-formation and denial are not important as defense mechanisms and much of the impulse life is recognized (190). Japanese-Americans are compared to white middle-class Americans in projective test responses and show a similarly high, positive achievement orientation (which is lacking in lower-class white Americans). These traits in Japanese-Americans tend to favor their success in conditions favorable to acculturation (49; see also 78). How increased proselytizing followed when the prophecies of a millenarian sect were not confirmed is the subject of a book dealing with a small and extreme sector of the American population (104).

Oceania

Mead's reexamination of Manus (248) relates features of character structure to the remarkably thorough change that transformed culture between 1928 and 1953. A study of the Cook Islands using the Rorschach test also relates personality factors to culture change and discusses the goodness-of-fit between character structure and other elements in culture (24). A socio-psychological approach is applied to the content and functions of rumor in Tikopia (110).

Mead's sketch "Life in Bali" provides background for two films, "Karba's First Years" and "Trance and Dance in Bali" (246). Dorothy Lee (213) points out how the Trobriand Islanders' nonlineal experience of reality contrasts with so much western thinking and evaluation that is "based on the premise of the line and of the line as good."

Russia

A useful article reviewing recent studies of Great Russian national character judiciously appraises work done in Harvard's Russian Research Center Project on the Soviet Social System and elsewhere. Statements by Russian leaders, it is pointed out, hold a view of the traditional Russian national character similar to that presented by western social scientists. The incidence of swaddling is examined, as is the direction in which Russian social personality is moving (198). Other contributions focus on the shift of child-training procedures from Tsarist to post-Revolutionary times in relation to the shift in social personality (177); utilize values to throw light on emphases in child rearing (253); compare authoritarian attitudes in matched Russian and American groups (26); look at the implicit Bolshevik reaction to the threat of enemy annihilation (218); and examine the case history of a youth who defected from the Soviet regime (25). Hanfmann (140) employed TAT's, Projective Questions, and several other techniques to discover how Russian subjects (displaced persons), as compared to a sample of Americans, perceive and evaluate other people.

Latin America

The fact that we did not consult Latin American sources may account for the few references to this region. Nonetheless, it is significant that in the material reviewed Latin America turned out to be in the main neglected by anthropologists and others interested in psychological matters. Gillin (120) offers a biographical analysis of a Guatemalan curer and also sketches Latin American dominant ideals, including individuality, *la dignidad de la persona,* masculinity, personalism, stratification, and a transcendental world view (119). The Rorschach responses of a cult priestess in Brazil are analyzed in

cultural terms in research primarily concerned with "Afrobrazilian divination" (304). From Jamaica, B.W.I., comes an excellent study of character structure and socialization (57).

PERSONALITY AS DEPENDENT ON CULTURE

The most popular kind of psychocultural research looks upon psychological traits as in some way, but not necessarily causally, dependent on sociocultural factors (for example, as arising out of some element in the socialization process, hinging on social class membership, or varying with ethnic group). In a broad way the same assumption is made in any comparative approach to personality. Hence it is implicit in the descriptive-analytical studies already referred to. Here, however, we speak of research that is more explicit in identifying the independent cultural variables.

Socialization

Several general essays have appeared: an inclusive theory of socialization using a combination of psychoanalytic and sociological concepts (286); an important symposium on education and anthropology (352; see also 55); a reexposition of how modes of learning relate to bodily zones (96); a discussion stressing the role of impersonal controls in personality patterning, including the child's observation of, and reaction to, what is going on around him (289); a textbook chapter with many cross-cultural illustrations (39). Three volumes offer material on child development in Europe and the United States (333, 350).

During the years under review some attention centered on the question of whether early learning, as compared with later, was particularly resistant to change. Hart generalizes that prepubertal education is loose, vague, unstandardized, and therefore responsible for considerable individual variation. In the Indian initiation schools the truly important and, presumably, more durable behavior is finally adopted by the child (143). Bruner maintains that what "is traditionally learned and internalized in infancy and early childhood tends to be most resistant to change in culture contact situations" (40, 41). Both hypotheses are applicable to certain Iroquois data (102). Exclusive attention to infant disciplines is held to be insufficient for cor-

rectly understanding early learning because such a viewpoint does not take proper note of values, family organization, economic setting, and the traditions of separate subcultures in personality formation (283).

A comparative approach using correlation techniques on a world-wide sample of cultures finds boys more subject to pressure toward self-reliance and achievement than girls (22). A statistically significant relationship between severity of socialization (using Whiting and Child's ratings) and complexity of design in art work is also reported (21). Disillusion with the mother figure and optimism are two motivating phantasies acquired in early life by Hindus (47). Class and rank systems are shown to be important for personality patterning among the Tlingit (280); emotion or affect in lifelong Hopi socialization helps give stability to personality and social structure (94). In another study, which looks for factors contributing to the persistence of personality among the peoples of the Eastern Woodlands, variation in parent-child interaction is demonstrated to correlate with different levels of acculturation. This indicates that for this area persistence of personality cannot be explained by assuming stable patterns of personality formation (35; see also 112). Collectivist education, specifically in Hutterite society and in an Israeli *kibbutz*, is examined for the way it maximizes conformity and promotes communal survival (186, 358; see also 148, 340). Mothers in Salt Lake City are shown to be altering child-rearing procedures by assimilating "psychiatric concepts" (58).

The period under review has seen a number of inquiries into the socialization influences of American education on foreign students, including specific studies of Indians (204, 205, 377), Norwegians (230), Swedes (332), and Germans (391), as well as more general studies (92, 225, 348). A similar approach is used in a study of colonial students in London (45). Two carefully worked out reports deal with the attempts of Chinese Communists to reeducate prisoners of war (223, 325).

Researchers continue to use social class as an independent variable influencing child-training procedures in Euroamerican culture, but consequent variations in personality are rarely sought. Two such

studies (146, 226) seek to understand differences between earlier investigations of child rearing in Newton, Massachusetts (239) and Chicago (67). Middle-class mothers have been found to be less severe in toilet training, to allow more aggression to be directed against them by the child, and also to show greater responsiveness to the child's crying (396). Parents of socially mobile, working-class boys in London have been found to hold a much more middle-class set of values than do even middle-class parents (163). The protected status of the middle-class adolescent and the influence of the peer group in socialization are said to shield adolescents from much stress in American culture (395; see also 116). An anthropologist suggests that additions to the cultural repertory for preservation of infants have made the early mother-child relationship less determinative than formerly. But cultural change also introduces a breach in the cultural tradition against which children need protection (241). A psychoanalyst believes that the western tendency to describe ambition and success by high-low imagery may reflect the child's position in relation to the father (273). That child-training practices in Euroamerican culture do not consistently depend on acceptance or rejection is brought out in a large-scale correlation study (338). However, a report from Sweden finds a direct relationship between authoritarianism in child-rearing practices and in political attitudes (398).

Other particular factors viewed in relation to Euroamerican socialization include status anxiety (66); the policeman (129); parental roles (185, 256, 315); newsmagazines and other documentary sources that serve as models for young people (249); fairy tales (329); peer groups (336, 395); and schools (352, 353). Margaret Mead explores the conditions favorable for the appearance of utopian ideals in culture (251). Four studies look at severe toilet training: one dismisses it as being without significance in the formation of the anal character (27); another sees it related to behavior in later life although not in the predicted fashion (31); a third is conventionally psychoanalytic in its reasoning (184); and the fourth sees it to be inversely correlated with Rorschach responses indicating anxiety or need for affection offered by Sinhalese children (363). The latter work also shows that the more indulgent and permissive the feeding experience of Sinha-

lese children, the greater the tendency to give Rorschach percepts indicating feelings of inadequacy and emotional disturbance. Eisenstadt (95) has written an important book dealing with types of youth groups and their correlates. Hawthorn (149), on the basis of Doukhobor data, discusses the significance of secret societies for personality formation. Two publications study childhood stress, one in general theoretical terms (267) and another in terms of how it is induced in Cheyenne society through culture change (8). One paper describes the socialization of the American composer (270). The findings that Japanese children are less attracted to technologically specialized occupations than American youngsters and more interested in business pursuits are pertinent for understanding socialization. In both countries boys and girls diverge sharply in occupational outlook (127).

Mental Health and Illness

Under this heading we included both published work that regards mental health or mental illness as dependent on culture and publications that treat psychiatry or psychotherapy comparatively. The period under review has seen great strides made in defining the subject matter of social psychiatry and in reviewing its problems, prospects, and history (54, 214, 215, 281, 282, 313, 317, 368).

In 1954 the first volume of *The International Journal of Social Psychiatry* was published and in 1956 the *Revue internationale d'ethnopsychologie normale et pathologique.* The dimensions of a still more general field of "medical ethnopsychology" have also been sketched (160; see also 260). Considerable early work in social psychiatry is summed up by Jules Henry (154) and M. K. Opler (282). S. B. Sarason and T. Gladwin (320) recently published a review of cultural background factors affecting intelligence test performance, including reports from non-European communities. Each volume of *The Yearbook of Neurology, Psychiatry, and Neurosurgery,* from 1954–55 to 1957–58, summarizes a few psychosocial studies and the article "Research on Psychosomatic Medicine" in *Psychiatric Research Reports* (Vol. 3, 1956) reviews pertinent material. More specific publications discuss the recognition and social role of the mental patient (64, 97);

the effect of child-rearing patterns on mental health (268); how the culture of a secret society may foster dissociation from reality (149; see also 104); the relationship of psychotherapy to its cultural setting (1, 34, 43, 337); and psychiatric factors stemming from public school desegregation in the Southern states (53).

Information concerning the distribution of psychopathology in a world-wide sample is provided in three issues of a *Newsletter, Transcultural Research in Mental Health Problems*, edited by E. D. Wittkower and J. Fried and published by the Department of Psychiatry of McGill University. The first number appeared in 1956. Other cross-cultural reviews include a new look at shared psychopathologies (134) and a bibliography of 512 references on psychopathology in other cultures (370). Witchcraft is compared to delusion with the warning that hasty identification of the two forms of behavior should be avoided (285). Psychiatry in Asian countries forms the subject of four papers (37, 87, 277, 299). Romantic faith in success and love are sources of tension present in Japanese socialization (176). Obsessive-compulsive disorders are reported to exist in China despite the absence of severe toilet training (65). Latah is reinterpreted as a form of "traumatic hysteria" (3). From Africa come reports of "possession hysteria" in Kenya (142); cultural factors in Yoruba paranoid psychosis (206); and hysteria in Sukumaland (369), as well as a suggestion that witchcraft in Ghana, where its incidence is increasing, may be neurotic in origin (108). The alleged increase of witchcraft is especially interesting and, of course, quite congruent with the more strictly social theories of witchcraft recently published by Marwick and others. One psychiatrist confesses himself to be at a loss in attempting to relate the diverse findings of mental maladjustment to characteristics of African culture (346). Some instances of deviant behavior are cited from Montserrat, B.W.I. (258), and an extreme form of disorientation in a Colombian pueblo is thought to be linked with the shift from Indian to Mestizo status (323). Several investigations into the use of alcohol and intoxicated behavior are represented in the literature, with the following peoples reported on: Finns (9, 321); Camba of Bolivia (150); other Andean Indians (234; see also 322); Salish (219); Aleuts (32); and New York City Cantonese (18).

A studied review of the relationship of group factors to alcholism is given by Trice (374), who points out that although we now are certain of a relationship between style of drinking and group membership, we are in the dark concerning mechanisms of learning.

Studies of mental illness seen in relation to Euroamerican culture are represented in a number of epidemiological publications that usually do not refer to specific, correlated cultural variables. These publications include preliminary reports of continuing projects like the Stirling Country Study in Nova Scotia (86, 216, 217) and the Midtown (New York City) Study (303). Social class variables are the subject of three papers (164, 191, 302). Ethnic group membership in Texas is the independent variable in two other reports (180, 181). Research duplicating Faris and Dunham's work finds no relationship between a real mobility and mental disorder in Oahu (327). The culture of British coal miners continues to be viewed as unfavorable for mental health (107). Investigations of Hutterites do not confirm the hypothesis that simple ways of life provide immunity from mental illness. Although psychosis rates in the community are below those of any contemporary Euroamerican group for which data are available, Hutterite personality fails to harmonize perfectly with ideal cultural demands (93, 190). Economic deprivation and competition are also cited as factors in mental disturbance (287, 209). One significant study demonstrates how a mental health education team's efforts to change attitudes in a Canadian town were defeated through anxiety stimulated by the project. Another essay discusses procedures and problems inherent in making or interpreting epidemiological surveys (220).

Mental Hospitals

Reports discussing the relation between therapy and sociocultural conditions in a mental hospital ward comprise two recent volumes whose orientation is primarily sociological (131, 132). Types of institutional structure, possibilities for maximizing the therapeutic effectiveness of psychiatric hospitals, and a frame of reference for understanding human relations in such an organization are the subjects of other specific work (156, 330, 345). Following a base-line description of a large psychiatric installation (63), several authors cooperate in

analyzing the organizational changes that led to improved patient care (61). Other accounts examine institutional culture from the perspective of psychotherapy (124, 152). The strains attendant on release from a mental hospital are also considered (342).

Processes in Acculturation

Following the lead given by Hallowell, American ethnology continues to pay close attention to the psychological concomitants of acculturation. The most ambitious work of this type to appear in this period is undoubtedly Spindler's Rorschach-based investigation of Menomini acculturation. Five categories of people are distinguished: the native oriented, peyote, transitional, lower-ranking assimilated, and elite assimilated. One end of this continuum represents individuals who seek to retain as much of traditional culture as possible and the other includes Indians who have adjusted successfully to the Euroamerican system of living. The three middle categories include those persons caught in culture conflict who reveal reactions to a stressful situation. Each of these five categories possesses a relatively distinct personality configuration (355). Other studies utilizing projective tests report on Japanese (78), Ute (145), Northern Cheyenne with TAT's (8), and several southwestern peoples (189). Another important development in acculturation studies has been the concept of revitalization movements. This term was coined by Anthony F. C. Wallace to designate attempts by a disorganized society to restore system and consistency in the socially standardized perception of reality (i.e., in the "mazeway"). Such resynthesis is often undertaken by disturbed individuals ("prophets") who keenly experience the stress that is also felt by other members of the group (386–90). A similar theory has been advanced by Voget in connection with Indian reformation movements (381, 382), and both are congruent with the thesis that crisis situations encourage ideological revaluation (373). The current literature pertaining to culture contact includes articles that propose a new typology of nativism (10), probe the socio-psychological functions of a new contra-acculturation movement in the West Indies (343), and examine the adjustive functions of peyotism (84). Two reformulations of the "marginal man" concept, the second being tested on Lac Court Oreilles Chippewa

Indian children, may also be cited here (11, 194; in connection with the latter see also 8). Spiro (357) provides a comprehensive review of American ethnic group acculturation. Serious depopulation in a rural Swedish community is shown to have rendered much previously adjustive behavior inappropriate and to have created insecurity (179).

Psychological Traits and Social Structure

Studies falling into this category frequently stress class membership and involve Euroamerican communities, hence it is not surprising that sociologists and psychologists should predominate in the research. Apart from the identification of the independent variable (i.e., the relevant class) little further cultural material is drawn upon in the studies that correlate conceptions of woman's role (378), experimental striving by children (88), and competition in preschool children (240) to differential social (usually lower and middle) class membership. We are told once more that the milieu of the lower-class child does not reinforce school values; hence his adjustment problems in the classroom (372). Florence Kluckhohn's (238) value schema used in conjunction with the TAT on a sample of Harvard freshmen allow differences in personality to be demonstrated between upper- and middle-class subjects.

In somewhat different form the structural approach is also illustrated by data from other cultures. Thus Hopi, Ghetto Jewish, and Hutterite cultures are used to pretest the hypothesis that high anxiety levels in such tightly integrated and threatened communities is induced by cultural means and possesses an adaptive function. Lowering of defenses might release behavior destructive to the group's survival (340). Another approach to social cohesion maintains that in association with patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence men acquire many potentially conflicting commitments in the community. Men cannot rely on the full support of a "solidarity group" in trying to solve such conflicts through direct aggression, and aggression is therefore suppressed and deflected outward (269). The social function of shame is said to lie in the control that man must exercise over sexual excitement lest sex interfere with the performance of social roles (16). In addition to its positive functions, *compadrazgo* also

imposes "psychologically constricting and socially enervating restraints" (324).

Disaster

The psychocultural aspects of the threat, impact, and aftermath of disaster are considered in detail in a book-length essay (401) as well as in shorter works (42, 261). Several instances of disaster are analyzed in a symposium edited by Demerath and Wallace (68).

Other

Reactions to obscenity must be understood in terms of a particular culture. In any case, such reactions are dynamically related to material that is supposed to be kept under repression (203). The dependence of "magical" beliefs and other "superstitions" on emotional factors means they will not disappear automatically as technology develops (236). In general fashion, without making much use of comparative data, cultural factors influencing attitudes toward death and bereavement are explored in relation to mental health (385). A relatively high *F* (authoritarianism) score in southern college Negroes compared to non-Negroes is discussed in terms of the cultural factors likely to be responsible (347).

CULTURE AS DEPENDENT ON PERSONALITY

In contrast to the large amount of work done to discover those psychological traits that are functionally or causally related to antecedent cultural factors, relatively little effort is apparent in making factors of personality the independent variable. According to this point of view, not only climate, economics, history, but also fundamental human wishes help to pattern social relations; the latter constitute the "biopsychological determinants" of social life (265). A rather extreme psychoanalytic approach, of the type that derives humor, deities, war, gambling, and the like from psychodynamic processes (such as the residue of the oedipal situation), is conspicuous in recent research. Such studies appear to overlook the caution that the use to which a cultural form is put should not be confused with the "aims" of the institution (276).

Well-documented and more or less general studies that make psychological factors the independent variable have connected cul-

tural change to conducive aspects of the community's character structure (24, 248); social problems in America to threatened social values (257); choice of farming as an occupation to traditional rural values as well as to other factors (364); sociocultural integration and continuity to adaptive anxiety (340); authoritarian ideologies to increased dependence on parental images, the dependence itself being encouraged during periods of economic distress (89); attitudes toward Russia in American men to several personality characteristics (349); a highly defensive style of interview behavior in Frenchmen to French skepticism (221); and gossip to a number of motivational sources (360). An important paper views the social structure and religion of the Fox and other Central Algonkin Indians as dependent on a certain conception of interpersonal relations. This conception is contrasted to one that is traditional in European culture (259). Thelen (371) presents a broad theory relating work in groups to emotional factors. How values and anxieties can influence cooperation with public health programs of one kind or another is revealed in several of the cases comprising *Health, Culture and Community*, edited by Benjamin Paul (288).

Literature and Art

Barnouw (19) analyzes a Chippewa origin legend as if it were an individual's phantasy production and says that if such an approach possesses validity "it must be on the assumption that a 'basic personality' was formerly characteristic of the Chippewa" and that it "selected and retained those patterns of culture or themes of folklore . . . which were most congenial to 'its' dominant interests." Changes spontaneously introduced in the *hora*, a popular Israeli folk dance, during the period of developing national solidarity and active fighting, are interpreted as symbolic of aggressive activity and individual initiative. The innovations dropped out when the active fighting ceased (305). Analysts of cultural phantasies will be interested in experimental findings confirming the hypothesis that individuals insulted by an experimenter and given opportunity to express aggression in phantasy would subsequently display less aggression toward the experimenter (103). Two studies published in France relate music to European national character (117, 291).

War, Games, and Sports

Farber (98, 100), reviewing the psychoanalytic theory of war, brings forward his experimental findings showing political aggression to be a function of anality. Strachey (362) looks as the unconscious motives in war (not seen). Hostility is apparently not very significant in gambling (29) and ball games, notably cricket (361), but it is definitely present among those who enjoy bullfighting (175) and chess (109).

Religion, Divination, and Money

Two papers interpret Hindu deities (Kali and Krishna) in psychoanalytic terms (51, 301) and several essays perceive ritual to grow out of the anxiety that it in turn helps to reduce (50, 403). In a posthumous contribution Róheim (311) looks at some psychologically based aspects of "Semitic monotheism." A skillful analysis interprets scapulimancy as functioning adaptively in time of psychological uncertainty by randomizing behavior. The technique prevents successes of past hunts from playing too large a part in determining where men will in the future look for game (262). Neurotic attitudes toward religion are described (316), and two Freudian interpretations explore possible origins of the significance of money, the second in the context of Yurok culture (70, 295).

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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The literature on social organization for the three-year period 1955–57 has been impressive in terms both of quantity and of quality. I have sought in this paper to offer an extensive coverage rather than a selective critical survey. Inevitably, however, there has been some selection, in view of the limitations of time and to some extent of the availability of sources, and the selection does constitute a partial criticism of the relevance and significance of a given article.

One of the major purposes of a review of this kind is to provide summaries of publications on social organization for the benefit of the student and nonspecialist. It is to be regretted, therefore, that many of the papers and monographs in this field (especially in kinship studies) are so technical that brief accounts of them may increase the difficulty of understanding the original contributions. Collation of these sources may nevertheless serve to refer the reader to important methodological and theoretical advances that have been made in recent years.

To avoid duplicating materials discussed elsewhere in this volume, I have not considered articles dealing with political and economic organization. Otherwise, the sections that follow represent the problem areas that have attracted the interest and concern of anthropologists working in the field of social organization.

THEORY

The most notable contribution to the general theory of social structure for the 1955–57 period was unquestionably Nadel's (81) provocative monograph. Completed shortly before his death, the volume has been hailed by Fortes in an introductory tribute as "des-

tined to be one of the great theoretical treatises of twentieth-century social anthropology." The core of the study is a formal, rigorous analysis of role theory, considered as the basis for the depiction of social structure at varying degrees of abstraction. Throughout the work, Nadel makes use of a "calculus" of symbolic logic in an attempt to add to the rigor and precision of his formulations. He explicitly excludes concepts of utility, purpose, or "function," although his criteria of "command over persons and benefits" make allowance for the possibility of articulating these concepts with the structural framework.

A summary of the topical divisions of the monograph will indicate the range of theoretical issues dealt with: (1) problems of role analysis: conformity and deviance; (2) the coherence of role systems; (3) degrees of abstraction; (4) structure, time, and reality; (5) structure and function. It will be possible to note only a few features of Nadel's presentation here, since full justice to the development of his argument would require extended discussion. One such feature is a taxonomy of role types, based on the cross-cutting variables of *recruitment* vs. *achievement* and *dependence* vs. *independence*. Recruitment roles involve "contingent" properties, over which the individual has no control; "dependent" roles are those whose definition requires actual relationships between the actors. With these specifications, the qualities of the contrasted roles will be obvious.

From the standpoint of logic, role is treated as a class concept, and consequently role systems are expected to manifest logical cleavages. Taken together with the frequent "factual dissociation" of roles, a comprehensive, formal statement of the nature of the role network becomes difficult. Nadel examines three possible methods of abstracting from concrete human relationships a positional picture that would overcome the difficulties noted—by means of sociometry, interaction frequency, and small group studies—but he rejects these approaches as incomplete. Instead, he proposes two related criteria for synthesizing "the efficacy of role and relationships in numerous situations": differential command over another's action, and differential command over benefits and resources. Even so, at this level of abstraction structural analysis necessarily fragments the

"universe of discourse"; it is incapable of depicting whole societies. Indeed, Nadel concludes that the strictly positional picture of society provided by a rigorous pursuit of structural goals has little informative value—the merit of the approach lies in the various analytic steps (which may provide basic understanding of the working of a society) that precede the final abstraction.

The progressive sophistication of theory in social anthropology that is exemplified by Nadel's formulation may be gauged by reference to Radcliffe-Brown's (94) statements (originally presented in 1937) on the nature of a theoretical natural science of society. This essay, a transcript of a seminar presentation, has been available in a mimeographed version for some time, so that Radcliffe-Brown's general position is widely known. He maintains that a social system, by virtue of being based upon the distinctive feature of social relationships, is a natural persistent system; and hence that it can be properly analyzed by only one theoretical discipline—a comparative natural science of society, capable of examining social systems of diverse types. Outlining the major methodological problems of such an approach, Radcliffe-Brown points to certain basic general questions that continue to be fundamental foci for research: problems of taxonomy and morphology; of the persistence of systems (in Radcliffe-Brown's terms, "how they function"); and of the change in type that social systems undergo.

Gluckman's (40) eminently readable little volume is devoted to the examination of a single theoretical proposition in a series of diverse, concrete situations derived from African data. His position in brief is that custom engenders conflict in particular social areas, but at the same time limits the overt expression of conflict by setting up conflicting loyalties which, over time or in the context of the larger society, promote social cohesion. Among the Nuer, for example, divisions of purpose are created in the heart of the vengeance group by conflicting loyalties fostered, above all, by residential arrangements and marriage rules. This pressure of conflicting social ties brings about "the peace in the feud"—disputes tend to be settled and the social order maintained. Similar processes can be discerned in other areas for other societies; Gluckman documents the process for the working of "hostility to authority, of estrangements within

the elementary family, of witchcraft accusations and ritual, and even in the colour-bar."

The assessment in *Man and Culture* (edited by R. Firth) of Malinowski's contribution to the study of social organization provides occasion for comments of theoretical interest, most notably by Fortes (34) and Parsons (88). Fortes maintains that Malinowski's view of kinship as a single, integral institution prevented effective analysis. Malinowski did not lack productive ideas in this sphere—Fortes points to his theory of the incest taboo, to the principles of legitimacy and the initial situation, and so on. Nevertheless, the life-history approach results in a "piece-meal presentation" of kinship structure, and the emphasis on emotion and sentiment at the expense of rights and duties leads to the distortion of empirical data. Thus, for Malinowski, " 'circumvention of the law,' " the " 'defiance of solidarity,' " is somehow more "real" than the rules themselves. In Fortes' words: "What he is doing is to turn the facts inside out, so to speak."

Parsons, examining the theory of social systems, including the motivation of social behavior, finds Malinowski's contributions unimpressive, except for his classification of cultural imperatives and responses. To be sure, Malinowski's categories of Economics, Social Control, Education, and Political Organization require some modification, but "the four basic categories and particularly the number four" can be considered a master classification "of the functional imperatives of any social system, or indeed any system of action."

As a counterpoise to the concept of social structure, Firth (27) has proposed the concept of "social organization," which is intended to account for aspects of social life characterized by choice and the decision-making process. In a more recent paper (28), he is concerned with the delineation of "principles" of social organization—the factors that provide a more flexible "standard of reference for behavior" than the principles defining the order of social structure. In situations that present alternatives, decisions are made on the basis of certain "guiding themes or attitudes," which Firth terms "principles or postulates of social organization." He identifies seven principles: responsibility, status involvement, accommodation, economy of effort, coordination, basic compensation (a generalized type

of reciprocity), and foresight. Presumably in keeping with the "adjustable" character of organization, these principles are not provided with specific definitions but are sketched out by example and illustration. Thus Firth cites a Tikopian crisis centering on problems posed for the islanders by a sick and aging chief to demonstrate the operation of the principles of responsibility and accommodation. With the aid of these principles, Firth believes, problems in a number of spheres of social activity can be clarified, including "the sphere of allocation of rights and duties among persons"; "the sphere of range of social recognition" (for example, the operation of the principle of economy of effort may explain the decreasing extension of kinship obligations to more remote kin called by primary kin terms); "the sphere of resolution of conflict" (for example between two structural principles); and "the sphere of social control."

A set of interconnected hypotheses centering on the significance of spatial proximity for kinship structure permits Titiev (112) to advance solutions to a number of classic problems of kinship, with particular emphasis on varieties of cross-cousin marriage. The basic propositions that he sets forth emphasize: (1) the critical importance of a child's natal kin, with whom the child shares common residence; (2) the role of the incest taboo, requiring the establishment of relations with different natal units at marriage; (3) the suspicion of affinal kin in "genuinely primitive societies," which favors exchanges between two sets of natal kin and cross-cousin marriage; (4) the fact that newlyweds rarely live apart from the natal kin of at least one party to the marriage, so that unilocal residence is fostered. Titiev contends that when empirical materials are examined in the light of these postulates, certain of the implications of cross-cousin marriage, as well as of other kinship features, emerge in fresh perspective. Thus the complexities of Ashanti double descent disappear when the system is reconstructed as involving bilateral cross-cousin marriage, coupled with two exogamous matrilineal and patrilineal groups. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage is considered to be a function of "primitive space," the matrilateral variety being associated with a "unilocal, patrilocal (Omaha) system," and the patrilateral with Crow-type, unilocal, matrilocal systems. In both cases, the principle that a man cannot marry the offspring of one of his

natal kin is involved. There is also the expectation, in the Omaha instance, that a man will establish affinal ties with his mother's natal group—the MoBrDa pattern fits this requirement. Conditions in the Crow case are the reverse. (An instructive comparison may be made with Homans and Schneider's explanation of unilateral cross-cousin marriage, and with the de Sousberghe materials, which are discussed below, pp. 132–33.) Finally, Titiev notes that harmonious relations between alternate generations may represent not the absence of authority relations at the grandparental level, but the fact that grandfather and grandson are often members of the same societal subdivision.

REVIEWS

Only three papers have been classified as reviews for the period under consideration, but these three merit extended consideration. Eggan's (19) synoptic treatment of "methods and concepts" and "results and prospects" in social anthropology is an important presentation of the views of one of the leading American students of social organization. Remarking on the differences in approach between "British social anthropologists" and "American ethnologists," Eggan also notes areas of agreement in substantive studies; he emphasizes the significance of the distinction between culture and society, since there may be independent variation with respect to pattern and integration, for example. He stresses the utility of the comparative approach for purposes of generalization, and expresses a preference for "smaller scale" comparisons "with as much control over the frame of comparison as it is possible to secure."

In the second portion of the paper Eggan summarizes the current state of research on the kinship patterns and social organization of native North America, assessing both recent contributions and further research needs in each of the major culture areas. He directs particular attention to cross-cousin marriage as being the key to an understanding of the variable descent and residence patterns of the Northern Algonkin tribes. Evidence for the presence or former presence of cross-cousin marriage in this region, together with data on changes in the systems that took place during acculturation, does not confirm Murdock's scheme for the evolution of social organiza-

tion. The North American data, Eggan concludes, suggest two major types of social structure: a type based on unilineal descent, where kin are aggregated on the lineage principle; and a bilateral type, emphasizing generational features and the principle of sibling unity. Cross-cousin systems may constitute a third major type of structure, or perhaps important subdivisions of the other two types. Unilineal systems may have a corporate and complex organization; they "represent essentially specialized adaptations to relatively stable conditions." Bilateral structures are "shallow in depth but wide ranging" and more flexible in adapting to changing conditions. Cross-cousin systems are tightly knit and bilateral in character, though unilineal emphases may also develop.

Firth's (29) review of the concept of function assesses the contemporary use of a concept that was once a center of anthropological controversy. The controversy has died down; today one finds a "relative lack of interest in reexamination of the concept itself but a readiness to utilize the notions it has developed." Anthropologists who lack familiarity with current sociological contributions to the analysis of function will find Firth's treatment of the views of Parsons, Merton, Homans, and Levy particularly illuminating. He finds it possible to distinguish four major emphases in the use of function among sociologists and anthropologists:

> (1) function as the *activity* of object or entity; (2) function as *relation of interdependence* with activities of other objects or entities—the contextual identification; (3) function as relation of interdependence of *special quality,* e.g., in regard to requirements or ends such as maintenance of a social system, this quality being positive or negative in character; and (4) function as *consequence of structure.* ([29], p. 244.)

Firth holds that this last sense of function is not the most general statement, as Levy contends, unless structure is attributed to every object or entity—a view that in turn raises other problems of theory. Firth's examination of a number of recent studies in which functional propositions are implied supports his conclusion that contemporary research has emphasized "more refined and substantial propositions" to supplant "sterile verbal battles" about the meaning of the concept.

Recent evidence of a greater concern with "dynamics or process"

is viewed by Murdock (78) as heralding the scientific coming-of-age of studies in social structure. Static approaches are yielding to dynamic along two major fronts: (1) a "time continuum," characterized by increasing sophistication in the study of change in social organization owing to the integration of the functional and historical viewpoints; (2) concern with the life history of the individual, not only in terms of personality dynamics, but also in terms of developmental processes in social organization, where the shifting foci of differentiated roles of the individual add another dimension for study. Thus in societies in which the analysis of group structures is made difficult by age-status shifts in goals and behavior, "basic patterns may often be better revealed by the life histories of reasonably successful individuals than by demographic analysis." Murdock cites the Ashanti as one example: their residence patterns may be classed as avunculocal on the grounds that the ideal of Ashanti males is to head an avunculocal extended family and that this goal is achieved often enough to maintain motivation. Recent studies mentioned by Murdock that exemplify the growing concern with dynamics and process are reviewed in other contexts in this chapter.

KINSHIP STRUCTURE

Unilineal Systems

Theoretical analysis and systematic description of lineage structure remained a focus of interest for social anthropologists during 1955–57. Problems of the political dimension of segmentary lineages, which received considerable attention, will not be discussed here. Particularly noteworthy, although not especially new, is the emphasis on the collection of statistical information and its application to problems of definition and variation in lineages and domestic units. The concept of the "social drama" proposed by Turner (114) is in part an attempt to add a further dimension to numerical data by means of detailed, carefully selected case studies. Segmentation processes and their structural implications have been discussed from several points of view and will be detailed below. Finally, recent insistence upon the importance of the stratification variable for the analysis of unilineal systems points up a factor that has received little explicit attention.

Typologies. In an important paper, Fried (36) argues that form and corporate function cannot provide an adequate cross-cultural classification of unilineal descent groups, and proposes a typology that includes as variables "type of descent (stipulated or demonstrated), the presence or absence of ranking, and the presence or absence of stratification." It will be evident that this scheme departs most radically from previous taxonomies in its emphasis on the variable of stratification, which Fried divides into "rank" and "stratification." The basic theoretical framework of the paper represents the evolutionary approach utilized increasingly by American anthropologists, which warrants the paper an extended discussion here.

In order to illustrate the variation in unilineal systems a matter that is ignored in cross-cultural comparisons based upon criteria of form, Fried briefly analyzes kinship structure among the Northern Tungus, the Nuer, the Tikopians, the Swazi, and the Chinese. The five systems exhibit a wide range of difference with respect to the extent of (1) coincidence of kin group and community, (2) corporate functions; (3) homogeneity of membership, with "latent" ranking found among the Nuer and both rank and stratification among the Chinese. Criteria that delimit the corporate unilineal descent group are established, as are the variables that distinguish subclasses of the phenomena, that is, descent (whether demonstrated or stipulated), ranking, and stratification. Stipulated descent separates clans from lineages. Ranking involves the simultaneous presence of three factors: a limited number of positions of high prestige; an assignment to these positions on the basis of criteria other than age, sex, or personal qualities; and the *objective* character of the hierarchy of statuses. Stratification develops when group members of the same sex have "differential rights of access to strategic resources." Permutations of the variables of descent, ranking, and stratification result in eight basic types of corporate unilineal groups: equalitarian clans and lineages; ranking clans and lineages; stratified clans and lineages; ranking and stratified clans and lineages.

Fried takes note of an earlier paper by Kirchhoff (57) that attacked problems of unilineal kinship in terms of the stratification variable. From the perspective of "multilinear evolution," Kirchhoff distinguished between "equalitarian" and "conical" clans; the latter

he found to be of critical evolutionary significance, since a hierarchical clan system may give rise to class divisions. Equalitarian clans are characterized by unilineal descent, equality of group membership, and exogamy. The conical clan, on the other hand, stresses the degree of relationship to the common ancestor; group membership is differentiated, all members except siblings occupying different statuses; ambilaterality, as well as unilineality occurs; genealogies are kept; exogamy is not a requisite for the group. In such a clan important social, economic, and religious functions are prerogatives of a subgroup of "aristoi," an arrangement that encourages specialization and social differentiation and may lead eventually to the development of classes.

Fried has pointed to certain theoretical and empirical difficulties in the Kirchhoff formulation; he also takes issue with Kirchhoff's assumption that equalitarian and conical clans are temporal equivalents. A "more thoroughgoing" evolutionism, Fried holds, views the conical clan as emerging from the equalitarian variety, and depending upon the latter's prior existence.

Patrilineal systems. As might be expected contributions dealing with patrilineal institutions are more numerous than those concerned with other unilineal forms. The studies reported here have been arranged on a geographical basis for convenience, at the expense of some overlapping of problem areas.

Segmentation processes among the Yoruba are examined by Lloyd (67) and Schwab (104). Lloyd is particularly concerned with the role of the political element in segmentation in this patrilineal, patrilocal system, which involves the division of lineages into from two to four segments that share in rotation the right of succession to a chieftaincy title. For these segments equality of generation depth is less important for fission than population size. Schwab's report is a detailed examination of segmentation in a single Yoruba community, within which he finds greater regularity in processes of fission and fusion than Lloyd notes for the Yoruba generally. Agnatic descent and generation difference are critical for the differentiation of segments within the large corporate localized patrilineage; segmentation tends to occur in the third generation. However, segmentation also takes place with reference to maternal affiliation;

within the polygynous family, children are divided on the basis of maternal origin and fission may occur along the lines of full siblings. Lloyd indicates that inheritance is the key to this type of segmentation, since property acquired by a man's own efforts is divided among all his wives who have sons.

The composition and functions of the family, household, and minor lineage among the Konkomba are examined by Tait (111), who offers an admirably detailed statistical comparison of ideal and actual patterns of these social forms. The household, centered on the family, grows from an elementary unit to a polygynous grouping, and infrequently to an extended or "expanded" (i.e., a fraternal group) family. An interesting feature of this patrilineal, patrilocal segmentary system is that men marry at a relatively late age; consequently, the length of the male generation is exceptionally long, and its length an element of stability in the minor lineage and household that would otherwise be lacking. The household, although a multifunctional unit, is linked closely to the minor lineage, which is the largest unit of domestic organization. The avoidance of proscriptions—including the prohibition of incest within these groups—and the exclusion of sorcery helps to provide integration.

Müller's (77) description of the agnatic, segmentary lineage system of the Ekonda (Belgian Congo) provides occasion for an analysis of the degree of fit between "ethno-sociological" ideal types, as developed by Thurnwald, Kirchhoff, and Murdock, and ethnographic reality. He finds that these classification schemes require modification if they are to represent concrete instances with accuracy. Thus Müller shows that the definitions of the clan proposed by Thurnwald and Murdock cannot be applied to the Ekonda situation, and suggests that Ekonda groups are best defined by taking account of the order of lineage segmentation. The descriptive materials are of somewhat greater interest; with respect to segmentation, for example, Müller indicates that population increase is the critical factor in fission.

One feature of contemporary interest that will be apparent from the preceding accounts, and that recurs in various forms in other reports, is the problem of the relationship between observed activity and some other standard. The observed activity may be represented

by statistical information or by a more abstract presentation by the observer; the other standard selected for comparison ranges from cross-cultural taxonomic devices to actors' categories. More than one standard may be considered; thus Müller takes into account "native conceptualizations" of Ekonda group structure. Another type of "standard" comparison is utilized in Dieterlen's (15) study of the links between present-day Dogon social organization and Dogon cosmology and mythology. Genealogies of the mythical ancestors correlate with divisions of modern Dogon social groupings, as well as with the varieties of types of marriage, with the rights to land and its usufruct, and with the allocation of authority. Marriage preferences and exogamy are related to a complex theory of human personality involving the differential inheritance through males and females of eight cereal grains believed to reside in the clavicles. In the ideal marriage each partner is one of twins; MoBrDa or FaSiDa marriage is preferred, since these provide appropriate combinations of the cereal grains, and enhance the possibility of producing the highly desired twins. Dieterlen does not offer a systematic interpretation of the striking similarities between myth and social "reality." Her paper exemplifies the strong interest in the description of native cosmology and mythology often found among modern French ethnologists.

The close correspondence between the sociological constructs of Asiatic steppe-pastoralists and the analytic distinction between principles and structures of social organization in social anthropology is a major theme of Krader's paper (58). He emphasizes that the differential ranking of collateral descent lines in these strongly patrilineal societies plays a significant part in providing the basis for the development of classes and of political organization of a state type. Steppe societies that are patrilineal but that lack the hierarchical arrangement of unilineal kin groups, are characterized by a minimum of internal political organization. Whereas in many societies corporate lineages are the critical elements in the political structure, among steppe-pastoralists the corporate units are the extended family, the kin village, and the clan.

The distinctive features of Brahman kinship in a Tamil village, discussed by Gough (50), reflect two critical sets of variables: Brah-

man occupations, subsistence means, and caste position; and the moral values of Hinduism. The depth and structure of patrilineal groups, residence, and the structure of interpersonal relationships within the kinship units (stressing asymmetrical relations of authority and subordination) are functions of the first variable. Religious values influence attitudes toward women, filial piety, and methods for dealing with aggression in kinship relations. The contrasting features of non-Brahman, low-caste groups support Gough's assessment of the significance of these variables for the structure and function of Brahman kinship.

Comparing two New Guinea patrilineal systems, Salisbury (98) suggests that stable and static populations may be associated with truncated genealogies and with the conceptualization of group solidarity in terms of an emphasis on local and ceremonial ties. Thus the Siane, despite the five levels of segmentation distinguished by the author, do not reckon genealogies beyond the grandparental generation. Mobile and expanding populations, on the other hand, may favor lengthy genealogies, by way of providing an appearance of stability in a shifting situation. Another New Guinea society, the Mbowamb, manifests these expected characteristics.

Historical data and field materials are combined by Faron (25) to offer fresh perspective on the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Evidence is presented to show that although this society was patrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish conquest, the appearance of the Omaha terminology is a recent phenomenon. Increased emphasis on patrilineality, and the development of the Omaha system, was facilitated by older cross-generational patterns of WiBrDa marriage, and the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo.

An extended reexamination of some aspects of "Murngin" (Wulamba) social organization by Berndt (6) includes recent field data and a discussion of theoretical analyses, particularly that of Leach. Berndt's paper led to an exchange of letters with Radcliffe-Brown, who questioned the significance of Berndt's analysis of the role of the Wulamba "corporate descent group." Familiarity with previous work on the Wulamba is essential for understanding the points of view advanced in these papers.

Matrilineal systems. Contemporary concern with the documentation of structural regularities, and the systematic presentation of case materials illuminating the "active" aspect of social structure, are central features of two first-rate monographs dealing with African matrilineal systems. Turner's (114) study of Ndembu and Mitchell's (74) of Yao provide a wealth of statistical data to supplement structural statements defining the critical features of the two systems. Although both systems have matrilineal descent, Ndembu, with its small villages, spatial separation of generations, virilocal marriage, and adelphic succession, contrasts sharply with the more stable Yao system which is based on a well-defined lineage, with uxorilocal marriage and nepotic succession.

Turner's concept of the "social drama" makes his handling of his case material particularly effective. Concrete data are derived from a series of crises that takes place in a single typical village over a twenty-year period. Four stages in the development of the social drama are recognized: a breach of the norms occurs; crises follow, in which the breach widens and may be extended to the dominant village cleavage; adjustive and redressive mechanisms are brought into play; and reintegration or a recognition of the schism ensues. The social dramas testify to the endemic nature of conflict, but at the same time they highlight the mechanisms that enable conflicts to abet group unity and continuity for the society as a whole. In another paper (113) Turner analyzes in detail the function of the spatial separation of generations in the integration of the Ndembu village.

Mitchell (74) places less stress on the theoretical significance of Yao case materials, which were selected to show how structural uniformities operate amid the welter of concrete activities in Yao life. In a sophisticated analysis, the development of the structurally critical sorority groups by differentiation of sibling groups within the lineage is examined with reference to problems of village integration and related to the political system.

Fresh perspective on the development and functions of the matrilineal clans of the Western Apache is provided in two studies by Kaut (55, 56), which bring together historical and structural viewpoints. Comparison of the kinship systems of the Southern Athapas-

proto-Apachean system. The lineal emphasis among Western Apache was made possible, in Kaut's opinion, by the introduction of agriculture, which reduced the amount of territory required for subsistence. With the evolution of clans, a phratry organization of linked clans replaced the territorially organized band as the unit of maximal structural importance. Kaut's view that marriage patterns among some local groups reflect a former preference for FaSiDa marriage has been challenged by White (117), who maintains that the statistical patterns are a function of the limitation of the choice of mates.

Matrilineal, matrilocal organization in the central Carolines, an area of strictly limited land resources, is examined by Stillfried (109). He distinguishes six levels of kinship units, ranging from the nuclear family to the large exogamous clan, and including a "ramage," which develops through the fission of lineages in the same political district but is not a stratified grouping. The analysis of the political district is somewhat obscure; Stillfried seems to think that the patrilateral ties among the matrilineages make a nonexogamous patrilineal kin group the foundation of the district, but it is difficult to see how this operates. Since the kinship terminology is of the "Hawaiian" type, it is suggested that matrilineal features in this area are recent, and have not yet influenced terminological patterns.

Variations in culture elements among the matrilineal Khasi, Lyngngam-Khasi, and Garo constitute the theme of Ehrenfels' (20) paper on these interesting groups of Assam. Kinship structure is not of major interest, although Ehrenfels suggests that the firm integration of polygyny and MoBrDa marriage in both Lyngngam and Garo, and the absence of these in Khasi, is evidence for a transmission of the matrilineal practices of the Khasi to the Garo through the Lyngngam.

Double descent systems. Problems of double descent have been treated from several points of view in the work of Goody (47, 48) and Gibson (38). Goody's monograph on the LoWiili includes a comprehensive analysis of a system of double unilineal descent that lacks the matrilineal inheritance of movable wealth. He believes that early fission of the patri-groups in this society is related to the emphasis on the sharing of animal sacrifices, which requires a "small and intimate group." On the other hand, the dual descent system of the LoDagaba vests title to land and houses in the patriclans, and

to movable property (i.e., the surplus of production) in the matriclans. Goody hypothesizes that double inheritance systems work effectively in egalitarian societies, but that the strain introduced by economic differentiation favors the patrilineal element at the expense of the nonresidential matrilineal units. A similar problem has been considered by Ward (115) with reference to the patrilineal Glidyi and Anglo Ewe, tribes in which the personal property acquired by a man is transmitted through the maternal line. The Glidyi attempt to deal with potential strain in this system by a reciprocal exchange of brides between two patriclans, whereas the Anglo encourage, but do not require, marriage between different lineages of the same clan.

Correlates of double descent among the Herero are analyzed by Gibson (38) in terms of a frame of reference which assesses conjunctive and disjunctive forces of the dual unilineal organization. The local patrilineal segments are found to be primarily disjunctive; balance is achieved by the dispersed matrilineages, which provide the conjunctive force to bind the segments together and maintain social integration.

Other Aspects of Kinship Structure

Nonunilineal systems. The necessity of enlarging upon the familiar distinction between unilineal and bilateral descent groups in order to deal with findings from the Oceanic area is emphasized in papers by Goodenough (42) and Firth (32). Both papers point to the existence of descent groups of a corporate nature in which both parents are eligible for membership assignment but some kind of selectivity (perhaps on the basis of land rights or residence) is customary. Descent groups of this type have both flexibility and continuity. Firth proposes the following terms for such systems: ambilateral, when both parents may serve as links for purposes of group membership; ambilineal, when group continuity may be developed by the use of either male or female links, without a specific order; ramage, used for the kind of *group* utilizing either or both parents as bonds for group membership. In an interesting exchange, Frake (35) and Goodenough (44) discuss the association of early Malayo-Polynesian kin groups with land tenure; Frake holds that land tenure becomes significant only with the development of permanent field

agriculture, whereas Goodenough argues that under some conditions it may be correlated with slash-and-burn farming.

A network of relationships, rather than a structure of corporate groups, characterizes the bilateral Lapp system described in Pehrson's (90) highly able posthumous monograph on Konkama Lapp social structure. Bilateralism, he finds, is a pervasive feature of Konkama organizational life and provides a flexible set of kinship links that may be utilized for structuring social relationships. The individual Lapp may choose from a wide range of possible courses of action when crucial social decisions are necessary, and thus take into account situationally variable factors. Sibling and conjugal solidarity are the fundamental organizational features; the former provides the major element of continuity and serves as the only collectivity with corporate functions in the society.

Three studies of contemporary Western European kinship document the uniformities and variations to be found in this type of bilateral structure. Firth and Djamour (30) report on kinship in an English working-class neighborhood, noting the importance of "pivotal" kin, personal selectivity, and the matricentered focus of the system. By contrast, Italianates of London, according to Garigue and Firth (30), have a greater range of kinship recognition and the more formal kin ties and obligations. Among French Canadians in Montreal the large sibling group is a focus of kinship activity; Garigue's (37) evidence indicates that urbanization has not resulted in a decrease in the effectiveness of kin ties. Other aspects of the French-Canadian system—the flexibility, the limitation in number of priority kin, and the great extent of the women's knowledge of kin—are similar to the features recorded in other studies of Western European kinship.

Residence. Methodological questions of a basic nature are raised in Goodenough's (43) stimulating paper on residence rules. He distinguishes sharply between the procedures necessary for an adequate description and analysis of residence patterns in a particular society and the residence concepts used by the comparativist in cross-cultural studies. In a given society residence choices are actually made on the basis of criteria provided by the culture itself; consequently, the ethnographer must construct a theory of residence that fits this

particular society. An exclusive concern with census data, for example, may produce a misleading picture of residence patterns. The comparativist faces a different problem: he must develop concepts appropriate to many different societies. Hence he must work at a higher level of abstraction than the ethnographer.

Bohannan (7), expressing dissatisfaction with current schemes for the classification of residence, suggests an alternative typology that stresses certain critical family relationships. He proposes five primary household types, based on relationships between pairs of kin within the nuclear family. Carr (11) has also emphasized the value of alternative types of residence classifications, citing the importance of economic factors for the understanding of residence mobility among the Laotian Thai. The Lao "kindred," briefly described, appears to be an ambilateral descent group of the kind discussed by Firth.

Three other papers examine specific problems of residence taxonomy in three widely different societies. The unusual combination of matrilocality and patrilineality among the Mundurucú is discussed in considerable detail by Murphy (79) in terms of the operation of the system and its probable evolution. The residence of Mundurucú men is considered to be that of their wives, but they are actually domiciled in the men's house of the village, being at best peripheral members of the household, which centers on the Mo-Da bond. Murphy presents data indicating that matrilocality is a recent development among the Mundurucú, having been preceded by patrilocal residence; the "visiting husband" role apparently was not highly developed at that time.

Fischer's (33) study of the development of avunculocal residence on Losap, in a Micronesian area dominated by matrilocality, refers both to the strains inherent in avunculocality and to the factors that have given rise to this mode of residence in this particular setting. The persistence of an avunculocal pattern, he notes, depends upon the presence of both males and females in each generation; in Losap families, whenever one of the two is lacking in a generation, alternative modes of residence and inheritance come into play. Losap avunculocality is believed to have supplanted a prior matrilocal pat-

tern as a result of certain factors strengthening the status of men and the existence of a single concentrated village on the island.

On the basis of fieldwork with central and southeastern Montagnais-Naskapi, Leacock (64) challenges the view that Northeastern Algonkians are characterized by patrilocality. Instead, she reports unstable bilocal residence with frequent occurrence of matrilocality, although this pattern is in the process of changing to a patrilocal pattern. Recent tendencies reflect the influence of the fur trade, which has deemphasized mobility and fostered band endogamy with a patrilineal, patrilocal orientation.

Family. The term family in the present context refers to any type of family unit *per se,* whether it be of "elementary" or extended form. The most significant analysis of a family in this sense during the period under consideration is Smith's (105) monograph on the Negro family in British Guinea. A first-class example of the sophisticated theoretical analysis of British social anthropology, the study offers further proof, if any is needed, that this approach need not be confined to a limited range of problems within the field of social organization. Two features of Smith's analysis that warrant special attention are his examination of the developmental cycle of the domestic group and his disclosure of the relationship between family structure and the wider social system. By his analysis of the numerical data and case study materials, Smith is able to reduce a bewildering variety of family forms, viewed synchronically, to the operation of a few basic principles of conjugal and parental relations, when the time dimension of the domestic cycle is taken into account. The matrifocal family, centering on economic and child-rearing functions, is found to be the key structural unit. A more complete understanding of family structure, however, requires consideration of both the village and its position within the total stratification system of the society. Smith sees the peripheral role of the Hu-Fa in the family as related to the larger system; economic realities require participation of males in the wider economic system, while ethnic status restricts the possibility of achievement. As a consequence the social participation of Hu-Fa with members of the family is low, and his position becomes more marginal as his wife's children grow older.

A variety of the matrifocal family, in a social setting stressing intense rivalry among individuals for the accumulation and retention of wealth, is described by Cohen (13). The author attempts to indicate how personality processes, historically derived and inculcated specifically in the course of socialization, are linked with the structure of the Jamaican family.

The relationship between the traditional patrilocal extended family of Moala, Fiji, and patterns of land utilization is explored systematically by Sahlins (97) in a comparative study of two contemporary island villages. The author shows that extended family organization is well adapted to the exploitation of scattered economic resources, and that the persistence of this family form in Moala depends on the continued use of productive land distant from the village site. Typical segmentation processes, which provide for division of the family after three or four generations, are similarly linked with the economic aspect of group organization. Sahlins suggests that the interrelationship of the extended family and the exploitation of scattered resources may be found to have a wider cross-cultural applicability.

Stoodley (110) reports on features of the Tagalog family, noting its multilineal character and the fact that neither males nor females are assigned dominant roles. Although the effective household unit is the nuclear family, a larger grouping, including three generations in the direct line and siblings on both sides, is the major focus of solidarity.

Shifts in the locus of family quarrels attest the lack of congruence between actors' views and the observer's views of the nature of the family in the Chinese Malayan community investigated by Newell (83). Whereas the actors maintain that the norms are those of the traditional patrilineal, virilocal, patripotestal Chinese family, the Malayan family is in fact more self-sufficient, centering on the elementary family. This change has been marked by irreconcilable quarrels between father and son, quarrels that would wholly disrupt the traditional system. Quarrels between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, on the other hand, are an index of the strength of patrilineal structure, since they emphasize the dependence of both women on the husband and children.

Terminological systems. Two distinctive approaches to the an-

alysis of systems of kinship terminology may be discerned in recent literature: "formal analysis," which will be discussed in a separate section; and the more usual procedure of examining terminological patterns in reference to the central position of Ego. Utilizing the Ego-centered approach, Schneider, in collaboration with Homans (102), and with Roberts (103), proposes an important conceptual distinction between the classifying and role-designating functions of kinship terms. The classifying or ordering aspect refers to "a way of grouping and organizing the range of perceived elements," whereas the role-designating function involves "socially defined behaviors or roles." Applied to data on American and Zuni kin terms in separate papers, the distinction clarifies certain difficult features of these systems, particularly the abundant alternate terms. Thus "irregularities" in Zuni can be dealt with systematically when it is realized that kinship terms are based less on genealogical position than on the roles played by members of the society.

Schneider and Roberts consider the total Zuni social structure to be similar to the kinship system, in that both are organized around relations among individuals, rather than group relations, the matrilineage is weakly corporate, and social integration bilateral, in character. This interpretation is consistent with the one advanced by Kroeber (59) in his 1917 paper. In the American kinship system there is considerable emphasis on actual genealogical position—especially in the nuclear family—and this influences both role-designating and classifying aspects of term application. Among other interesting observations, Schneider and Homans note a shift in the terms used for father and mother: as people grow older they become more formal toward the parent of same sex. In a brief note, Henry (52) suggests that Schneider and Homans' distinctions actually refer to the juridicial and affective aspects of kin terms, but the Zuni study does not appear to support this point of view.

A tendency to bilaterality in Acoma kinship is evidenced by the terms collected by Mickey (73) from two informants. These data also indicate contemporary variations in kin classification, with that for female Ego showing greater retention of Crow-type matrilineage patterns.

Stemming from the studies made by Opler and Kroeber in the 1930's, there has been continued interest in the comparison of Atha-

paskan kin systems. Two varieties of approach to the problem are represented in papers by Hoijer (53) and White (116). Hoijer depends upon linguistics and the comparative-historical method for a reconstruction of general proto-Athapaskan kinship terms. His comparisons indicate that generational features were probably prominent in the aboriginal Athapaskan system, except for a bifurcate collateral pattern in the first ascending generations. Neither nephew-niece nor in-law terms could be reconstructed, however. Computation of an index of similarity between proto-Athapaskan and daughter systems shows that the closest resemblances are to be found in the north; further, the groupings cut across linguistic substock boundaries.

White limiting his comparison to southern Athapaskan kinship, examines a number of interpretations of the aboriginal patterns of kin structure in the area and proposes a further reconstruction based upon Murdock's procedure. He devotes considerable attention to Hoijer's reconstruction and shows, by means of statistical comparisons, that uncle-aunt terms are probably more sensitive to change than the grandparent-child-grandchild patterns of Hoijer's proto-Athapaskan. Turning to distributional data, White notes the absence of the bifurcate collateral pattern in the first ascending generations; adding this to the fact that this terminological category is unstable, he concludes that the Murdock reconstruction of a generation pattern is the more plausible of the two. Since Hoijer's method, like the earlier comparative-linguistic procedure of Kroeber, does not consider basic social structure, White believes that it does not adequately reflect the dynamics of change.

Publication by Marshall (69) of the most complete account of Bushman kinship terminology yet available will interest comparativists as well as African specialists. The "standard" consanguineal system provides for the terminological isolation of nuclear family units; otherwise, the pattern is strongly generational, with reciprocity in alternate generations. This straightforward system is complicated by the name factor: when a person is named for another, he is "terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named." The name relationship is a major factor in the extension of kinship terms outside one's own band and thus contributes to the social integration of wider re-

gions by establishing a basis for the application of kin terms to strangers bearing the same name.

Guahibo kinship terms and their applications are reported by Wilbert (118) on the basis of information provided by a single informant. The terminological pattern is not analyzed, but there are brief references to features of social organization, including the statement of a peculiar marriage preference with a "cousin" category that includes FaBrDa, FaSiDa, and MoBrDa.

The literature for the period includes only one paper explicitly concerned with a field study of kinship change. Bruner (9), working with the Mandan-Hidatsa, collected two types of kin terminologies—a standard Crow pattern, and one that conformed to the general American nuclear family type. Since there were no intermediate variations, Bruner interpreted the Mandan-Hidatsa case as a special type of rapid kinship change reflecting early socialization in families in which there had been white intermarriage. A penetrating critique of this study by Romney and Metzger (95) stresses the need for conceptual discrimination between the type of *individual* change reported by Bruner and change in kinship *systems.* Differences in socialization and personal experiences are appropriate variables for dealing with individual change, whereas problems of structural coherence and the interrelation of social structure with other variables are more useful for the analysis of system change. The authors propose alternative research "models" designed to assess Bruner's data systematically with reference to either individual or structural-functional change.

Ritual kinship. Although ritual relationships of one type or another are common in the communities studied by anthropologists, systematic analyses of these phenomena have been extremely few. A recent example is Eisenstadt's (21) attempt to develop a set of hypotheses applicable to what he terms "ritualized personal relations." These relationships have in common the following analytic features: they are particularistic, personal, voluntary, and fully institutionalized. Conditions that favor this type of relation are to be found in the strains and tensions typical of societies that are predominantly particularistic (in Parsons' sense), and involve tensions inherent within groups as well as strains generated in relations between groups. Ritualized personal relations offer the individual measures

for coping with these structured strains, and at the same time they perform some functions of social control in the society.

Referring particularly to field data from rural Colombia, Sayres (100) presents evidence to show that although ritual kinship normally eases psychological and social strains, it may also create them. He notes that careful attention to the affective dimension of the web of ritual relations reveals considerable negative affect associated with the network of ritual links. The author suggests that *compadrazgo* in Latin America is a "vastly overrated social binder," which requires constant reinforcement for maintenance, at the expense of potential creative and productive community energy.

Features of the Italian godparent complex, described in detail by Anderson (2), contrast in many respects with the more extensively reported Latin American systems. In Italy the major emphasis is on the godparent-godchild bond, and socioeconomic cooperation between godparents is unimportant; use of the ritual tie to advance the social and economic position of the parties concerned is strongly disapproved. Anderson remarks that the system operates most effectively within a homogeneous group, where it serves to reaffirm, rather than alter, existing bonds.

Okada (86) notes that ritual brotherhood in Nepal functions as a social binder in a society of marked ethnic and linguistic diversity—even to the point of cutting across caste lines. A Brief Communication by Rubel (96) remarks on ritual relationships in Ojitlan, Mexico.

Comparative studies. This section comprises cross-cultural studies centering on kinship problems of a general character. More or less typical differences between American and British students in their approach to comparative problems are illustrated by the three papers reviewed; American scholars work with a broad cross-cultural sample and statistical procedures, whereas the British examine in depth a small number of well-documented cases.

Driver (17) applies correlation techniques to data on the distribution of features of social organization for 280 "tribes or territorial units" of North America, with the aim of achieving an integration of functional, evolutionary, and historical theory. The correlation of traits yields three "clusters" (patricentered, bicentered,

and matricentered) and two "transitional aggregates"; functional linkages are found to obtain for the most part within the clusters. The number of cluster traits possessed by a particular tribe is regarded as an index of the degree of internal integration; examination of the distribution of functionally integrated societies shows that the bicentered type is both rare and widely scattered. Turning to the problem of evolution, Driver evaluates current hypotheses of developmental sequence by comparing the statistically best serial order of traits for the clusters previously defined and for the best order of the averages of all functional correlates. The analysis confirms the postulated evolutionary sequence beginning with a shift in division of labor and ending with adaptive changes in kinship terminology. There are many cases that fail to conform to this developmental pattern, however, and in the concluding section of the monograph Driver attempts to explain these negative instances in terms of historical contacts of peoples. The summary of the distributional data in a series of maps and brief discussions will interest students of the American Indian, as well as specialists in social organization.

The formulation of clear-cut hypotheses for statistical testing is the central feature of Apple's (3) cross-cultural study of grandparent-grandchild relations. For a sample of seventy-five societies, a definite correlation was found between formality in the relations of grandparents and grandchildren and the association of the former with family authority. Two specific hypotheses demonstrate the critical significance of the authority factor: (1) when the relations of grandchildren with both sets of grandparents were symmetrical, friendly equality was not the norm if grandparents exercised authority over parents after grandchildren were born; when grandparent-grandchild relations were asymmetrical, less friendly equality was evident between grandchildren and the grandparents related through the parent (or lineage member) possessing effective household authority in the nuclear family. The author discusses sampling and reliability problems with clarity and complete understanding of their significance for cross-cultural analysis.

Goody (46) turns to comparative materials to clarify the concepts of incest, adultery, and fornication. Anthropological definitions

of incest, he notes, are based upon the institutions of our own society, and hence may be inadequate for cross-cultural analysis. When attention is directed to the unilineal descent group as a reference point, instead of to the elementary family, prohibitions on sexual intercourse fall into a threefold pattern: *intra-group,* prohibiting relations with a member of the same descent group; *group-wife,* prohibiting relations with the wife of a member of the same descent group; and *extra-group,* prohibiting relations with another married woman. Goody proposes that the term incest be applied to intra-group offenses, with the criterion of horror omitted because it may be associated with either intra-group or group-wife offenses. Group-wife offenses arouse horror among the patrilineal Tallensi, whereas intra-group offenses are most heinous among the matrilineal Ashanti. The difference in the locus of intense emotion in the two societies, according to Goody, reflects the importance of wives in patrilineal societies, and of sisters in matrilineal societies, for the perpetuation of descent groups.

MARRIAGE SYSTEMS

Preferential Marriage Systems

A lively discussion of unilateral cross-cousin marriage systems continues to center on the seminal contributions of Lévi-Strauss. Two brief monographs, one by Homans and Schneider (54) and the other by de Sousberghe (106), critically assess aspects of Lévi-Strauss' theories and propose alternative formulations. Homans and Schneider argue that Lévi-Strauss has propounded a "final cause" theory (that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage creates greater organic solidarity and is therefore "better" for society) that fails to account adequately for unilateral marriage systems. They propose an alternative, "efficient cause" theory, in which marriage preferences are viewed as a function of the locus of jural authority and the system of interpersonal kinship relations. From this general theory a special hypothesis, which relates type of unilateral marriage with type of lineality of kin groups, is developed and tested cross-culturally. The authors find that societies with patrilineal kin groups and a preference for MoBrDa marriage frequently disapprove of FaSiDa marriage; and on the other hand, that societies with matrilineal kin

groups prefer FaSiDa marriage, and forbid or disapprove of MoBrDa marriage. In an attempt to secure a more perfect correlation, the authors reexamine the cross-cultural data to determine, where possible, the locus of jural authority, and whether relations between a male Ego and MoBr/FaSi are "warm" or "distant." If Fa holds jural authority over Ego, then it was expected that Ego's relation with MoBr would be "warm" and MoBrDa marriage would be preferred. Where the roles are reversed, FaSiDa marriage was predicted. The data conform, in general, to expectations; exceptions to this special hypothesis are consistent with the more general theory.

De Sousberghe's monograph represents the result of fieldwork in a society with matrilineal kin groups and a preference for patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. However, the reader interested in an analysis of this kind of functioning system will need to look elsewhere, since the author confined himself to collecting actors' statements on the basic reasons for Pende preferential marriage customs. Actually, marriage preferences are not uniform throughout the Pende area—Kasai Pende, for example, prefer FaSiDa marriage and forbid unions with MoBrDa, but can marry into MoFa clan as an alternative. In other areas the patrilateral variety is preferred, but a man may call upon his MoBr for a wife if one is not available from Fa's clan.

De Sousberghe is strongly critical of Lévi-Strauss' theory of "generalized exchange," as well as his views on FaSiDa marriage. He questions the existence of generalized MoBrDa exchange systems, and discounts Lévi-Strauss' viewpoint on patrilateral systems because it fails to conform to Pende native thought categories. Preferential marriage, he argues, is the opposite of exchange—the critical factor is "reunion," made possible by the fact that preferred unions link together groups that have been separated by the alliances of the preceding generation. This principle, as applied to FaSiDa marriage, is expressed clearly in the Pende statement that the aim of such marriages is to prevent "the dispersal of the seed"—that is, to assure that Fa's "seed," which can be propagated only outside his clan, is returned in a subsequent generation.

Discussions of asymmetrical marriage usually draw their documentation from societies with definite rules prescribing, preferring,

or permitting marriage with one type of cross-cousin and excluding the other. Examining New Guinea field data, Salisbury (99) proposes to include within asymmetrical marriage systems instances of statistically nonrandom marriage patterns that are not conceptualized in terms of specific unilateral rules. An asymmetrical system, he states, can exist whenever marriage is accompanied by any type of payment—among the New Guinea Siane a slight tendency to asymmetry of this kind is evident, even though the natives view their system as one of balanced, reciprocal exchanges. In an interesting reply, Leach (63) points out that it is necessary to distinguish between Salisbury's asymmetry and the type of marriage *rules,* analyzed by himself and Lévi-Strauss, that have nothing to do with the statistical frequency of marriage.

The puzzling six-section Ambrym system has been reexamined by the Lanes (60), with major emphasis on clarifying those features of the system that require marriage out of Ego's generation. The Lanes show that when the system is conceived of as involving own sister exchange and marriage with MoBrDaDa and MoMoBrDa, the majority of the marriages take place within Ego's generation, provided that a man and his son do not make the same type of marriage. For example, if a man marries his MoMoBrDa, then his son must marry his MoBrDaDa in order for the system to operate effectively. Even so, out-of-generation marriages will be necessary for two of the six marriage sections. The Lanes believe that MoMoBrDa marriage is a function of the structure of kin groups in Ambrym; exogamous matri-moieties, three exogamous patri-sibs, and the extension of incest taboos to Mo's patri-sib lead to prohibition of marriage with either MoBrDa or MoMoBrDaDa; marriage with MoBrDaDa or MoMoBrDa is the "next logical possibility."

Extensive statistical data permit Schapera (101) to assess systematically the variables influencing marriage with near kin among the Tswana. Distinctively different marriage patterns obtain between nobles and commoners; the former contract alliances with their nearer kin and favor agnates, especially FaBrDa, whereas the latter prefer cross-cousins, particularly MoBrDa. For both social classes the incidence of kin marriage was correlated with polygyny; as polygyny has declined, unions with near kin have decreased. The

relationship between Tswana kin marriage and the political system is of special interest. The dispersion and political fission among noble families fostered by the ward system were balanced by agnatic marriages that forged new bonds between groups in various stages of political differentiation.

Distinguishing between preferential and compulsory forms of FaBrDa marriage, Patai (89) has examined the distribution of compulsory forms in the Near East. In his opinion, the distributional evidence indicates that the form of cousin marriage in which a man has a jural *right* to his FaBrDa is the "fullest and most complete form"; mere preference for FaBrDa marriage is associated with geographical or cultural marginality, recent acculturation, or in some instances, inadequate information from the available sources.

Stability of Marriage

A continuing interest in the relationship between patrilineal kinship systems and the stability of marriage is attested to in papers by Leach (62) and Fallers (23); both papers reexamine Gluckman's (39) hypothesis linking "marked father right" with stable marriage. Although Leach and Fallers report on ethnographic material from widely separated areas and develop their analyses in distinctive ways, they reach parallel conclusions with respect to marriage stability and patriliny.

The Soga of Uganda, examined by Fallers, are characterized both by patrilineal institutions and by unstable marriage. Fallers employs statistical data to document the frequency of separation and divorce, and to assess such alternative explanations as recent social change, which might be construed as support for Gluckman's position. But the data do not support that position. Rather, it seems that the loyalties of spouses toward their own patrilineal groups may be stronger than the conjugal bond. To deal with these exceptions, Fallers modified Gluckman's thesis, suggesting that patriliny stabilizes marriage when the wife is incorporated into husband's corporate group (as among Zulu), but fosters unstable marital relations when the wife retains close ties with her natal patrilineal group.

Three patrilineal societies of Burma and Assam, compared by Leach, manifest differences in marriage stability paralleling those

between Zulu and Soga. Among "ordinary Jingpaw," where divorce is rare, Br-Si bonds are easily broken; whereas among the Lakher, where divorce is easy and frequent, a bride retains strong ties with her natal lineage. Leach questions whether either one of these patterns is more patrilineal than the other, and he emphasizes the significance of this question for the analysis of the concept of descent, to which he devotes the remainder of his paper. In his opinion, the *structural* ties between members of different corporate groups that may develop from marital alliance have not received adequate analytic treatment from students of unilineal descent systems. He suggests that it may be profitable to distinguish between two types of unilineal systems: one in which descent alone is the critical structure, and one that couples unilineal descent with a "strongly defined rule of 'preferred marriage'." In the second type, affinal ties constitute one aspect of the continuity of the structure; an understanding of these systems requires a systematic examination of economic and political variables as well as kinship factors.

The data provided by Fallers and Leach point to the same factor as determining marriage stability—the degree to which a wife is absorbed into her husband's lineage. Leach's distinction between types of descent systems, it should be noted, has little bearing on the problem of stable marriage, which can vary independently in both systems.

Polyandry

The extent to which adelphic polyandry can be "explained" by reference to Radcliffe-Brown's principle of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group is the central theme of a brief paper (published in *Man*) by Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (91). He has been concerned with problems of polyandry for some time, as his fieldwork with four polyandrous societies indicates. In this report he argues that Radcliffe-Brown's principle is not a sufficient condition for adelphic polyandry; he suggests that an intensification of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group is necessary for the development of this rare phenomenon. Heightening of the sibling link is a function of the "tightened" economic systems of polyandrous societies, which place a premium on a closely cooperating group of

brothers. Psychological motives are likewise important, since the intensification of solidarity leads, in Prince Peter's words, to "an excessive repression to sibling (brother) aggression; there thus comes a return of repressed incestuous desires which are partly satisfied by polyandry."

In the same issue of *Man,* Leach (61) discusses the relationship between inheritance and polyandry. Remarking that the definition of marriage in terms of legitimacy is too narrow, he points to the need to distinguish the various classes of rights that marriage may involve. For example, although adelphic polyandry is associated with patriliny, it occurs in societies in which both men and women have rights to inherit property. In such societies there may be conflict between the requirement that landed property continue in the hands of male heirs, and the principle that both sexes have inheritance rights. Adelphic polyandry provides one solution to this dilemma, reducing potential strains between brothers over inheritance, since their common children will have like economic interests in the patrimonial inheritance, which therefore can be maintained intact.

Other

Ames (1) examines the significance of economic factors in Wolof polygyny, pointing out that the Wolof themselves, as well as the observer, recognize the economic advantages of additional wives. The heavy work load of Wolof women, detailed in Ames's paper, makes polygyny an effective means for the organization of economic activity.

Describing the marriage customs of the Jimdars of eastern Nepal, Barnouw (4) remarks on the contrasts between their individual courtship practices and the arranged marriages customary among neighboring peoples. Marriages tend to conform to the principles of caste, which has diffused to this area, but there is some flexibility and unions crossing caste boundaries occur.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

A general review of the social science literature dealing with social stratification will not be attempted in this section, since sociological contributions alone would require a lengthy presentation.

Anthropological publications dealing with the stratification variable in a political context—for example, the monographs of Fallers (24) and Southall (107)—have likewise been excluded from consideration. When these restrictions are applied, two major areas of concern emerge: caste and class, and elites.

Caste and Class

The extent to which concepts of caste and class may be used to describe cases characterized by considerable range of status variation provides a common focus for a number of otherwise diverse papers. Pocock (92) raises the problem with reference to the caste system of Gujerat, in which *graduality*—the lack of uniformity in a large caste in terms of the customary and ritual behavior on which claims to high status are based—is a characteristic phenomenon. To be sure, a dominant caste can be recognized, but how can its position be maintained when customs are at once not uniform and imitated by lower castes? Pocock suggests that the dual processes of *inclusion* and *exclusion* resolve this problem; the lower-status families in a large caste arrogate to themselves the superiority of the higher, and, correlatively, exclude inferior castes. These processes, which operate at all levels of the caste system, provide both for the maintenance of the distinctiveness of higher-level groups within a caste (by means of restrictive marriage practices) and for the phenomenon of gradualism.

In a study of the caste system in a village in central India, Mayer (70) assesses the relation between secular and ritual aspects of caste, emphasizing an examination of the various criteria of hierarchy. The commensal hierarchy, the most significant criterion of ritual status, may be modified by caste location and size, although ritual and secular status may not coincide. (Secular status refers to such variables as wealth and education.) This type of variability does not negate the notion of general caste rank, however; in action, this rank is manifest in commensality, and in formal concept, in the *varna* classification. In the limited area of the village, Mayer feels, the *varna* scheme can be a "fruitful structural concept."

Factors involved in the maintenance of the distinctive caste position of the Brahmans in a situation otherwise characterized by caste

"isogamy" is examined by Newell (82). In the Punjab Hills, isogamy —the amalgamation of castes on the basis of complete equality—has been promoted by the economic, political, and geographic factors peculiar to this area. The result has been the incorporation of four "middle" castes into a single "new" caste; however, the process has not extended to include the Brahmans. Newell thinks the major reason for the persistence of Brahman exclusiveness is to be found in the connection between Brahman priestly office and caste position. Other castes depend upon the Brahmans for the performance of essential Hindu rituals, and this in turn requires the perpetuation of their religious separateness.

Shortcomings in anthropological analyses of social class in America are sharply criticized by Goldschmidt (41), who charges that there has been too little concern with the "dynamics" of status. He argues, in effect, that anthropologists have misinterpreted a concern with social status as evidence for a class system, whereas in "social reality" the classes recognized have resulted from concentrating research on specific local communities and applying there the techniques used for studying primitive societies. For Goldschmidt, the contrasting ideologies of class consciousness and individualistic social mobility are "closely and functionally related on the psychological level"; further inquiry into the interrelations of these variables presumably offers one approach to the study of the dynamic aspects of social structure in the United States.

The existence of social rank without class is the focal interest of Codere's (12) paper on the Kwakiutl. She proposes to demonstrate the validity of Boas' position that rank, not class, was the critical feature of Kwakiutl society. The data consist of recipes collected under Boas' direction; Codere feels that the paucity of references to commoners in these materials constitutes significant evidence that the Kwakiutl were classless.

Three essays dealing with particular Indian village communities provide interesting comparative data on aspects of caste. Srinivas (108), discussing the social structure of a Mysore village, emphasizes the bonds that link together the various castes in a complex system of community interdependence despite the compartmentalization characteristic of caste organization. Gough (49), describing

the social structure of a Tanjore village, discusses to what extent this community constitutes an "isolable social unit." The village is in the process of change, with lessened local integration and greater dependence upon institutions of the larger society. Problems of change constitute the central focus of Cohn's (14) paper, which examines the means by which members of an "untouchable" caste in an Uttar Pradesh village try to increase their social status. It is interesting that the depressed caste tries to improve its position by adopting certain traditional features of caste that the higher castes are in the process of abandoning.

Donaghue (16) presents data on an eta community in Japan in an attempt to explain why the eta remain outcastes when alternative action is feasible. Factors favoring eta persistence include certain features of internal organization that contribute to the solidarity and exclusiveness of the community, and the discouragement of mobility both by the traditional norms of Japanese social relations and by the scarcity of jobs in the Japanese economy.

Elites

The increasing interest of anthropologists in contemporary problems in underdeveloped regions of the world, as evidenced in research on problems of industrialization and urbanization, is represented in the volume of the *International Social Science Bulletin* devoted to African elites. Nadel (80), who contributes a conceptual introduction, points out that although high status is a precondition for the development of elites, two further elements are necessary for definition of this special type of preeminence: the first, a very general kind of superiority; and the second, a superiority that can be imitated. Elites are exclusive, corporate groups, whose "standard-setting" feature is a function of their imitability. Nadel suggests that investigation of the formation and change of elites is a step toward a sharper delineation of changing trends and "cycles of transformation" in society.

Applying Nadel's criteria to Gold Coast data, Busia (10) recognizes three rival elite groups: the traditional elite, the European rulers, and the educated Africans. The position of the European elite is precarious, since its standards have little appeal to the tra-

ditionals, whose own pace-setting role is in turn increasingly challenged by the new literate African elite. A threefold division of the African elite in South Africa is reported by Ngcobo (84), who distinguishes tribal, educated, and occupational elites; none of these elites, of course, has high status in the total South African system. The other papers are: Mercier's (72) discussion of the evolution of elites in Senegal, which stresses the emergence of a workers' elite along with a new educated, professional elite; Brausch's (8) analysis of traditionalist and progressive attitudes represented in Belgian Congo elites, from which a recent, "neo-traditional" element has formed that derives support from both groups; a paper by Moreira (75), emphasizing the importance of the Portuguese assimilation policy and of an "intermediate (bridge) class" for the nature of elites in Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique; and finally, a report by Leith-Ross (65) on the potential significance of an emerging intellectual elite among the women of southern Nigeria.

FACTIONS

The problem of factions is touched on primarily in descriptive reports, with the term itself seldom given a precise referent. Firth (31), introducing a group of papers on the topic of factions in several Indian and overseas Indian societies (Gujerat, Tanganyika, Uganda, Fiji, and Mauritia), proposes a series of defining characteristics that can serve as a basis for further research. According to Firth, the significant features of a faction include a structurally diverse recruitment base; an authority structure of leader and henchmen, with broadly defined roles; and a loose form of organization. Factions tend to operate in the political field, or with political effect in other areas, and to be activated on special occasions. Referring to the common view of factions as divisive elements in the community, Firth also notes the positive functions they may perform for individuals and subgroups.

The viewpoints emerging from the four papers that follow Firth's are somewhat diverse. Pocock (93) emphasizes both the situational element in the structuring of loyalties and the composite group membership of factions in Gujerat. Here, chronic occasions for conflict lend a spurious look of permanency to factional behavior, for power

groupings constituted on an agnatic base may contest a series of issues over a period of time. Struggles of Indian power groups in Tanganyika, on the other hand, focus on the relations between traders in small settlements and urban middlemen. Pocock holds that the term faction does not apply properly to the conflicting groups in Tanganyika.

Among Uganda Indians rivalry between communal groups, as described by Morris (76), has the appearance of factionalism, even though these groups form permanent structural features of the society. The emergence of communal rivalry depends on three major factors: the actual number of people concerned; the presence of a "pace-making group," whose success can serve as a model for others; and leadership, especially the ability of rival leaders to advance their own careers and at the same time achieve group objectives. Morris would seem to distinguish rivalry between caste and sect communities from leader-client relationships within these communities, terming the latter "factions," but his analysis is somewhat difficult to follow.

Mayer's (71) presentation of materials on Fiji Indian rural settlements emphasizes the role of the leader, rather than the situation, in the development of factionalism. An examination of the careers of nine leaders indicates that achievement in this area is strongly correlated with oratorical ability. Fiji factions tend to be "nucleated" within one or two cultural groups, which in turn may have a kin and territorial basis. The factions offer men an opportunity to exercise leadership and acquire power in an immigrant society in which many social features of the parent society cannot be easily reconstituted.

The heterogeneous composition of Mauritian villages provides diverse bases for the crystallization of factions, which are here the primary social agents in the struggle for political power and office. In consequence, Benedict (5) points out, the governments designation of a village as a political unit is a significant element in the emergence of factionalism; new avenues for political mobility are opened, and elections place weight on the leader's ability to appeal to a large number of supporters. Factional allegiance was found to shift with particular issues and over time, although there was also

a tendency for greater cohesion when disputes were lengthy or leaders in strong opposition to one another.

The most recent of a series of factional disputes at Taos Pueblo is described by Fenton (26), in the context of the functioning of the pueblo's political life. The current cleavage is based on the conflict between a "progressive" group, composed largely of returned war veterans, and the "conservatives," whose activities are directed by the pueblo's most powerful political figure.

CROSS-CULTURAL TYPOLOGY

The influence of Julian Steward's neo-evolutionary approach on contemporary American anthropology is evident in the typologies presented in the papers reported in this section. Thus Oberg (85) details the features of three major types of social structure among lowland tribes of South and Central America, emphasizing the extent to which the emergence of more complex levels of organization depends on the mutual influence of food surplus and structural variables. The types of social structure distinguished include: homogeneous tribes, i.e., small corporate and territorially distinct tribal units with an internal structure based on the conjugal or extended family, in which kinship forms the major axis of solidarity; segmented tribes, characterized by the presence of named unilineal kin groups, and, possibly, named associations or age-grades; and politically organized chiefdoms, i.e., multi-village territorial units headed by a paramount chief, who exercises general political power with the aid of a hierarchy of subordinate chiefs. The evolution of politically organized chiefdoms requires an economic system capable of producing a surplus, the distribution of which is intimately linked with the political class structures of the society. An increase in food supply, leading to an increase in population, is sufficient for the transformation of the homogeneous kinship structure to the segmented type. Alternative possibilities of development exist, however; Oberg suggests that under special conditions social stratification may develop in both homogeneous and segmented tribes. Other classes of social structure in America south of Mexico—feudal states, city states, and theocratic empires—are treated briefly in terms of their evolutionary significance.

Examining Latin American peasant cultures, Wolf (119) distinguishes between two major types of communities on the basis of what he calls "cultural structure." The first type, the "corporate" peasant community, is characterized by a distinctive combination of economic, sociopolitical, psychological, and value patterns: it is a closed system with a high degree of internal solidarity, which functions as a corporate unit to perpetuate the rights of its members. This kind of organization is associated with the intensive peasant cultivation typical of the high highlands of Nuclear (Central) America. The second type, the "open" community, is the antithesis of the first. Here, the peasants are but one among a number of subgroups that comprise the community. The "open" system is found especially in the humid low highlands and tropical lowlands, where the peasant economy is heavily dependent upon cash crops.

The concept of the closed corporate peasant community is further explored in Wolf's (121) comparative study of these social groupings in Mesoamerica and central Java. Similarities in community structure in the two regions include a bounded social system, some degree of community control over land, a community-centered religious system, mechanisms for the internal disposition of surplus wealth, and resistance to the entry of goods and ideas from outside the community. The critical element in the development of this type of structure, Wolf believes, resides in the division of the larger society into a "dominant entrepreneurial sector and a dominated sector of native peasants." The closed corporate community represents an adaptation to this external situation; its internal function is to defend its members by equalizing their "life chances and life risks."

The relationship between a community and the larger society is the central theme of a third paper by Wolf (120). Following Steward, he contrasts community subgroups that perform special functions in relation to the total society ("nation-oriented" groups, in Wolf's terminology) with community-oriented groups. After examining the relationships of Mexican groups of these types over time, Wolf suggests that in Mexico there is a tendency for "new group relationships to contribute to the preservation of traditional cultural forms." Further, he argues for a fresh attack on the problem of "na-

tional character," proposing a definition with reference to cultural forms that can be used by groups in the same large society in both formal and informal relations with one another.

NONKINSHIP GROUPS

The study of nonkinship groups (age groups and "associations") has attracted somewhat less specific research interest than the study of kinship and lineage groupings. It is true, of course, that various forms of nonkin relations and groups have received attention in structural descriptions of particular societies, but theoretical and comparative investigations have not been prominent. Nonetheless potentially significant problems of structural concern abound in this area; and it is accordingly a pleasure to note the publication of Eisenstadt's (22) systematic, cross-cultural analysis of age groups in relation to social structure.

Eisenstadt conceptualizes his data in terms of the pattern-variable scheme of the Parsonian variety of structural-functional analysis. This involves the use of a wide range of comparative materials, attesting the author's acquaintance with an enormous volume of literature dealing with age and youth groupings. Data from these ethnographic, historical, and contemporary sources are utilized for testing hypotheses. However, there is no indication that systematic sampling procedures were adopted; the primary criterion for case selection was the presence of data adequate for "a more or less complete analysis" of a given society. Statistical tests, presumably, are considered unnecessary, inasmuch as the "predicted" links between particular age forms and features of social structure are found to hold without exception.

Age relationships, Eisenstadt contends, "constitute one of the most important channels for the transmission of the social heritage and maintenance of social continuity" (p. 321). In particularistic societies the types of role disposition that the individual learns in the age-heterogeneous relationships within the family are also appropriate for roles in the larger society. In universalistic societies, however, in which role allocation is not based on kinship or other particularistic criteria, role dispositions inculcated within the family do not fit the requirements of the larger system, and age-homo-

geneous groups develop. These age groupings provide for training in universalistic standards, at the same time that they satisfy the individual's need dispositions for "role performance based on ascriptive, diffuse, universalistic and solidary criteria" (p. 54).

The major portion of the volume is devoted to the assessment of two hypotheses relating to the development of age groups. The more important of these formulations holds that "age groups tend to arise in those societies whose main integrative principles are different from the particularistic principles governing family and kinship relations"—that is, in "universalistic" societies.*

The evidence for this proposition is derived from a comparative analysis of age groups in a large variety of societies, including "non-kinship segementary African tribes," decentralized African villages, and Plains Indian, ancient Greek, and modern societies. The cross-cultural material makes it clear that age-group characteristics are not uniform in universalistic societies, and Eisenstadt attempts to account for this variation by attributing it to differences in the extent of specialization and achievement orientation, and in the relative strength of collectivity orientation. He shows that there are determinate relations between these variables and such structural differences as the age span covered, the extent to which the behavior of members of the society is regulated and the degree of corporateness of the age groups.

Eisenstadt's second hypothesis links age groups in "familistic" societies with an authority structure within the kinship unit that "impedes the attainment of full social status by its junior members" (p. 248). Age groups that arise under these conditions show marked differences from the types found in universalistic societies, particularly in the following features: membership in familistic societies is not based on society-wide age identification; the span of activities

* It should be noted that Eisenstadt's formulation of this hypothesis does not always take the same form. On p. 115, the critical variables are these "main integrative principles"; on p. 270, the hypothesis refers to "societies in which the family (or kinship unit) does not constitute the main unit in the social and economic division of labor." It is difficult to regard these as equivalent statements. Eisenstadt does not examine this transformation of highly general variables into more specific variables.

tends to be limited to particularistic units; and the groups function to ease tensions between generations.

Eisenstadt's concern with problems of motivation is particularly evident in his treatment of the functions of age groups in the social system. In this context, age groups constitute an "interlinking sphere" between sectors of a society characterized by different principles of integration. Since the role expectations aroused in one sphere cannot be fully gratified in another, "a lack of motivation for the performance of certain of these roles and frustrations over the impossibility of realizing others may result; and the stability of the social system may be endangered" (p. 271). The "interlinking sphere" provides for the gratification of at least some expectations of one sector, while at the same time linking these gratifications to some of the role expectancies of other sectors. The notion of the age group as an interlinking sphere is also called on to explain integrative or deviant roles of age groups in the larger society. Eisenstadt postulates that the extent of conformity or deviance will be related to the degree of harmony between the family and other institutional spheres of the society. Again, the comparative materials are consistent with the hypothesis.

The emergence of new types of voluntary associations in West Africa in both urban and rural settings is described in papers by Little (66) and Ottenberg (87). Little distinguishes three major types of associations in West African towns: the "traditional," which centers on particular religious, occupational, or recreational interests; the "traditional-modernized," marked by formal organization, varied functions, and a "syncretistic" character; and the "modern," which resembles European associations. These associations constitute adaptive mechanisms in the urban environment; they help immigrants to adjust in two important ways, by providing a functional equivalent of the extended kin group and by encouraging wider contacts in the urban world. The syncretism of the "traditional-modernized" associations is significant as a "cultural bridge" between the urban and tribal universes. Little feels that the growth of these African associations does not reflect urban *anomie*, but rather is attributable to the characteristics of the urban population—largely

immigrant, unstable, and socially heterogeneous—and to the adaptability of traditional institutions in urban conditions.

The organization and activities of the improvement association or "meeting," which has become widespread in southern Nigeria in recent years, is described by Ottenberg for an Ibo village group. Improvement associations may be based on different levels of territorial groupings, and they may concern themselves with a wide range of improvement activities related to modern conditions of change. A "meeting" organized within a single village offers opportunities for young men to secure group recognition that would not be accorded in traditional age grades, and provides other benefits, including loans. The village-group unions are less bound by traditional organization and procedures than the village associations; but both are "compatible blends of European Afikpo culture elements." Afikpo data, Ottenberg remarks, support the suggestion that tribal associations serve a dual role, accelerating acculturation and, for expatriate groups, perpetuating certain features of traditional culture.

FORMAL ANALYSIS

The application of rigorous analytic procedures to the study of systems of kinship terminology is termed here "formal analysis." Although an emphasis on systematic and precise modes of analysis in this area is by no means novel, the development of new techniques and perspectives has resulted in original and exciting contributions in recent years. Unfortunately, there seems to be no good way of presenting the closely reasoned arguments of these papers in brief compass. Little more can be done than to point out one or another feature of interest in the publications cited. The reader is urged to discover for himself the elegance and logical rigor of the originals.

Three of the papers considered here center on problems of the semantic analysis of particular terminological systems. Lounsbury's (68) brilliant paper on the complexities of Pawnee kinship usage provides a convincing demonstration of how "semantic analysis may be used to raise questions and to give direction to the observation of nonlinguistic behavior" ([68], p. 189). Intrigued by the cyclical identifications of kinship terms revealed by this kind of analysis (and also remarked by Morgan), Lounsbury suggests as a possible explanation the former existence of a rule of patrilateral cross-cousin

marriage with FaFaSiDaDa. Such marriage practices, he demonstrates, precisely fit the terminological patterns—Ego's agnatic line cycles, over three generations, among three uterine lines (Ego's, his Fa's, and his FaFa's). Another feature of the system that deserves mention is that generation distance is measured in the agnatic line, but ignored in the uterine lines. This terminological characteristic (conceptualized by Lounsbury as "agnatic rank") is consistent with what is known of Pawnee sociology, and perhaps holds for other societies in which, although social units exist based on uterine links, significant social attributes are also transmitted in the male line.

Goodenough's (45) componential analysis of Truk kinship terms is equally stimulating. Three types of paradigms are constructed on the basis of the significata of the linguistic forms of kin terms, and their relative descriptive advantages are compared. The conceptual schemes of all three paradigms are equally valid in terms of predicting Truk kinship usage, but they differ in "elegance"—specifically, in the number of homonymous lexemes in the paradigmatic structures. Goodenough points out that this type of analysis "poses a tremendous challenge" in forcing the investigator to take account of, and devise theories for, conceptual differences with which he is not familiar. An example is provided by the concept of generation in Trukese usage, which does not conform to the usual genealogical model.

The comparative study of Serbian and Croatian kin terms by Hammel (51) presents a highly interesting symbolic notation system by which a terminological system may be analyzed without reference to the meanings of English kin types. In addition, Hammel remarks on the correlation between terminological features and such social factors as residence and property inheritance. He adds, however, that although such factors are necessary to the existence of terminology patterns, they are not sufficient in this respect; in Gheg kin terms, which he cites as an example, the Serbo-Croatian type of residence-inheritance patterns are found in association with a different kin nomenclature.

Edmonson's (18) comparison of a large number of systems of kin terms in two major geographical areas (Europe and the American Southwest) represent a somewhat different approach. By means of a non-Ego type of two-dimensional diagram, variations in the classification of close consanguineal kin are compared and used to test ex-

tant hypotheses relative to "linguistics and geography, and the interrelationships of parts of the terminologies among themselves" ([18], p. 398). These comparisons lead to the conclusion that kinship nomenclatures are subject to change by diffusion, but at the same time manifest an inner consistency that resists change. Turning to the problem of internal structure, Edmonson proposes a new taxonomy of terminological patterns reflecting conceptual symmetries of a general nature that are shared widely by adjacent and related languages. Six concepts of kinship, and their general geographical distributions, are outlined:

1. lineal; the differentiation of lineal from collateral relatives (western Europe and Tiwa); 2. tri-generational; the differentiation of three linear generations (northwestern Europe); 3. five generational; the differentiation of five lineal generations (southern and eastern Europe); 4. concentric-generational; differentiation of three generations counting from Ego out, i.e., up-and-down simultaneously (Yuman, Piman, Apachean); 5. relative age; differentiation of all relatives older and younger than Ego (Tiwa); 6. sex of reference; differentiation of all relatives by the sex of the referent (Germanic) (pp. 411–12).

A concern with a more abstract method of representing terminological patterns than that provided by standard Ego charts is also evident in the work of Pehrson (90). His chart of the "principles" of Northern Lapp consanguineal terminology from the perspective of an "outside observer" graphically depicts the significance of the most important elements of the system: generation, sex, relative age, bilaterality, and lineality. A similar procedure applied to affinal patterns directs attention to generation, kindred, and "affinal distance" (i.e., differentiation in Ego's generation between the affines resulting from one marriage and those resulting from two), as major criteria of this aspect of the Lapp system.

From the point of view of the reviewer's personal bias, this series of publications provides an appropriate note of optimism for the conclusion of this report. The possibility of a "natural science of society," to use Radcliffe-Brown's phrase, may be remote indeed, but the fine work that has been done suggests that the goal remains eminently worth striving for.

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RECENT TRENDS IN SOVIET ANTHROPOLOGY

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INTRODUCTION

Soviet anthropology has as its primary concern the fields of evolution, cultural history, and diachronic problems in general—problems of social structure, cultural organization, and synchronic analysis are of little prominence. The concentrated interest in diachronic problems has two facets: continuities ("survivals") and transformations. The rejection of synchronism and structuralism is in part ideological, based on the attack against formalism and synchronist studies in general. The work of Edward Sapir or of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown is regarded as idealistic.

The sources of this concern with evolutionary and historical study lie as much in the tradition of Russian anthropology as in the orientation to social and cultural studies of Marxism-Leninism. The Russian tradition of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected the general anthropological trends on the European continent. At that time the study of social structure, or of linguistic structure for that matter, played only a peripheral part in anthropological thought. The fundamental orientation in anthropology on the European continent was and remains in the direction of social and cultural history.

Research and publication in anthropology—including ethnology, human biology, linguistics, and archaeology—is as extensive in Russia as in any other country, including Germany, England, and the United States. It early attained high quality through the work of N. N. Miklukho-Maklay (1846–83) and D. N. Anuchin (1843–1923). Miklukho-Maklay's contributions (59) are well known to American

Oceanic specialists; he was one of the great voyagers and ethnographers of his time. Anuchin (4–10) was a respected teacher and contributor to the fields of anthropology and geography, and perhaps more than any other single figure in Russia, is identified with the development of anthropology and its sister disciplines in that country. He investigated the physical anthropology of the Ainu, the problem of cranial deformation in man, the study of the anthropoid apes, the ethnology and archaeology of the Caucasus, and many aspects of human and physical geography. Perhaps his greatest contribution was the training of several generations of scholars. Another outstanding figure in the formative period of Russian anthropology, a man known for his work linking ethnography with the humanities, was V. V. Radlov (Wilhelm Radloff) (76–78). An indefatigable traveler and writer, and a museum director, he was also a Turkologist, historian, lexicographer, archaeologist, folklorist, and ethnographer.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century a number of political exiles—among them A. Sieroszewski, V. Bogoraz-Tan, W. Jochelson, and L. Sternberg—came into contact with the natives of Siberia. Their contributions are of unsurpassed importance for the study of the peoples of eastern and northern Siberia. Bogoraz and Jochelson in particular need no introduction to American anthropologists. Bogoraz' contributions on the Chukchi and Jochelson's on the Koryak and Yukagir were published in the series of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (14, 38–39, 99–101).

The major effort of prerevolutionary Russian ethnography was directed toward the Slavic peoples of the Russian empire. The journals *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* ("Ethnographic Survey") and *Zhivaya starina* ("The Living Past") which contain a wealth of information on the ethnography of these peoples, were published down to the period of the Revolution. A bibliography of Russian ethnology was published by D. K. Zelenin in 1910 (122; see also 47). The leading journal in physical anthropology at that time was the *Russkiy antropologicheskiy zhurnal.*

The development of Soviet ethnography during the past forty years has been traced in a recent article by S. P. Tolstov (105) as part of a series of reviews of various branches of learning in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revo-

lution. A brief comment on developments in Soviet anthropology during the years immediately after World War II has been published by D. B. Shimkin (87). Shimkin and De Witt (88) have described the organization of Soviet anthropological institutions as of 1950–51.

At the present time the chief anthropological journals of the Soviet Union are *Sovetskaya etnografiya,* organ of the Institut Etnografii im. Miklukho-Maklaya (Miklukho-Maklay Ethnographic Institute), and *Sovetskaya arkheologiya,* organ of the Institut Istorii Material'noy Kul'tury (Institute of the History of Material Culture). Both institutes also publish a series of *Kratkie soobshcheniya* ("Brief Communications"). The two institute journals currently appear six times a year, and contain from two to three hundred pages per issue. The "Brief Communications" of both institutes appear irregularly. The chief Soviet monograph series are the *Trudy* ("Works") of the Ethnographic Institute and *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR,* published by the Institute of the History of Material Culture. In addition to these there are a number of museum series; *Sbornik muzeya antropologii i etnografii* ("Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography"), Moscow-Leningrad, and *Trudy gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeya* ("Works of the State Historical Museum"), Moscow, are among the most important. Finally, there are a number of journals and serial publications of the academies, universities, and societies of the various Soviet republics; outstanding among these are the publications of the ethnographic and archaeological divisions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

The bond between the Russian and the traditional European delimitations of the field of anthropology is demonstrated as much by current Soviet thought as by the concepts of the prerevolutionary period. A series of definitions and delimitations of anthropology have been given in a recent textbook of physical anthropology by Roginskiy and Levin (81); archaeology is the study of man's past based on material remains; ethnography is the branch of history concerned with the culture and life of living peoples, their origin, their history and migrations, their progress, and their cultural-historical relations; anthropology deals with the variations in physical types of man both in space and in time. Mongayt (61) has defined the field of archaeology in terms that are quite familiar to American

practice: history comprises written and artifactual sources, and archaeology deals with the artifactual sources.

It is important to note the role that history plays in Soviet thinking: the definition of ethnography cited by Roginskiy and Levin is that of S. P. Tolstov, director of the Institute of Ethnography. Doctorates in ethnography are given in the field of historical sciences: in the Soviet conception, ethnography is a branch of history, not an area of investigation overlapping history.

Soviet anthropology is considered by its leading professionals to have three major components: archaeology, ethnography, and physical anthropology. Formal linguistics, in contrast to studies of language families, etc., plays but a minor role in this combination; nevertheless, there is considerable activity in the analysis of linguistic areas. There is no overarching rubric under which the components are to be grouped. By default, therefore, the ethnographic publications give voice to the lead articles and general works in the related fields of archaeology and human biology.

ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATIONS, 1946–55

An index of articles appearing during the period 1946–55 in *Sovetskaya etnografiya* has been published (97). The index is divided into a number of subcategories; articles making significant contributions to several fields are cross-listed, hence the number of entries in the index is larger than the number of items published in the journal during this period. The following breakdown gives the number of items under each subject category in the Soviet list. (The rubrics are those of the Soviet publication.)

Subject	*No. of Items*	*Subject*	*No. of Items*
General issues	34	Tools and implements	22
Programs and questionnaires	6	Food	25
Personalia	117	Settlement and housing; architecture	97
Critiques of ethnographic theory	22	Dress; sewing	60
Bibliography	46	Pottery	13
Ethnic statistics	18	Transportation	8
Ethnic cartography	18	Social organization	31
Ethnogeny	93	Family; marriage	21
Culture and life of collective farmers	40	Military organization	5
Culture and life of workers	6	Tribal composition	22
Economy	69	Folklore	191
		Literature	19

Subject	No. of Items
Folk theatre	4
Music	17
Art	86
Beliefs and customs	84
Language	36
Physical anthropology	72
Ancient peoples	34
Archaeological cultures	57
Primitive society	39
Periodization of primitive society	5
Matrilineal clan; matriarchate.	9
Peoples of European Russia	
General	3
Slavs, general	7
Eastern Slavs, general	8
Finno-Ugrians, general	6
Peoples of the Volga, general	8
Baltic peoples, general	6
Peoples of the Urals, general	2
Albanians	1
Bashkirs	2
Belorussians	12
Chuvash	10
Estonians	9
Gypsies	1
Karaim	1
Karelians and Finns	12
Komis (Permians)	8
Latvians	13
Lithuanians	10
Maris	5
Moldavians	4
Mordvinians	8
Russians	134
Tatars	12
Udmurts	5
Ukrainians	44
Peoples of the Caucasus	
General	12
Abkhaz and Abazins	9
Adyge and Kabardians	7
Azerbaijanis	6
Armenians	9
Dagestanis	23
Georgians	17
Georgian Jews	1
Mountain Jews (Tats)	3
Ossetians	19
Peoples of Central Asia	
General	30
Baluchis	2
Central Asian Jews	1
Dungans	4
Jemshidis	1
Karakalpaks	6
Kazakhs	8
Kirghiz	16
Tajiks and Pamir peoples (Mountain Tajiks)	20
Turkmens	18
Uigurs	3
Uzbeks	12
Peoples of Siberia and the Far East	
General	25
Aleuts	1
Altaians	11
Buryats	11
Dolgans	3
Itelmens (Kamchadals)	6
Kets	2
Koryaks	2
Mansis (Voguls)	8
Nanais (Goldis)	5
Nganasany (Tavgi Samoyeds)	3
Nenets (Samoyeds)	7
Enets (Samoyeds)	3
Nivkhis (Gilyaks)	3
Selkups (Ostyak-Samoyeds)	3
Tuvans	5
Ulchas	1
Hakas	7
Khantis (Ob Ostyaks)	9
Chukchis	7
Shorians	3
Evenkis (Tungus)	24
Evenis (Lamuts)	2
Eskimos	5
Yukagirs	5
Yakuts	31
Others	5
Slavic peoples and countries of Europe	
General	7
Bulgaria	18
Poland	3
Serbs	3
Slovaks	1
Slovenes	2
Croats	1
Czechoslovakia	7
Yugoslavia	4
Non-Slavic peoples and countries of Europe	
Finno-Ugrian peoples, general	6
Albanians	6
England	3

Subject	No. of Items
Hungary	2
Germany, Germans	5
Ireland	1
Italy	1
Holland	1
Rumania	3
Finland	2
France	6
Peoples and countries of the Middle East	
Arabs	10
Afghanistan	1
Yezidis	1
Iraq	1
Iran	8
Kurds	3
Lebanon	1
Palestine	1
Syria	2
Turkey	1
Hadhramaut	1
India and Pakistan	13
East, Southeast, and Central Asia	1
Ainus	1
Darkhats	1
Indochina	1
Indonesia	2
China	22
Malaya	1
Manchus	1
Mongols	1
Patet Lao	1
Tibet	1
Japan	3
Africa	
Algeria	1
Benin	1
Berbers	1
Bechuanaland	1
Bushmen	1
Egypt	1
Gold Coast	1
Zulus	3
Kenya	2
Kikuyu	2
Cyrenaica	1
Liberia	2
Madagascar	1
Morocco	1
Matabele	1
Nigeria	3
Nuers	1
Pygmies	1
Somalis	1
Sierra Leone	1
Sudan	3
Tunis	1
Hamites	1
Hausa	1
South Africa	9
America	
General	6
Alaska	1
Bolivia	1
Brazil	2
Guayaquil	1
Indians	9
Iroquois	1
Quechuas	1
Costa Rica	1
Maya	3
Mexico	9
Navajos	2
Negroes	2
Panama	2
Peru	4
United States	15
Uruguay	1
Chile	1
Eskimos	3
Australia and Oceania	
Australia	10
Oceania	10
Melanesia	3
New Guinea	2
New Caledonia	1
Polynesia	1
Maoris	1
Easter Island	2
Hawaiians	1
Tahiti	1
Micronesia	2
Colonial politics	15
Chronicles of physical anthropological and ethnographic expeditions	27
Congresses; conferences	24
Museums; exhibitions	73
Teaching; texts	5
Journals	10
Ethnographic and physical anthropological work in cities:	
Ashkhabad	1
Baku	1
Vilna	2
Kazan	3
Kiev	2
Lvov	1

Subject	No. of Items	Subject	No. of Items
Minsk	1	Tomsk	1
Moscow-Leningrad	48	Yakutsk	5
Nalchik	1	Defense of dissertations	18
Stalinabad	1	Number of authors of dissertations	83
Tiflis	7		

This list clearly indicates that the interest of ethnographers during this ten-year period was focused on folklore. There are 191 items in this category, of which 91 are book reviews; if the related subjects, folk literature, folk theater, folk music, and folk (visual) art, are included, there are 317 items, or 22 per cent of the total. The next largest single category is "Personalia" (obituaries and memorials). The published items in a combination of fields that we may designate as material culture—including tools and implements, food, housing, dress, pottery, and transport—total 225, with housing receiving the most attention (97 items). In sharp contrast, contributions in the field of social organization—including tribal composition, family and marriage, kinship, matriarchate, and military organization—number only 88, less than the number of articles on housing alone.

There is no category of religion; however, there are 84 items listed under "Beliefs and Customs." The field of political organization is not represented as a category, nor are problems of the relations of culture and environment. The absence of articles on culture and personality is not surprising, since the field has been specifically condemned by Soviet anthropology as a variety of racism (western anthropologists in this field have been attacked on this ground). In contrast to the lack of coverage of political organization, there are 15 items published on colonial politics. And although the rubric matriarchate is listed, patriarchate is not.

The central importance of ethnography in Soviet anthropology is made more clear when the above figures are compared with the totals given for other fields: physical anthropology, 72 items; archaeological cultures, 47 items; problems of prehistoric society, 39 items; peoples of historical antiquity, 34 items; languages and linguistics, 36 items. Two categories of current developments in social change or transformation are included: life and culture of collective farmers, 40 items; and life and culture of workers, 6 items. These items are

concerned primarily with material culture, and above all, with handicraft products.

As for the breakdown by ethnic areas, the greatest interest appears to be in the peoples of the Soviet Union (70 per cent of the total number of articles, just about evenly split between the peoples of European Russia and those of Asiatic Russia). The largest single category—some 12 per cent of the total number of articles—is the Great Russians themselves. All in all, it can be said that the major concern of Soviet anthropologists is with nonwestern cultures; it will be noted in particular that many of the items under the heading European Russia deal with nonwestern cultures: Bashkirs, Tatars, Karaim, and Chuvash among the Altaic-speaking peoples; the Maris, Udmurts, Komis (Permians), and Mordvins among the Uralic-speaking peoples; and the Gypsies.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOVIET ETHNOGRAPHY, 1956–58

The year 1956 marked an increased interest in Asia beyond the Soviet borders. S. I. Bruk (19, 20) contributed an article on the ethnic cartography and statistics of Southeast Asia (Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam) and on the ethnic cartography and statistics of Sinkiang. I. V. Shevel (86) discussed the question of national minorities in Sinkiang, and Lin Yao-hua (117), the Chinese ethnographer, discussed the problems involved in the study of these national minorities; both articles were published in *Sovetskaya etnografiya*. These are all surveys and reviews of general questions.

During 1957 a number of anniversaries were celebrated which resulted in several noteworthy articles. In commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of G. V. Plekhanov, the prerevolutionary Russian socialist, V. E. Gusev (33) wrote on Plekhanov and problems of ethnography, and his essay was considered important enough to be a lead article in *Sovetskaya etnografiya*. S. V. Ivanov (35) contributed an article on questions of primitive art considered in relation to Plekhanov's aesthetic hypotheses. This year also marked the four hundredth anniversary of the union of Bashkiria and the Kabardians with Russia, an event commemorated in articles by R. G. Kuseev (49) on the Bashkir legends about the uniting of

Bashkiria to Russia, and by L. I. Lavrov (52) on the Kabardian-Adyge culture from the thirteenth century through the fifteenth. Finally, and most important in terms of the number of articles published, 1957 was the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Consequently, *Sovetskaya etnografiya* published articles by L. P. Potapov (70), "The Lenin nationalities policy in actuality"; S. P. Tolstov (105), "Forty years of Soviet ethnography"; M. G. Levin and Ya. Ya. Roginskiy (55), "Soviet anthropology on the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution"; V. K. Sokolova (94), "The state of Soviet folklore studies on the fortieth anniversary of October"; and G. A. Nersesov and S. R. Smirnov (64), "October and the great changes in the countries of the East."

Seventeen articles were published in 1957 on the ethnography, ethno-history, folklore, and the like of peoples of the USSR. Two of these articles directly pose questions concerning the study of religion. Prior to 1957 such questions were subsumed under the category, "Beliefs and Customs" ("Verovaniya i Obryady"). A. I. Zalesskiy (121) has written on the religious attitudes of the Belorussians and on the growth of atheism, drawing on materials he gathered at a collective farm near Minsk, the capital of Belorussia. His observations were based on the presence of such institutions as the priesthood and such practices as baptism. He notes the rise of atheism, but he recognizes the survival of religious tendencies, especially among the old. On the other hand, he concludes that he has chosen an atypical collective farm for his observations, one that is more advanced than other collective farms of Belorussia.

The second article on religion is by G. P. Snesarev (92), whose study of the survivals of religious practices among Uzbeks of the Khorezm district (south of the Aral Sea) is based on fieldwork conducted in 1954–56. He relates the continuation of shamanist rites, agricultural rituals, artisans' rituals, and the like to the continuity of old social forms and structures: the family, the community, and work organizations.

The tendency to assign an increasingly large proportion of space in *Sovetskaya etnografiya* to the study of ethnographic questions beyond the borders of the Soviet Union was continued in 1957. Sixteen full-length articles on these subjects appeared (only one less

than the number of articles on peoples of the USSR), with primary importance assigned to African studies. Potekhin (74) published a general study of ethnic distribution in Africa in connection with the collapse of the colonial system. Articles on Africa south of the Sahara include Yastrebova (118), "The economic and political situation in the Union of South Africa"; Sobchenko (93), "Ethnographic characteristics of the urban population of the Belgian Congo"; Potekhin (73), "A new African state—Ghana"; and Vallois (113), "The Negritoes of the Cameroons." Articles on North Africa and the Middle East include: Lutskiy's (56) on the problem of Arab unity; Smirnov's (91) on "The New Egypt"; Ol'derogge's (66) on feudalism in the western Sudan, 1500–1900; and Skorov's (90) on the Algerian problem. Thus, 9 out of 16 articles treat Africa and the Middle East; one of these is on a historical theme, and eight deal with current matters. Seven of the eight concern present-day political, economic, and social currents (the other is by a French anthropologist on his specialty, the Negritoes).

Seven articles concern other parts of the world. There is one by a Czech, Karel Fojtik (Brno) (32), on the ethnographic study of production regions in Czechoslovakia; one by Ion Vledutsiu (Bucharest) (115) on the development of ethnography in Rumania under the Communist regime; and one by O. K. Skalnikova (Prague) (89) an ethnographic study of workers' life in Czechoslovakia. L. A. Feinberg (31) has written on the kinship structure of tribes in the Amazon basin; N. A. Butinov and Yu. V. Knozorov (who earlier gained acclaim for his work on the Mayan script) have published materials toward the solution of the Easter Island script (22). I. A. D'yakov (28) has an article on a trip to the Ch'uan-miao (southwestern China) made in 1925. D'yakov lived in China from 1914 to 1955. Froelich Rainey's (79) review of problems of American anthropology is a published version of his speech at the Ethnographic Institute in Moscow in June 1957. In a special section devoted to *Narody mira* (peoples of the world), Butinov (21) wrote an informative article on western New Guinea.

There are two articles surveying the results of archaeological investigations. S. P. Tolstov has reviewed the results of twenty years (1937–56) of archaeological study in Khorezm (104). Until 1945

the investigators were primarily engaged with the problem of pre-Moslem social structure in that region, beginning with the Achaemenid dynasty. From 1945 to 1956 study centered on the late Khorezmian (third century A.D.) abandoned city, Toprak-Kala. In the most recent years the work, directed by Tolstov, has broadened in time scope, and a periodization of the archaeological sequence in the area has been established.

R. V. Chubarova (23) has contributed a study on the history of the earliest inhabitants of Sakhalin. The fieldwork is directly related to the literature and is in the tradition of the polar coverage carried on by the late M. Foss. On the basis of fifteen excavations in the central and southern parts of the island, three chronological periods have been identified. The oldest period is represented by two sites, Starodubskoye II and Susuy, belonging to a neolithic culture of about 1000 B.C. The materials discovered there are related to Eskimo materials (St. Lawrence Island—early Punuk), and to materials found in the maritime provinces of Siberia opposite Sakhalin, in the Amur basin, and as far distant as Jomon Japan. A contribution on the pre-Eskimoan settlement of America by N. A. Beregovaya (13) relates the later Scottsbluff and Plainview industries to late prehistoric materials of the lower Khatanga, middle and lower Lena, Indigirka, and Kolyma Rivers, and the Chukchi Peninsula. This work calls for equally intensive surveys of the Russian materials from the American side.

Two articles on the history of habitations were published in 1957: one, by Sokolova (95), on the history of the houseform of the Ob Ugrians from the second millennium B.C.; the other, by A. Dzikiev (29), on the history of the Turkmen settlement and houseform in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Questions of origin occupy an important place in Soviet ethnohistory. S. A. Arutyunov (11) has written on the Ainu components in the Japanese people and culture, and Bongard-Levin and Deopik (15) have examined the origin of the Munda peoples. Both studies are based on the geographic distribution of trait lists. Two articles in 1957 were devoted to the origins of the Kelteminar culture, a late neolithic culture of the Aral Sea region. Vinogradov (114) has published a study of the pottery, bone, and stone products of this culture

to show its southern provenance. The culture, dated at about 3000 B.C. lacks clear definition, although Vinogradov has done much to indicate its morphology and has contributed to its spatio-temporal delimitation. T. A. Trofimova (111) has contributed a study of the paleoanthropology of ancient Khorezm. The type is Europoid, quite like the modern population of the Amu-Darya delta, and the soft parts of the face and skull have been reconstructed—a technique that has been imaginatively pursued by M. M. Gerasimov.

There are two articles in *Sovetskaya etnografia,* No. 6, on the physical evolution of man. The first, by the Polish anthropologist Wołanski (116) deals with problems of differentiation occasioned by the rapid tempo of evolution from Neanderthal to modern man; according to the author, all stages of the evolution of man are represented in one type, *Homo sapiens.* Roginskiy (80) has developed a different and more suggestive view, namely that human evolution proceeds at different rates at different times. According to Roginskiy, late paleolithic man is closer to modern man in form than to Neanderthal. Numerous important changes in the physical structure of man have taken place in the last few thousand years, and indeed in the last thousand years. The answers to problems of process and rate of change are to be sought in the so-called stochastic processes, or "drift" in the American usage.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOVIET ARCHAEOLOGY, 1957–58

The chief archaeological publication is the journal *Sovetskaya arkheologiya.* Also of considerable importance is the journal *Arkheologiya,* of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The Ukrainian journal first appeared in 1947; it publishes summaries of articles in French.

In 1957 A. Ya. Brusov published two articles of significance both within and beyond archaeological circles. The first of these is a general consideration of the phenomenon of migrations in the cultures of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (17); the second treats the problem of exchange and trade in an archaeological context (18). Both raise important issues as *Problemstellungen.* But the articles are marred by the author's tendency to make gratuitous generalizations about western archaeologists' inability to account for such

matters as the distribution of the Bell-beaker pottery, or of the Battle-axe culture. Boriskovskiy (16) has reviewed what Soviet archaeologists have discovered about paleolithic dwellings in the Soviet Union. He reproduces excellent plans of dwellings, but unfortunately his article lacks maps.

The chief specialist on the Neolithic Age in the Ukraine, T. S. Passek (67) has reviewed the present state of knowledge of the Tripolye, Körös, Bandkeramik, and Boyan cultures in the area between the Danube and the Dniester. Two maps accompany the text. V. Mikov (60), a Bulgarian archaeologist, has reviewed the results of recent excavations of Neolithic and early Metal Age sites in Bulgaria. E. Kondurachi of Rumania (44) has reviewed results of Rumanian archaeology from the Paleolithic period to the Middle Ages. These articles were published in *Sovetskaya arkheologiya,* which is the main organ not only for Soviet archaeologists, but for their colleagues in the satellite countries as well.

An interim report of considerable significance on the excavations that are being carried out in the Soviet Far East under the general direction of A. P. Okladnikov has been made by his disciple Larichev (51). These excavations, in the vicinity of Vladivostok, have uncovered a shell-mound culture with polished stone tools. A number of traits have distributions in Manchuria, northern China, and Southeast Asia (Indochina, Burma). A careful study of the graves of the Tagar culture of southern Siberia has been made by Levasheva (53), who pays special attention to local distributions and variations of the Tagar Kurgan culture.

H. A. Moora (63) of Tallinn, Estonia, has contributed an article on the ancient territory of settlement of the Baltic peoples, bringing together archaeological and philological evidence pertaining to their distribution. A number of maps accompany the text. The work attempts to bridge the time from prehistory to the beginning of the present millennium. This sort of historical archaeology is very prominent in the pages of *Sovetskaya arkheologiya.* In this connection, an excellent review by V. M. Masson (58) of the culture of ancient Bactria may be cited. Another contribution to ethno-history is that of Alikhova (1) on the Mordvins, based on literary as well as on archaeological evidence. Studies of a master ceramist who flour-

ished about A.D. 1200 in Merv (75) and of the antiquities of Novgorod by Kolchin (43) are in a similar vein. Kolchin has made considerable use of quantitative techniques in establishing his chronologies.

Surveys of two important archaeological cultures have been contributed by Yerusalimskaya and by Stepanov. Yerusalimskaya (119; see also 68, 69) has made a wide-ranging study of the Catacomb culture (northern Caucasus and southern Russia). Stepanov (98) has passed the Fatyanovo culture under review. V. S. Sorokin (96) has discussed the site of Karmir-Blur, a neolithic site near Erevan, Armenia.

Soviet archaeologists reach out to those nonspecialists who teach and otherwise apply results of archaeology by devoting a certain number of pages of their journal to popular discourses on the techniques and results of investigations. It should be pointed out that the term *plemya,* "tribe," is used to cover meanings designated as "band," "tribe," or "people" in western usage.

MONOGRAPHIC MATERIALS

General

Under this category, some attention should be called to several popular works. Perhaps the best known of these, *How Man Became a Giant,* is not by an anthropologist but by two professional writers, Ilin and Segal (34). This is a two-volume work; the first volume, which brings the story of mankind to the societies of the Classical period ("the period of Slavery" in Soviet usage), was translated into English and published in 1942 with an Introduction by Paul Radin. Despite its simplification, it indicates the pattern of Soviet thinking on Upper Paleolithic art in relation to religion, the rise of the state, and similar problems.

M. O. Kosven, writing in the tradition of Engels and Lenin, has most recently (1957) published the second edition of his work on the history of primitive culture (45), which originally appeared in 1953. Perhaps the closest thing to an "official" Soviet statement on its subject, it has been published in translation in Poland, in China, in East Germany, in Rumania, and in Czechoslovakia. The

book has the general organization and physical appearance of nineteenth-century works on the same subject, such as those of E. B. Tylor. In fact, the same general type of line illustration and subject matter (Australian bone painting, a Plains teepee, etc.) is used by Kosven. One might wish that some of the rich new illustrative material of Russia or Siberia (35) would be used in such texts, in addition to old, familiar subjects, since the readers of the work will be both the instructed and the uninstructed. This popularizing text carries the story of early man down to the period of the decline of early communal society and the rise of class-stratified society. Kosven reviews old controversies over the progress of man, and breaks a lance with Lévy-Brühl on the prelogical mind of the primitive.

Ethnography, Ethno-history

A series of contributions to the ethnic history of the Estonians appeared in 1956 under the editorship of H. A. Moora (62). In perhaps the most interesting paper, P. Ariste asserts that the Baltic Finns were settled *in situ* in the third millennium B.C., two thousand years earlier than the generally accepted date. The collection combines breadth of coverage with much new and significant data. The methods applied seem somewhat old-fashioned, but a genuine attempt is made to interrelate archaeology, comparative ethnography (including forklore), philology (as opposed to modern linguistics), and physical anthropology in studying various problems of the cultural history of Estonia.

Two monographs on the Bashkirs have appeared: one by S. I. Rudenko (84), and a second by Kuzeev (49). The study by Rudenko is a revision of an invaluable earlier monograph (82) that first appeared in two parts in 1916 and 1925. The present volume incorporates much of the data collected in 1905–8 with more recent data gathered in 1952. The basic contributions of this monograph on the ethnography (material and spiritual culture, social organization) of the Bashkirs were laid down in the original version. Kuzeev's work bears upon the social organization of the Bashkirs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; it particularly clarifies the trans-

formation of the consanguineal form of social organization in the period of heavy Russian contact, and the development of agriculture in an originally pastoral economy.

The Ethnographic Institute has devoted a number of its *Trudy* series to collections of papers and short monographs on different regions of the USSR. To date there are two collections on the peoples of Siberia (71, 72), one on the peoples of the Caucasus (46), and one Central Asian ethnographic collection (107). The Siberian volumes include an impressive account of the origins of the Nganasany (Samoyeds) by B. O. Dolgikh, a sound scholar of the ethnohistory of Siberia (I, 3–87). Their advent in their present area is as recent as the seventeenth century, when they displaced the Paleoasiatic peoples who lived there. Another specialist in the ethnohistory of Siberia, S. A. Tokarev, has written on the Hakas clans of the nineteenth century (I, 108–41). I. S. Gurovich has made a short contribution to the history of the Chuvan group of the Yukagirs in the eighteenth century (II, 246–62). V. V. Antropova (II, 99–245) has made a considerable contribution to an important and little-known aspect of Siberian ethnography, the military organization of the Chukchi, Koryak, Itelmen (Kamchadal), Eskimo, and Yukagir cultures. These last two articles publish important archival materials hitherto unavailable. A. A. Popov and O. V. Ionova have published studies of the habitations of Siberian peoples: Popov (I, 142–72) on the Dolgan (Yakutized Tungus), and Ionova (I, 239–319) on the Yakuts. Popov is an outstanding contributor to the field of the material culture of Siberia.

The shaman is an important figure in Siberian ethnography. The study of the Siberian shaman has been considerably advanced by Anisimov in a series of important articles, notably a study of the shaman's tent among the Evenki (Tungus) (I, 199–238), which discusses the interrelation of art motifs, religion, and material culture in shamanism. Anisimov has made an equally important contribution to an understanding of the world-view of the Evenki, in regard to totemism. Here his thesis is that shamanism is a more highly evolved form of totemism (3).

The Caucasus volume (46) contains an ethno-historical study of the Abazins (northern Caucasus) by L. I. Lavrov (pp. 3–47);

there is a general ethnography of the Abkhazians (pp. 48–112), and an interesting picture of the traditional family and social functioning of the Abkhazian woman by Ya. S. Smirnova (pp. 113–81). These articles are especially valuable in view of the small number of ethnographic studies of the northern Caucasus. S. D. Lisitsian has composed a historical ethnography of the Armenians (pp. 182–264); M. O. Kosven has contributed long and important bibliographic study of works in Russian on the ethnography of the Caucasus (pp. 265–374).

The volume on Central Asia (107) contains two works on the Turkmens—important again because they are the least studied of the peoples of Central Asia. Ya. R. Vinnikov is represented by an ethnographic study of the Daykhan of Mary oblast (Merv), covering the period from 1855 to the present period of collectivization (pp. 3–81), with emphasis on their current mode of life. G. P. Vasil'eva has a long and most valuable study of the Nokhurli Turkmens (pp. 82–215). The study by Vasil'eva, T. A. Zhdanko's earlier work on the historical ethnography of the Karakalpaks (123), her later more detailed study of the Karakalpaks of the Khorezm oasis (106), and K. L. Zadykhina's study of the Uzbeks of the Amu-Darya delta (120) form a series of works that fill in the blank spot on the ethnological map of the area south of the Aral Sea. Zhdanko is a major contributor to the ethno-history and tribal organization of the region. Zadykhina has done scholars a rare service by appending to her study a systematic list of Uzbek kinship terms.

G. F. Debets has performed a notable task of organizing and leading an expedition to study the physical anthropology of the Kirghiz. The first volume of the expedition's results has been published under Debets' editorship (26). He has gathered somatological contributions by N. N. Miklashevskaya, I. M. Zolotareva, V. V. Ginzburg (long a student of Central Asian physical anthropology), and V. P. Alekseev. These studies serve a dual purpose: they make available the somatological data, and contribute to the racial history of the region. Ya. R. Vinnikov has contributed an analysis of the tribal organization and settlement of the Kirghiz in southern Kirghizia; his study is of added importance because it opens up an area that has been little explored to date. Debets himself is best known

for his earlier paleoanthropological studies in the territory of the Soviet Union and for his somatological investigations on the peoples of the Kamchatka peninsula (24, 25).

A very useful work on the historical development of twenty-five numerically insignificant peoples of Siberia has been published by M. A. Sergeev (85). Among those studied are the Uralic, Altaic, Paleoasiatic, Ket, and Gilyak peoples; some of the lesser Turkic and Mongol peoples are omitted. Their historical development is divided into three periods: prerevolutionary, 1917–50, and the present. The study is well organized and shows a good command of the literature. The book presents important economic and social-historical data for the early period, but no comparable data for the later periods. For example, details on the size of population and of herds are given for the prerevolutionary period, but not for the present; nor is it explained whether or not such data are available.

A series of ethnographic surveys has been instituted, under the general editorship of S. P. Tolstov (109), entitled *Narody Mira* ("Peoples of the World"). Individual volumes on the peoples of Africa, the Middle East, and Siberia have already appeared, and it is planned that the completed series will survey the whole of world ethnography. The volume on the peoples of Siberia (54) is a major research effort involving the collaboration of over forty writers, editors, and illustrators. It is organized like an encyclopedia, and is composed of two types of articles. The first part consists of essays on the ancient Siberian cultures by A. P. Okladnikov (pp. 21–107), on physical types of M. G. Levin (pp. 108–14), and on the history of Russian settlement by L. P. Potapov and others (pp. 115–24). The second part is devoted to the ethnographic coverage of thirty peoples, all following the same general outline. The volume concludes with ninety pages of bibliography, notes, and indices. There are four maps: two archaeological site maps by Okladnikov, an ethnic distribution map of the seventeenth century by B. O. Dolgikh, and a current ethnic map by I. M. Teplyakov. The amount of information contained is vast, and it is well organized and presented. Here again, however, present-day figures are lacking or suspect. For example, information on ethnic distribution is reportedly valid for 1951, while population size data are no later than

1926; thus, the information lacks temporal coordination. Data subsequent to 1926 are not given even when they have been published elsewhere in the Soviet Union; for example, the article on the Yakuts presents the population of 1926, although the publication of the results of the Soviet census of 1939 included then-current data on the Yakuts. However, the work is the most complete undertaking of its kind in over forty years and is a rich source. It is to be ranked, at least in its ethnographic content, with the work *Aziatskaya Rossiia,* published in 1914 (two volumes and an Atlas) by the Resettlement Committee in St. Petersburg.

The volume on the peoples of the Middle East, edited by N. A. Kislyakov and A. I. Pershits (42), is a derivative work, whereas the volume on Siberia is based primarily on the fieldwork of Russians. The countries covered are Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, the Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the sheikdoms of southeastern Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq), and Israel. It is not so encyclopedic as the work on the peoples of Siberia, but is nevertheless a useful compilation with excellent cartography. The work contains more political matter than the volume on Siberia.

In the years 1954–57 a number of local histories were published, chiefly histories of administrative regions. A history of Buryat-Mongolia (40) covers the archaeology, the earliest literary records, and the later socioeconomic history of that region down to 1917. An ambitious history of Yakutia is under way; two volumes out of a projected three have been published. The first, by A. P. Okladnikov (65), a prominent archaeologist, covers the archaeological and literary (oral and written) history of the region down to the seventeenth century. The second, by Tokarev and others (103), covers the period 1630–1917. Dulov's (27) social and economic history of the Tuvinian region covers the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The histories of the Uzbek (108, 112) and Kazakh (12) regions cover these areas from prehistoric times down to 1917, and later volumes presumably will cover the Soviet period. These volumes all contain great quantities of information on the areas they cover. Although there has obviously been no general plan behind these works, the viewpoints, presentation, scope, and type of subject dealt with are more or less the same.

An invaluable contribution to local customary law and comparative law has been made in a study of Kazakh criminal law customs by Kul'teleev (48). The subject, once common in world ethnology, is now rare, and Kul'teleev's work gains importance from this fact. The period covered is from the beginning of Russian contact (early eighteenth century) down to 1917. The author's use of unpublished archival materials as well as published sources makes his study especially valuable.

N. A. Kislyakov (30), a specialist of long standing on the Tajiks, has published a study of a collective farm in Tajikistan (30), covering the history of the settlement, the economic life, the household and family, and the formal political and educational work of the farm. The study belongs to the field of acculturation and culture change.

S. A. Tokarev (102) has published a course of lectures on the ethnography of the peoples of the USSR. The lectures, originally delivered in Moscow, East Berlin, and Leipzig, form the sort of balanced survey that has long been called for. The work is composed of separate chapters on the individual peoples; of necessity, some of the treatments are all too brief. And in general, the economic and material cultural data are well developed while such topics as social organization and religion are contracted in scope. The validity of the Japhetic (Caucasian) language grouping (p. 566) must be called into question.

Archaeology

The introductory volume (110) of a projected multivolume study of the history of the USSR has been devoted to the prehistoric and ancient cultures found on Soviet territory. This volume, designed for general reference, is under the editorship of P. N. Tret'yakov and A. L. Mongayt, specialists on Slavic archaeology. The work is a collective undertaking, with over forty participants. The first three chapters cover the Paleolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze Ages; the remaining two-thirds of the book is devoted to the history of the ancient empires, on which both archaeological and literary sources are brought to bear. There are useful bibliographies and indices, and the work is richly illustrated.

Mongayt (61) has published a survey of Soviet archaeology that is organized both as a history and as a report on the activities of archaeologists. The first chapter contains a definition of the field and a brief history of Russian archaeology. The body of the book is organized into chronological periods (the Paleolithic period to Russian origins), with accounts of the diggers as well as the results of their digging. Site lists and a list of some 250 archaeologists, their dates of birth (and death if deceased), and their fields of archaeological activity are appended.

Attention should be called to two earlier works of outstanding quality in the field of Soviet archaeology, since they have not been adequately reviewed in English. The first of these is by S. V. Kiselev (41) on the ancient history of southern Siberia. It concerns the Afanasyevo, Andronov, Karasuk, Tagar, Pazyryk, Tashtyk, and Turkic cultures of the region. The work is well illustrated, with good comparative materials. S. I. Rudenko (83) has written a study of the culture of the population of the Altai region in the Scythian period. Both works are sound and well conceived. Jettmar (37) has since summarized Rudenko's findings in the *Bulletin* of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.

Languages

S. E. Malov (57) a well-known student of Turkology for forty years, has published a lexicon of the language of the Yellow Uigurs (Saryg Yugur) of Kansu, China. The texts on which his study is based were collected during two expeditions, in 1909–11 and 1913–15. Malov's activities cover many other fields of Turkology, including the runic inscriptions of the Orkhon Turks of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. The lexicon is a careful composition in both transcription and semantics, and a forty-page grammar is appended.

M. S. Andreev, who died in 1948, worked for many decades on the language and history of the so-called Mountain Tajiks. The work cited (2) was completed by E. M. Peshchereva. It is in two parts: texts with notes on the informants, and a lexicon of the Yagnobian language. Like the Malov work it is a careful and sound study.

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In the references below the following short forms have been adopted for Soviet periodicals, and for museum and monograph series. Issue numbers have been used in place of volume numbers when necessary.

EO	*Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*
Iz	*Izvestiya obshchestva lyubiteley estestvoznaniya antropologii i etnografii*
IzGO	*Izvestiya geograficheskogo obshchestva*
SAr	*Sovetskaya arkheologiya*
Sb	*Sbornik muzeya antropologii i etnografii*
SE	*Sovetskaya etnografiya*
TAO	*Trudy antropologicheskogo otdela*
TGIM	*Trudy gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeya*
TIE	*Trudy institut etnografii*
ZM	*Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya*
ZRGO	*Zapiski russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po atdel. etnografi*

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6

LANGUAGE

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter on linguistic studies covers the publications of 1954–58; however, when it has seemed appropriate for the survey of some particular category of research, certain important earlier items and a few items published in 1959 have also been included.

The war years marked a watershed in the study of linguistics, with the postwar period having seen the consolidation of certain ways (note the plural) of looking at language and talking about it—ways that had their roots in the prewar writings and wide influence of Trubetzkoy, Sapir, and Bloomfield. This review surveys only some of the most recent aspects of this consolidation. As yet, one can scarcely sense that the epoch is coming to a close, although the consolidation of new approaches naturally prepares the way for still newer ones, some of which are beginning to appear on the horizon.

In setting limits on the scope of this chapter, my guiding consideration has been that of relevance to anthropological theory and to the interests and research pursuits of anthropologists. A section on bibliographic resources, the most important of which are quite new, has been included because of their value as a guide to publications in the whole field of linguistics as well as to studies too numerous to mention here. A section on the theory and method of descriptive linguistics has been included because the developments in this field are most indicative of modern linguistics and are relevant to the methodology of analysis and description of structures in other branches of cultural anthropology. A section on the psychology of

language has been included because of its relevance to linguistic theory in general as well as to the psychological approach to other aspects of culture. Another section is devoted to the methods of historical and comparative linguistics, problems of language classification, and glottochronology, topics relevant to the cultural-historical and archaeological pursuits of anthropologists.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The most important guide to new literature in the field of linguistics is the bibliographic series being published by the Permanent International Committee of Linguists (163). This series was undertaken, after the war, with a grant from UNESCO. The first two volumes appeared in 1949 and 1950, and covered the years 1939–47. Each subsequent volume covers the publications of a single current year, together with such supplementary bibliographic data from preceding years as may have been overlooked before. The most recent volume covers the year 1956 and appeared in 1958. The arrangement of topics in these volumes is outlined below since it renders unnecessary any further detailed review of the literature in certain important categories. In particular, it makes it unnecessary to furnish a bibliographic guide here to the numerous descriptive, historical, and comparative studies in the various language families and geographic regions of the world, many of which (such as aboriginal North and South America, Africa, Oceania, and the like) are more or less the special province of anthropologists.

The first section, titled *General works,* has the following subdivisions: (1) Bibliographies; (2) Periodicals; (3) Congresses; (4) Homage volumes and other collections; (5) Biographies; (6) The History of linguistics; (7) Auxiliary languages.

The second section, *General linguistics and related branches of study,* is divided into: (1) General linguistics; (2) Linguistic statistics; (3) Phonetics; (4) Phonology; (5) Linguistic geography; (6) Scripts, alphabets, orthography; (7) Stylistics; (8) Onomastics (this category is further subdivided according to general works and various particular geographic areas, and includes both toponymy and anthroponymy).

This section is followed by a series of sections on languages and

language relationships in the various families and/or geographic areas of the world: *Indo-European languages; Asiatic and Mediterranean languages; Uralian languages; Basque and the ancient languages of the Iberian peninsula; Hamito-Semitic languages; Negro-African languages; Caucasian languages; Altaic languages; Dravidian languages; Burushaski; Languages of eastern Asia; Languages of Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia; Australian languages; Tasmanian; American languages; Eskimo and Paleo-Siberian.* Many of these sections are elaborately subdivided into general works, subfamilies of languages, particular languages, and the like.

Concluding this series of sections is one entitled *Mixed languages* (a title bearing implications that are still a subject of debate among linguists). The four subdivisions of this section are: (1) Jewish languages; (2) Creole languages; (3) Pidgins; and (4) Gypsy languages.

One useful feature of this bibliography is the inclusion, after each book or monograph title, of references to all reviews of the work, giving the last name of the reviewer and the place where the review appeared. Another feature is a separate Index of Authors.

Since there is approximately a two-year lag between the period of coverage and the date of publication of the volumes in this series, it is worth calling attention to other bibliographies that may help to fill the gap. One of these, which is useful as a guide to separate publications (books, monographs, separately published papers, and the like, exclusive of journal articles), is the *Quarterly check-list of linguistics* (172). This series began in 1958. The first volume was limited to publications (in western languages) outside the United States. Beginning with Volume 2, international coverage will be attempted.

For Americanists, there is the excellent bibliographic coverage of the linguistic section in the annual bibliography published in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris.* Also useful is the language index at the conclusion of each volume of the *International Journal of American Linguistics.*

Bibliographies on specialized subjects or areas in linguistics will be found listed in the section on bibliographies in the annual "UNESCO bibliography" referred to above. But a few recent ones

of special interest to anthropologists may be mentioned here: Rivet, on Aymara and Quechua (175); Bright, on Hokan-Coahuiltecan (12); Cense and Uhlenbeck, on the languages of Borneo (23); Klieneberger, on Oceania (118); Loewenthal, on the Turkic languages of Central Asia (138); and Jakobson, *et al.*, on the Paleosiberian peoples and languages (113).

THEORY AND METHOD OF DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTICS

The term descriptive has somewhat different connotations for linguists than for other anthropologists, who quite often use it, or the modified term merely descriptive, in a rather deprecative sense—as though the term implied "lack of problem," "lack of theoretical orientation," or "the presentation of unrelated facts or unanalyzed data." In linguistic usage the connotations of the term are quite different. The object of "description" is understood to be the portrayal of the structural relations that inhere in language habits, and that are available for observation and analysis in a corpus of natural language data. Good description is achieved only when significant problems are formulated by means of tests and experiments with methods, and further, when both problem and method are seen in terms of a theory of language structure and linguistic behavior.

The theory of language structure and linguistic behavior is still in the process of development. Not all linguists see matters the same way or believe the same things about language. To the extent to which linguists differ in this respect and influence their colleagues and students, it is meaningful to distinguish "schools" of linguistics, and the following outline of recent contributions is arranged more or less accordingly. It would be a mistake, however, to overemphasize such differences, for there is too much communication and diffusion of ideas between the centers of linguistic study to allow clear divisions. The several American, British, Danish, and Czechoslovakian outlooks, among others, have interpenetrated and have been affected by one another to a significant extent, although as yet without obliterating many of their differences.

Linguistic developments in the United States during the past two decades, growing largely out of Bloomfield's legacy and partly out of Sapir's are chronicled in *Readings in Linguistics* (114). This is

a collection of theoretical, methodological, and applied linguistic studies, edited by Martin Joos for the Committee on the Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies. It is composed of forty-three papers by twenty-six authors (Bloch, Bloomfield, Bowen, Chao, Hall, Harris, Hartman, Haugen, Hill, Hockett, Hoenigswald, Joos, Leopold, Lounsbury, Martin, Moulton, Nida, Pittman, Sapir, Saporta, Silva-Fuenzalida, Stockwell, Swadesh, Twaddell, Voegelin, and Wells). The editor's comments following each paper serve to define the historic position of each within the development of recent linguistic thinking. Although these comments occasionally have the effect of making the papers seem like ancient history—as though the problems with which they are concerned were now dead issues—the papers are nonetheless of immediate relevance to the practicing descriptive linguist and especially to the novice in the field. The problems with which the papers deal are of the sort that confront the student repeatedly and in various guises. And whether he continues to arrive at solutions similar to those offered in this collection, or instead arrives at a different sort in line with the ever-changing views of the nature of language structure, his appreciation of the problems and his understanding of what is demanded in a solution are framed at least in part against the background of thinking represented in this collection.

The collection has received some criticism, both in published reviews (for example, 107) and in unpublished comment, because of a one-sidedness and a seeming chauvinism that some see in the so-called American school of linguistics, and because the views of linguists (including Americans) more or less outside the Bloomfieldian tradition are not represented.

Recent textbooks by Gleason (50, 51) and Hockett (97), and an earlier work by Harris (74), present systematizations of theory and method that represent the conceptions, teachings, and practices of a fairly large number of American descriptive linguists. These books have filled an urgent need for texts that can be used in linguistics courses. A text by Hill (84) is similarly useful for courses oriented primarily toward English.

Another work by Hockett, *A Manual of Phonology* (94), presents a systematization of phonetic and phonemic theory, and a typology

of phonological systems. The work shows something of the influence of Trubetzkoy and the Prague school, but is set against a background deriving from the mathematical "theory of information."

A paper by Harris (75) deals with distributional structure, its relation to meaning, and the methods of its analysis. It also presents well the philosophy of language and the methodology of an influential school in the "American" tradition.

A series of recent papers by Pike (167–69), a textbook by Elson (37), and descriptive works by Pickett (164) and Shell (183), represent an approach to the type of grammatical analysis and description that has been elaborated by Pike and his students. The approach, now called "tagmenics" by its exponents, is essentially a refinement of position-class analysis. The theoretical views that underlie it are elaborated further in the first two parts (all that has so far been published) of a general work by Pike (166).

A volume of essays by Greenberg (63) contains three papers with significance for descriptive linguistics. Chapter I treats language in terms of the theory of signs and interprets some of its formal properties in terms of mathematical set theory. Chapter II is a systematic formulation of the procedures by which the basic units of "morpheme" and "word" are established in linguistic analysis. Chapter VII explores the relevance to linguistic analysis of the terms "structure" and "function" so familiar to anthropologists.

The Fundamentals of Language by Jakobson and Halle (112), though a small book (87 pages), is a great expression of a perceptive view into the structure of language. The first part (the joint work of both authors) deals with phonology and presents the authors' approach to distinctive features of speech sounds and to phonemic patterning. Part II, by Jakobson, deals with two fundamental aspects of language structure—or rather, two fundamental kinds of relations that characterize all structural units in language—"similarity relations" and "contiguity relations." The view of language in these terms is an embracing one, in which phonological structure, syntactic constructions, the evocative artifices of speech and literature, the varieties of aphasic disturbances, the Freudian psychological processes, and the forms of magic are all seen to rest on a single pair

of principles. Other papers that present aspects of Jakobson's approach are by Jakobson (111), Cherry (25), and Halle (72).

The theory, method, and terminology of the Danish school of linguistics ("glossematics"), associated with Hjelmslev and his colleagues and students, has only recently been made accessible to nonreaders of Danish. This has been accomplished in large part by Whitfield's translation of Hjelmslev's *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language* (89), and Uldall's *General Theory* [of glossematics] (210), and also by papers by Hjelmslev (90, 91), Whitfield (231), Fischer-Jørgensen (44), and Coseriu (32).

Three papers (4, 6, 7) and a monograph (5) by Bazell present the views of a well-informed conservative critic of developments in modern structural linguistics.

Whatmough's *Language: A Modern Synthesis* (229), which appeared in 1956 and was reissued in a paperback edition the following year, offers a thought-provoking general introduction to the study of language.

In conclusion, we note a new development, "transformational analysis," which will probably have an impact on future descriptive method and have consequences for the general theory of language structure. This new method is set forth in two papers by Harris (76, 77), in a paper (28) and a monograph (29) by Chomsky, and in a review essay by Lees (127). Chomsky points out the inadequacies of previous conceptualizations of grammatical structure, and demonstrates the applicability of the transformational model as a supplement to the phrase-structure model. Applications of this mode of analysis thus far have been confined to syntax, but extensions into the analysis of certain types of morphological structures and also into morphophonemics are currently being discussed.

SEMANTICS

The study of meaning does not have an official place within descriptive linguistics, at least not in its American variety. There is an obsession on the part of linguists to eliminate from their analyses even the few traditional points of dependence upon criteria involving the meanings of forms (cf. 27, 29). The attitude of many lin-

guists is that if semantics is to exist as a field of scientific inquiry, it should be a separate discipline. But while granting it a charter, so to speak, they have been only pessimistic as to the probability of a fruitful outcome. In any case, linguists have not contributed to the field. Instead, most of them rely on the study of the "distributions" of forms, aiming toward contextual definitions or "linguistic meanings." The contributions to semantics have come primarily from European linguists (or from American linguists of European training or intellectual background) and from those American linguists who are in the first place anthropologists or philosophers.

The most promising area of development in semantics so far can be termed "descriptive lexicography," which for the most part deals with the simplest and most direct aspect of meaning, namely reference or denotation. By virtue of this approach the linguist is able (in certain semantic domains, at least) to collect adequate and reliable data in so far as he controls text material and informant work. This aspect of language study is of special relevance to ethnology, since it is concerned with the relations between language and culture-content. It may be noted that many European investigators in this field—especially those in the "Wörter und Sachen" tradition—are in fact linguistic ethnographers or linguistic historians working on European cultures. In using the term descriptive ("descriptive lexicography," and elsewhere "descriptive linguistics") we mean to imply that the analysis is partially or potentially *structural.* This is more obvious and more consciously expressed in some studies than in others, but even in those in which it is not particularly apparent, the possibility is nonetheless there.

Papers by Wells (224, 226), Hattori (78), Lounsbury (142), and Ullmann (212) treat approaches to the analysis of meaning. More extensive surveys are by Ullmann (211, 213), Kronasser (123), Guiraud (67), and Zvegincev (234).

"Linguistic-field" theory constitutes a kind of bridge between particularistic semantic studies and modern structural semantics. Recent papers that bear on this subject are by Öhman (157), Basilius (3), Waterman (219), Leisi (128), Rudskoger (179), and C. F. and F. M. Voegelin (217).

Papers by Hjelmslev (91) and Wells (226) are concerned with

the possibility of a structural treatment of meaning. A paper by Goodenough (55) discusses the relationship between cultural anthropology and linguistics in terms of sign theory and the structure of meaning. Works by Osgood and his collaborators (161, 162) deal with the structure and dimensional analysis of the affective components of meaning, rather than with referential meaning. Papers by Goodenough (53, 54, 56), Lounsbury (143), and Romney and Epling (176) discuss the program and method of structural semantics and apply it to the analysis of kinship systems. A paper by Lounsbury (142) applies the method of structural semantics to varying uses of a single term, meaning. A paper by Brown and Gilman (18) applies a dimensional analysis to the use of second-person pronouns in European languages; the authors base their analysis on extensive statistical studies of usage, and make correlations with cultural attitudes and behavior. Papers by Thomas (207), Austerlitz (2), McKaughan (149), and Wonderly (233) arrive at componential analyses of total pronominal systems in several languages. Haugen (80) treats the semantics of orientation categories—a subject that has also been discussed in an as yet unpublished paper by Conklin. Conklin has also discussed color categories in this manner (31).

Studies of translation problems have contributed to the analysis of meaning. One problem in translation may be said to be the "declassification" of denotata for purposes of "reclassification," that is, the linguist determines the particular meaning (alloseme) that a form has in a given context in one language, and finds the class and label under which to subsume it in the second language—a procedure necessitated by the fact that different languages follow different principles of classification for labeling purposes. This problem becomes especially acute for those who are preparing the way for machine translation, but some contributions have been made toward its solution. Some of the papers in the book edited by Locke and Booth touch on it. A related problem—one most often met with by Bible translators and others who work among peoples outside the sphere of western culture—is the finding of ways to express concepts foreign to native cultures. A paper by Longacre (140) deals with aspects of this problem and, incidentally, throws a new light on the notion of "linguistic relativity." A recent paper by Firth (42) dis-

cusses rather briefly some problems of translation in relation to linguistic analysis.

Papers by Nida (156), Hockett (95), Sommerfelt (187), Knudsen and Sommerfelt (120), Wheeler (230), Hiorth (85–87), and Garvin (47) deal with problems in the analysis of meaning that arise in lexicography.

"Wörter und Sachen" studies, a kind of linguistic ethnology, aroused considerable interest in the early twentieth century in Europe. They had two emphases: (1) the historical reconstruction of proto-Indo-European culture-content by the use of linguistic techniques, and (2) lexico-ethnographic studies of aspects of contemporary languages and cultures. Among anthropologists a somewhat similar interest in "folk-taxonomies" has been slowly but gradually developing. The principal cultural domains covered in these studies have been material culture, knowledge of natural environment, number systems, social structure, religion, and magic. Most of these studies of language and culture-content have been particularistic treatments of single items or of aggregates of single items. Some, however, have been affected by the linguistic-field theory, and a few have been "structural" to an extent. Up to the present time interest in this kind of work has steadily continued to grow, both among European linguist-folklorist-ethnographers and among American anthropologists. A sample of studies along these lines would include the work of Harrington (73), Rivet (174), Aulie (1), Keller (116), Hymes (109), and Lotz (141) on numeral systems, numeral classifiers, and measures; Conklin (31) and Lenneberg and Roberts (129) on color systems; Weltfish (228), Livingston (136), and Herculano de Carvalho (83) on aspects of material culture; Marcelin (147), Mahr (145, 146), and Séguy (181) on plant classifications and ethnobotanical terminology; Ghirlanda (49) on the terminology of wine culture; Marsh and Laughlin (148) on anatomical knowledge and associated terminology; Dumezil (34) on Quechuan terms of economic structure; Brown and Gilman (18) and Chao (24) on terms of address; and Kluckhohn (119) on value terms. Some papers on kinship terminologies have already been mentioned (53, 54, 56, 142, 176). These are but a small fraction of the total number of publications on the subject of kinship systems that appeared during

the period under review. This subject requires a special bibliography.

Side by side with the lexico-ethnographic studies have been the Humboldt-Cassirer-Sapir-Whorf-Lee speculations about a "sprachliche Zwischenwelt," an "implicit metaphysics of language," or a "linguistic world view." Some of these studies have been concerned with lexical categorization, but the greater number have been concerned with the influence of grammatical categories upon habits of thought. American anthropologists have been introduced to this largely through the writings of Benjamin Whorf and Dorothy Lee. The issue posed in their writings is a more subtle and much more difficult problem of the relationship between language and culture than the corresponding one posed by the lexico-ethnographic studies. The Carroll edition of Whorf's collected papers (22) has recently made Whorf's writings readily available to a large student body. A symposium volume edited by Hoijer (102), containing papers by Fearing, Greenberg, Hockett, Hoijer, McQuown, Newman, and Voegelin, together with discussions by these scholars and others, deals with various aspects and interpretations of the "Whorf hypothesis." Lenneberg and Roberts (129), dealing with linguistic codability of colors, formulate problems and attempt an experimental testing of the Whorf hypothesis. Other recent papers dealing with aspects of the Whorf hypothesis are by Basilius (3), Waterman (219), Lévi-Strauss (132, 133), Hoijer (98), Goodenough (57), and Longacre (139, 140). Longacre's papers pose something of a challenge to the generally accepted formulation of the Whorf hypothesis. Papers referred to above in connection with structural semantics, and those named below in connection with psychology of language, are also relevant to various aspects of the Whorf hypothesis.

PSYCHOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

A monograph (160), edited by Osgood and Sebeok and with contributions by them and by Carroll, Ervin, Greenberg, Jenkins, Lounsbury, Newmark, Saporta, Walker, and Wilson, reports the work of a summer seminar sponsored by the Committee on Linguistics and Psychology of the Social Science Research Council. The seminar's purpose was first to examine the approaches of three theoretical models of the language process that had been developing

rather independently, one deriving from information theory, one deriving from learning theory, and one that has developed within the field of linguistics proper; and second to discover in what ways and in relation to what problems there could be a fruitful collaboration between the separate disciplines represented by these approaches. A further aim was to formulate a number of basic research problems and to develop experimental approaches to them. An extensive review essay by Olmsted (158) appraises the published results of this seminar.

A long-awaited work by B. F. Skinner (185) gives his formulations and interpretations of verbal behavior. Although the book has been subjected to a long and devastating review by Chomsky (30), and although its achievement falls far short of its aims, it is not without considerable value. It remains a landmark along one path—the path of an extreme behaviorist—that it was hoped would lead to an understanding of the special behavior of the speaking animal.

A work by Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin (20), dealing with categorization and concept formation, with an appendix by Brown (14) applying to categories in language, has considerable relevance to the psychology of language. Householder's (103) review of the book further points up the relevance of the work to linguistics. Brown has also contributed an article (15) and a book (16) on the subject of language categories and other aspects of the psychology of language.

Works by Osgood and his collaborators (161, 162) develop the "semantic differential," and subject various vocabulary items to a kind of dimensional analysis of their affective and evaluative meanings. The technique of these scholars and its results have been subjected to analytic reviews by Wells (225), Carroll (21), and Weinreich (223); Weinreich's review prompted further discussion by Osgood (159).

Papers by Fry (46), Miller (152, 153), Mol and Uhlenbeck (154), Brown and Hildum (19), and Culbert (33) have dealt with problems in the perception of speech.

A paper by Leopold (130) and a monograph by H. and R. Kahane and Saporta (115) deal with the development of categories in child language.

A paper by Goodglass and Hunt (58) and Part II of Jakobson and Halle's *Fundamentals of Language* (112) deal with relations of language structure to aphasia.

HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

Papers by Hill, Hall, Hockett, Hoenigswald, and Joos, in *Readings in Linguistics* (114), relate to several aspects of historical and comparative method. Other contributions on this subject are by Benveniste (8), Hymes (105), and Hockett (96).

Several papers by Greenberg (60, 62, 63), Swadesh (198), Rowe (177), and Lackner and Rowe (124) deal with problems of the philogenetic classification of languages. The last two of these state the conservative position as opposed to Sapir's typological method and the recent more daring uses of vocabulary comparisons.

A symposium on the genetic relationship among languages was held during the 1958 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. Papers read at the symposium were by Haas (68), Swadesh (203), Li (135), Gleason (52), Lamb (125), and Hymes (108).

Papers on linguistic diffusion and the spread of languages by migration and expansion, and on the consequences of these for language classification, were published by Pulgram (170), Dyen (35), Greenberg (in 63) Swadesh (200), Voegelin (216), and Hoijer (101).

Papers on "area linguistics" were by Emeneau (39), Bittle (11), and Jacobs (110).

Papers on language classification in the various areas of the world are far too numerous to be mentioned here. References can be found, classified by language family or geographic area, in the bibliographies of the Permanent International Committee of Linguists (163). Only a few surveys or summarizing papers will be mentioned here: Greenberg's, on Africa (61); Welmers', on Africa (227); Elbert's, on the Polynesian language family (36), and Grace's, on its position in the Malayo-Polynesian complex (59); Emeneau's, on India (38, 39); Shafer's, on the Sino-Tibetan languages (182); and McQuown's, on the indigenous languages of Latin America (150).

Glottochronology, a method of determining approximate time depths of splits within a family of languages, is a recent development

that has attracted a great deal of attention from historically minded anthropologists. We attempt a fairly complete list of contributions to the subject here, as follows (alphabetically by author): Bright (13), Elbert (36), Fairbanks (40), Farfan (41), Fox, *et al.* (45), Gudschinsky (64–66), Hirsch (88), Hockett (92), Hoijer (99, 100), Hutchinson (104), Hymes (106), Kroeber (121, 122), Lees (126), Rea (173), Samarrai (180), A. Q. and G. Sjoberg (184), Skreekantaiya (186), Swadesh (192–202), and Taylor and Rouse (206). The first papers to introduce the subject were by Swadesh (192, 193). Lees (126) used a direct historical method to attain the rate constant that has been the basis for most subsequent calculations.

In cases in which time depths are known and are relatively great, the usual formula with the Lees constant is seen to yield markedly foreshortened time depths. This results principally from the assumption of equal viability for all the items in the test vocabulary. In fact, however, the items are of unequal average viability, in spite of the attempt to compile a relatively culture-free list of items. This results in the earlier loss, on the average, of more vulnerable items, and the retention of a smaller but tougher residue list for each successive millennium of separation. A consequence of this is a deceleration in the rate of attrition from the original list. This problem was partially met by Swadesh (199) by reducing the test list from 200 to 100 items in an attempt to get rid of its more vulnerable portion. This, however, reduces the sample and increases the margin of error in calculation accordingly. A new formula, taking account of the deceleration phenomenon and allowing use of the original list, has been developed but not yet published.

A. Q. and G. Sjoberg (184) have shown, with data from Dravidian languages, that the effect of borrowing can be greater than Swadesh (193) previously assumed, and that it may be necessary to take account of the effect of cultural differences. Some distortion results in the calculated time depths from this effect, but its effect is not large. The greater part of the attrition in basic vocabulary results from semantic drift within a language rather than from word borrowing from other languages. Samarrai (180) has shown that the rate of attrition in Arabic languages has been appreciably slower than the average for other languages, and suggests that rates may

need to be determined separately for various language families or cultural traditions. Rea (173) has noted a marked foreshortening of calculated time depths within the Romance languages. The problem he raises has been effectively met by Kroeber (122).

SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGES

A symposium on urbanization and standard language was held during the 1958 meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Papers in this symposium are by Twaddell (209), Haugen (81), Hall (71), Garvin (48), Lunt (144), and Mead (151). Other papers on the subject of national languages and their sociological relation to regional forms are by Berg (9) and Leopold (131). Works concerned with sociological problems connected with the use of vernaculars are dealt with in two studies sponsored by UNESCO (214, 215), and in publications by Hall (71) and Hellinga (82). Sociological aspects of dialect geography are the subject of a paper by Pickford (165).

Works on bilingualism are by Haugen (79) and Weinreich (221). A book by Weinreich (220) deals with the phenomena that result from contacts between languages. An exchange between Taylor (205), Hall (70), and Weinreich (222) deals with the consequences of creolization for the genetic classification of languages.

Recent works on pidgin and creole languages have been too numerous to mention here. The UNESCO bibliographies (163) offer a comprehensive guide to them. A book by Hall (69) offers a defense of pidgin, gives an outline of the structure of Melanesian pidgin, and discusses the formation and the social roles of pidgin and creolized languages in general.

Papers by Klausner (117), Wolff (232), and Fischer (43) and a monograph by Putnam and O'Hern (171) discuss various aspects of the sociology and psychology of class-correlated dialect differences.

SOVIET LINGUISTICS

Papers, monographs, and books that chronicle the 1950 overturn in Soviet linguistic doctrine and its aftermath—when Stalin declared that language, contrary to previous Marxist doctrine, was not a superstructure dependent upon the economic base, but was an independ-

ent system—are by Stalin (190), Murra *et al.* (155), Rubenstein (178), Taylor (204), L'Hermitte (134), Springer (188, 189), Thomas (208), Čikobava (26), Vinogradov and Serebrennikov (see 191), and Stankiewicz (191).

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7

POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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Anthropologists are concerned with such political matters as the sources of social conflict and the integrative devices for muting it; the nature and function of law and legal processes; the impact of complex societies upon primitive ones, with special attention to the consequences for political structure; the transformations of political elites; the application of available anthropological data to the solution of urgent issues of political policy; and the introduction of anthropological concepts and methods into the study of modern complex societies. In covering the recent literature in this field, I have chosen to concentrate on a few central issues, and some two dozen monographs and papers, that seem to me of exceptional interest. To meet the needs of this volume for a more comprehensive survey of the years 1956–57, abstracts of other noteworthy publications of these years are given at the end of this chapter.

The burden of my argument will be that although the title of this essay is "political anthropology," such a subfield does not yet exist and will not exist until a great many conceptual problems are solved. *Ad hoc* research is valuable and more of it is needed; but the central need of political anthropologists today is for a broad, theoretical orientation to politics. In the past there have been two basically different approaches to the study of politics in primitive systems. On the one hand, a few scholars have directed their attention to strictly political phenomena, seeking to understand them for their own sake. Originally sparked by Sir Henry Maine and Louis H. Morgan, this grand, if slender, tradition is reflected in the work of Franz Oppenheimer, W. C. MacLeod, and R. H. Lowie, and more recently in *African Political Systems* (11) and I. Schapera's (19)

book. The authors of such studies for the most part have not undertaken the direct collection of political data; rather, they have sought to make some theoretical sense out of the research of others. They have been theorists striving to provide some sort of theoretical matrix for the further development of this area of anthropology.

On the other hand, there are the field workers, the collectors of data, most of whom are concerned with political phenomena as a matter of indirect rather than of central interest. Since the publication of *African Political Systems* there has been much more research on political questions; but aside from ethnographic descriptions of political life (2, 5, 6, 12, 14), or studies of some special aspect of political life (10, 23), this increased volume reflects efforts to determine the effect of political life on other aspects of primitive societies, with the other aspects normally the point of interest.

For example, Turner (22) presents important data on political life among the Ndembu, but his major concern is with broader issues. He seeks to answer such questions as: Over what matters does conflict occur? (These he finds to be such issues as succession, inheritance, and marriage and death payments.) What are the determinants of these disputes? (These he identifies as the incompatibilities arising from the coexistence of the principles of matrilineal descent and virilocal marriage.) The Ndembu being a stateless society, how are social cohesion and stability maintained in the face of the stresses and strains so created. (Cohesion and stability are fostered in part by ties and kinship, by political and economic cooperation, and in much larger part by ritualistic reinforcement of an awareness among the Ndembu that they are a distinct social unit.) Since one of the major conflict areas is the question of succession to the village headship—an obvious political issue—Turner engages in considerable discussion of political life at the village level. But his interest here is only incidental to the main question of the regulation of conflict in general, of which political contention happens in this society to be one important variant.

The same emphasis is found in the extensive body of literature that has grown up in recent years on the stateless type of segmentary lineage societies. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (11), in their Introduction to *African Political Systems* drew attention to the possibility

of basing a taxonomy of political systems on lineage segmentation. Yet we find that subsequent work on segmentary societies is frequently much less concerned with the differences among political systems as such than with the ramifications and consequences of different types of segmentary lineage structures: purely political considerations are incidental to the emphasis on kinship structure and its general social effects. Winter's (25) study of the Bwamba is a case in point.

Another illustration can be found in a very perceptive essay by Smith (20) on segmentary lineages, which we shall consider at some length below. Although Smith has made a major contribution toward a formulation of the theoretical premises of political anthropology, his forays into political theory are an almost accidental adjunct to his primary concern for the nature of segmentation in lineage structures. As he himself points out:

> lineages, like kinship systems, cannot be explained in terms of themselves. Their examination and analysis is only fruitful in a wider frame of reference with comparative implications, and proceeding by the comparative method. We have suggested that one important aspect of this examination must be the study of the variations of myths and ideologies which correspond to similarities or differences in the organization of governmental systems and processes as these in turn show variability in the interrelation of political and administrative functions, units and systems (p. 78).

It is clear that Smith is interested in politics only in so far as political questions seem to affect the lineage structure.

To put the matter formally, political institutions and practices tend to be viewed in anthropological research as independent variables, of interest primarily for their effect on other institutions and practices of the society of which they are part.

At first glance it may seem that any objection to this appraisal is just a matter of splitting hairs. If the data gathered are relevant and the hypotheses drawn from them are sound, what difference can it make to our ultimate knowledge about societies whether politics is viewed as a primary or a secondary consideration?

The fact is that it makes a very important difference. One of the major consequences of the relegating of political data to accessory status has been that ambiguity, not to say confusion, continues

to obscure the analytic distinction between political and other forms of social behavior. And this has meant in turn that in spite of the increasing volume of research touching on primitive political life, we are left with no reliable test to tell us what is to be included in or excluded from that set of political relationships we call a political system. For the moment, it is not a matter of whether the description of such relationships is useful for research purposes, but only of whether a reasonably well articulated definition exists at all. As we shall see, the most impressive fact about the literature in the period under review—and this applies equally to earlier work—is the degree to which the general properties of political relationships are either assumed to be known or briefly sketched in, as though the matter were not in the least problematic.

Let us look first at Radcliffe-Brown's characterization of politics, which exemplifies several typical shortcomings and ambiguities in conceptualizing the nature of political phenomena. In effect, he overgeneralizes the function of political activity and overemphasizes the role of coercive sanctions, especially force.

Radcliffe-Brown's latest and most comprehensive description of primitive political life appears in his suggestive Preface to *African Political Systems* (11). In it he tells us that "the political organization of a society is that aspect of the total organization which is concerned with the control and regulation of the use of physical force" (p. xxiii); the specific phrasing is frequently repeated by other anthropologists. And from the same Preface: "in studying political organization, we have to deal with the maintenance or establishment of social order, within a territorial framework, by the organized exercise of coercive authority through the use, or the possibility of the use of physical force" (p. xiv).

It is clear that for Radcliffe-Brown the function of a political system consists of its contribution to "the maintenance or establishment of social order." Many others share his point of view. For example, Gluckman (13) suggests that politics concerns problems of preserving law and order, of assuring "public control" (pp. 71, 72) over internal differences, and of warding off external threats. And Schapera (19), who in other respects has helped to clarify the criteria that might be used to identify political actions, believes that

political systems exist to guarantee internal cooperation as well as external independence (pp. 217–18).

First of all, there seems to be a slight eufunctional bias in these formulations—an apparent assumption that a political system must have positive consequences for a society; that it must in fact contribute to the maintenance of social order. But let us assume that this bias is as unintended as it is unwarranted: i.e., that what Radcliffe-Brown and others intend to say is that political activity has relevance only for the preservation of the social order, whether for good or for ill.

Even with this modification we are offered no clear way of distinguishing political relationships from other types, either empirically or analytically. The fact is that all kinds of social activity have consequences for the establishment and maintenance of order; for some scholars order is the central problem of all social science. In any event, there can be no doubt that other aspects of a society, such as economic exchange, socialization, religion, ritual, and culture in the narrow sense are relevant to the attainment of social order. But if we were to call all such processes political, it would so broaden the concept as to make it useless. The important question would still remain to be answered: What is the specific way in which political activity, as contrasted to other kinds of activity, is related to the attainment or maintenance of social order?

Here Radcliffe-Brown discriminated more carefully than many others who appear to share his formulation. For him political activity relates to order in a unique way, it is "the organized exercise of coercive authority through the use, or the possibility of the use of physical force." Two elements are involved here: there must be *organization* of the coercing authority for order to emerge, and the coercion must have to do with the *use of force.* We shall examine both of these elements more closely.

First, what does Radcliffe-Brown mean by organization? In this Preface he has used the word in one sense that is fairly clear. When he speaks of "political organization" as an aspect of the "total organization" of society in the passage already quoted, organization is clearly being used as a substitute for relationship. He is making the point that we can distinguish political relationships from other kinds

of social relationships analytically, even though in fact they may sometimes be combined in the same complex of relationships. This is a familiar and theoretically desirable formulation. He is identifying politics as a function of a society, not as a structural mechanism.

But when he speaks of the existence of political organization in this functional sense and then makes it depend upon the presence of the "organized exercise of coercive authority," the idea of organization assumes a new dimension. He converts it into a specific type of means. If it is to convey anything here, it must suggest the existence not of just any kind of political relationship, but of a special kind in which a group of persons are related because they are pursuing certain common goals. In this case the behavior would be directed to the goal of exercising coercive authority. This implies the use of the concept organization in the much more limited sense implied when we speak of a business or religious organization. It corresponds to what we mean when we discriminate between the religious organization of society, by which we refer to all types of religious relationships among persons, and *a* religious organization, by which we refer to a specific collection of persons joined together in the pursuit of certain religious goals.

The ambiguity of the term plagues Radcliffe-Brown when he attempts to apply his definition to the stateless societies discussed in *African Political Systems.* He might easily have demonstrated that these societies all display political functions, or in his terms, have political organization of some sort. But because he associated political relationships with the existence of an organized coercive authority, he was compelled to go much further. He had to show that such a specific, organized authority can be identified in stateless systems. It is here that he encountered severe problems, which he avoided only by a subtlety of reasoning that in the end subverted his whole conceptualization of political life.

One of the characteristics of stateless systems is the lack of an obvious and unmistakable central organization of authority transcending the maximal level of lineage segmentation. For example, among the Bantu Kavirondo, the society that Radcliffe-Brown selects for special mention, there is no administrative or other explicit form of organization, at least in the usual meaning of the term, linking

the clan segments together within a structure of authority. To have accepted this interpretation, however, would have forced Radcliffe-Brown to exclude this society from the range of those possessing political relationships, or organization in the more generalized sense of the term. He was too aware that some means for political control exists even in such groups as these to have readily yielded to this possibility. He could have redefined his views of the nature of political relationships to have made it reasonable to include these societies; but instead he chose a highly refined interpretation wherein he makes two points. First, he legitimately observes that force as a sanction need not be implemented by a small specialized group but may be undertaken collectively by a society, as frequently happens when opinion in a primitive community is roused against those who are viewed as a social menace. The spontaneous arousal of public opinion may end with the death or expulsion of a pernicious offender. Even in socicties that do not have formal government, forceful sanctions may in this way be imposed. Second, he suggests that if the behavior of a group under circumstances like the above could have been carefully observed, "it would have been found that [those involved] were directed by leaders who had some measure of recognized authority" (p. xv). Here, he suggests, is where the organization (in the narrower sense of the term) of the sanction lies.

It is clear that in thus turning to the assumed presence of informal enforcers of an emergent public sentiment, Radcliffe-Brown was more than stretching a good point, at least to the extent that he sought to identify such an informal structure of enforcement, if it does exist, with the organized means of authority included within his definition. We can agree with his assumption that even the most informal of group action possesses some minimal informal structure; but to equate such informal leaders of group action with an organized structure is to refine away any special meaning to the term organization in his second and more restrictive sense.

This difficulty into which his conceptualization of politics led him can be attributed to his failure to view politics consistently in analytic rather than structural terms. Although the first definition we quoted indicates that he realized political relationships could be viewed simply as an analytic element in society, in the body of his

discussion his conceptualization imperceptibly shifts. He begins to define these relationships in terms of the particular structures in which they might appear; and it is this formulation that trapped him into attempting a forced and insupportable interpretation of his data.

If we turn to the second element in his definition—the assertion that the presumed organized authority would exercise its power through the use of force—we find it equally laden with difficulties. Ultimately it raises the question about the wisdom of confining political relationships to those situations in which force can be employed to implement a course of action.

On this point, Schapera (19) has performed an invaluable service by drawing together the little information that exists about the political systems of such groups as the Bushmen and Bergdama. Bushmen societies, he points out, consist of small bands, seldom numbering more than a hundred persons, linked almost exclusively by biological and affinal ties. In reviewing the data about processes for settlement of disputes among the members within these bands, Schapera concludes that in any reasonable connotation of the term government, we must acknowledge the presence of such activity. The male elders have and exercise a special claim to deal with matters of concern to the band as a whole. We assume that it is acceptable to interpret the adjustment of disputes and decisions about the collective courses of action of the band as constituting political activity. But if we insist, as Radcliffe-Brown does, that there must be an organized sanctioning group, then to include the male elders of the kin group in such a category would be to make the category meaningless. And even if this were not so, there is no evidence that they undertake to implement their informal decisions or opinions, taken unanimously, by physical force. At the most, the collective coercion of the band is psychological or moral in character, and to equate moral compulsion with physical force would be to divest the idea of physical force of all meaning. The data would therefore compel Radcliffe-Brown to place Bushmen outside the category of those with political systems, and would thus contradict his implicit premise that all societies have some sort of political system.

I have dealt here extensively with Radcliffe-Brown's conceptuali-

zation of the over-all or gross distinguishing attributes of political relationships, not because of the intrinsic difficulties they occasion, but largely because no author in the period under review (except M. G. Smith) has developed his underlying conceptions to the same degree. It is particularly remarkable that in the Introduction to *African Political Systems*, one of the few volumes in recent years to attempt an overview of anthropological thinking about politics, Fortes and Evans-Pritchard have carefully sidestepped this problem. At best we have only some meager evidence about what the authors do *not* believe, e.g., that they hesitate to endorse Radcliffe-Brown's definition of politics.

In the first place, their major criterion for distinguishing their two basic types of political system, states and stateless, is that in a stateless system there is no specific governmental or authority structure or other form of organization for the implementation of sanctions. Yet the editors are quite explicit in their conviction that political systems prevail not only in stateless lineage societies, but in the pure kinship type as well. They specifically assert that "three types of political *system* can be distinguished" (p. 6, my italics), of which states and stateless constitute two.

In the second place, at one point they view a definition of political relationships in terms of two forms of force they call "military action and legal sanctions" as a "narrow" one (p. 23), which would seem to reflect their dissatisfaction with an emphasis on force as a distinguishing attribute of political relationships. But beyond this negative intimation—in spite of the obvious and necessary frequency with which the phrase political system appears in the editors' Introduction and in spite of the fact that this phrase appears in the title of the volume—we are left without any further aid in determining what aspect of society they include under the concept political.

In selecting the organized use of force as the gross distinguishing quality of political systems, neither Radcliffe-Brown nor those who share his point of view can be considered adventurous pioneers. Rather they have been following a course laid down by Thomas Hobbes, well marked out by later utilitarianism, reinforced by Max Weber, and validated by many generations of professional students of politics. It is an approach that research in American political

science has all but abandoned, although it still has enough vitality to raise its head from time to time.

It is clear to us today that the selection of organization and force as criteria was a product of the culturally significant problems generated during the many centuries in Western civilization when political units were engaged in extending the territorial authority of their centralized governments and in developing their national solidarity. The establishment of national political units depended on the assertion of maximum control over a territory and its people by virtue of the capacity to provide law and order, which is identified as sovereignty. Sovereignty in turn was associated with the maintenance of government organized to provide stability of control, and with the ability to enforce decisions through the claim to a monopoly of the legitimate use of force, to use the familiar Weberian phrase.

It is ironic that anthropology, which has been optimally situated because of the breadth of its interests, should be so tardy in transcending the ethnocentric limits of past political conceptualization. That the data were there waiting to be appreciated has recently been demonstrated. Reviewing four types of South African societies—the Bushmen, Bergdama, Hottentots, and Bantu—that range from highly organized to pure kinship systems, Schapera (19) is able to conclude that no society is devoid of political relationships, not even the society, like that of the Bushmen, in which, as we have seen, organized coercion cannot be said to prevail. As Lowie (16) had vigorously argued in 1927, and as Schapera explicity points out, "organized force is only one of the mechanisms making for orderly life in any community, and to adopt it as the distinctive criterion of political organization would mean neglecting unduly the various others that help to unite people into self-governing groups" (p. 218). A more useful conceptualization of the character of political interaction seems long overdue in anthropology.

Ways of viewing the differences between political and other kinds of social relationships are neither right nor wrong but merely more or less useful for scientific purposes. One such purpose in anthropology is the comparison of political systems in order to derive generalizations applicable to different categories of systems. Efforts

to develop an adequate mode of classification have therefore been very important. Nowhere do the difficulties and ambiguities associated with the reluctance to clarify, let alone to cope with basic conceptual matters in political analysis show up more prominently. We shall therefore find it instructive to examine at length one of the most recent proposals for a typology.

Here again we must turn first to *African Political Systems.* In their provocative Introduction, the editors offered a classification that has provided the major point of departure for most subsequent sallies in this area. Their chief criterion for differentiating political systems is the presence or absence of an administrative structure, also called (interchangeably) government. When a society possesses a governmental structure, we have a class of political systems to which they give the name states; when such a structure does not exist, we have a residual category called stateless societies. Depending upon the kind of kinship structure in the society, stateless societies break down into two subclasses, neither of which is given a specific name. One subclass is characterized by corporate lineage segments; order is maintained in such societies by means of an equilibrium of competing lineage segments. The other subclass is distinguished by a pure kinship structure in which no segmentation takes place. Here "political relations are coterminous with kinship relations and the political structure and kinship organization are completely fused" (pp. 6–7).

This typology has been subjected to various criticisms, two of which I shall consider here. First, there are those who in effect adopt the criteria proposed by the editors of *African Political Systems* but seek to refine it further, thereby making it yield intermediary classes of systems. Southall (21), for example, has shown that the Alur offer an instance in which both segmentary lineages and centralized authorities exist side by side, but perform different functions. The lineages have control over succession and inheritance within their segments and undertake the performance of ritual obligations. The central authorities regulate the use of violence in the territory occupied by the society, including conflict among the lineages themselves at the higher levels, and defend the whole society

against external threats. Lineage and political personnel are not always or even usually clearly distinguishable but their functions are, and therefore political and kin relationships can be demarcated.

Thus, Southall added a new class to the two already established by *African Political Systems.* In the Alur, he identified a type that shares the characteristics of unitary states, since the Alur have an overarching structure of authority, and of stateless societies, since they also have counterposed segmentary lineages. This new kind of intermediary political system he called a segmentary state. However, Southall was in no way challenging the principles of classification already introduced in *African Political Systems;* he simply showed that since a different combination of these criteria could be observed, such systems merited a separate class name.

Modifications of this sort, important once the basic principles of a typology are accepted, are relatively minor if one undertakes to challenge the assumptions underlying those principles. Just such a challenge is represented in the second type of criticism, undertaken in an incisive, closely reasoned, theoretical critique by M. G. Smith (20). To be sure, Smith's revision not only of the typology in *African Political Systems* but of the whole study of politics, is prompted less by a concern for understanding how primitive political systems operate than by a desire to explore the determinants of segmentary lineages as a kind of kinship structure. But this fact does not in any way reduce the cogency or effectiveness of his criticisms.

If we revise our conceptualization of primitive politics, Smith argues, segmentation must then disappear as one of the criteria for distinguishing states from stateless societies, or for that matter for differentiating any kind of political system. Segmentation is not unique to any kind of system; it is common to all. The way systems may differ is in the kind of units into which they are subdivided. Variations in types of segments, he recognizes, will have important consequences for the operation of a system. But since segments of one sort or another are endemic to all systems, their mere presence cannot serve to distinguish a special type of system. The task here will be to inquire into the details of Smith's proposed mode of conceptualization and to evaluate its significance both for meeting the

specific need to classify systems and for undertaking any kind of research in politics.

Smith sees segmentation as occurring under the three following conditions: (1) larger units subdivide into smaller ones; (2) the segmenting groups act as units for the achievement of their purposes, that is, they are corporate in nature; (3) this kind of division is fundamental to the social structure. When segmentation is thus conceived, Smith correctly points out, stateless societies cannot be distinguished from states. Nor for that matter, he argues, can any political system, since all systems must contain such segments. It is true, he says, that if we look at stateless societies, we see that they possess lineages, or other types of segments, and that these grow or change through fission, accretion, and fusion of various units. But this is also the case with centralized primitive states, although the units of segmentation may not be corporate lineages but localized groups, age-regiments, or associations. Furthermore, he points out, we need not stop with primitive societies; we can go on to complex modern ones in which we also find segmentation, even though the units of division are quite different and take the form of political parties, interest groups, political leaders with specific followings, and the like.

Not only does Smith see all political systems to be similar in this respect, but he finds it just as difficult to distinguish states from stateless societies in terms of the presence or absence of organized structures of authority. He points out that in stateless societies with corporate lineages where there are no all-embracing structures of authority, hierarchies of authority do exist, at least within the lineages themselves. He concludes from this that stateless societies cannot be distinguished from states even by this criterion.

Seeking to explain how students of primitive systems could overlook the universal presence of authority structures and segmentation, he finds the answer in a failure at the conceptual level. He therefore undertakes to remedy this failure. From the point of view of political science, his conceptual repertory is somewhat unusual; yet he is normally so clear in defining his term that this novelty need not stand in the way of a careful analysis of his ideas. One qualification should be made, however: Smith gives the concept

political a very special meaning, quite different from its usual meaning in this chapter.

For Smith, it is possible to compare political systems only if we are prepared to take an analytic approach to political action and view it as just one aspect of a social act. Political life is therefore an aspect of the whole of social life, a set of actions rather than a set of units or particular kinds of structures of action. This set of actions he calls the governmental process; it corresponds to what I have been identifying as a political system. In Smith's words, government consists of those actions or aspects of behavior "by which the public affairs of a people or any social group are directed and managed" (p. 47).

In theory, although not necessarily in practice, this over-all set of actions can be divided into two subsets: administrative and "political" actions. Administrative actions are those directed toward the organization and effectuation of policy or programs of action. They consist of authorized processes for the management of affairs of a governmental unit. Authority is the assertion of a right to undertake an activity and presumably the acknowledgment of this right by others in the society. In a highly centralized governmental unit, the administrative authorities lay claim to a monopoly of the use of force.

"Political" actions, on the other hand, constitute a "political system" or subset of actions in governmental processes oriented to the shaping and influencing of policy, or to the exertion of power over it. The "political system" in this special sense consists of competition among individuals and groups for this power. Unlike authority, Smith argues, power cannot be hierarchical; once it is, it has been converted into authority. Rather, it is "inherently" segmentary—it consists of differentiated centers of power composed of individuals or groups competing for control of public affairs. The particular, definable units or segments through which power conflict manifests itself will vary from society to society depending presumably upon other factors which Smith does not discuss.

He is careful to stress that this distinction between administrative and "political" subsystems within the governmental process is purely analytic. Actually, no unit of government need specifically

and exclusively incorporate either one of these kinds of action. He points out that it is theoretically possible and in fact often happens that units particularly characterized by one type of action may contain behavior that falls into the other. Thus in a centralized administrative organization it is not unusual to find groups and individuals competing for power. And similarly in power segments, such as corporate lineages, or we might add, such as interest groups, administrative actions may and normally do obtain. In formal terms, what he is saying here is that variable structures may perform the administrative and "political" functions; and that any given structure may fulfill both functions with varying degrees of emphasis on one or the other.

Smith postulates that in every society both the administrative and "political" aspects of action must be present within the governmental processes. Within his broad schema he is then able to show the weakness of the classificatory system proposed in *African Political Systems.* If all governmental processes involve administrative and "political" functions, how is it possible to categorize different systems in terms of the presence or absence of one or another of these kinds of activities? It is true that in primitive states force is regulated through the administrative activities of hierarchically organized authorities; but this does not mean that they lack segmentation in the form of groups competing for political power, such as associations, age-regiments, or territorially based units under the leadership of strong individuals. Similarly, in the so-called stateless or acephalous societies, although it is correct to identify the competing segments in the corporate lineages, nevertheless within the lineages themselves, lineage affairs are directed by an organized administrative structure. In neither case, therefore, is a governmental process devoid of either kind of action. If this is so, Smith concludes, differences in terms of presence or absence of one or the other cannot exist. And he feels he has thereby destroyed these criteria as the basis for a useful system of classification.

The merits of Smith's analysis are clear. It demonstrates beyond doubt that without an antecedent and articulate theoretical orientation to the study of primitive political life, comparison and classification are apt to fall into grievous error. It indicates that to the

extent that such a conceptualization exaggerates the structural locus of control over the use of force and sees this as the central political phenomenon, it is bound to neglect other equally if not more significant variables. No longer will it be possible for students of primitive politics to ignore the power struggles that go on not only in lineage systems but also in all other primitive systems, quite comparable functionally to the conflicts over policy familiar to us in complex societies.

But in spite of these very real and important contributions, which will certainly elevate the study of primitive systems to a new and higher theoretical plateau, Smith's formulation does display a number of equally real shortcomings that could seriously impair research. In the first place, it is a long and important step from postulating the presence of hierarchically organized administrative actions in all political systems—using the term in my sense—to demonstrating this to be the case, especially in kinship and lineage or noncentralized systems. The evidence he adduces is far from convincing. In segmentary lineage systems he locates administration within the lineages. But he nowhere points to an administrative hierarchy existing among maximal lineages or clans. This was the major point of the editors of *African Political Systems.* It was this very difference between the organized authorities within the lineages and their absence between the lineages at the higher levels that struck them as most significant and therefore as a useful criterion for purposes of classification. No one had ever argued that no administrative behavior took place in stateless societies. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard merely saw the scope of authority or administration, in Smith's terms, to be more restricted. It embraced only subgroups within the society, not the whole society.

In the second place, Smith's theoretical analysis is still at so broad a level of conceptualization that it has managed to analyze away the possibility of really searching for differences among systems. Assuming he has convinced us that all systems consist of purely administrative actions and power conflicts, at most he provides us with criteria for identifying the gross similarities among political systems but few for enabling us to see where they differ. But the differences call for as much understanding as the similarities. More-

over, his analysis implies that there are few grounds for considering states and stateless societies as representing two different types of systems, whereas to all observers of these societies, substantial and important differences in the way the political systems operate do seem to exist. It is essential to provide a schema that will enable us to note and understand differences as well as similarities, if a useful mode of analysis and typology is to emerge.

To discover significant differences among political systems, it will be necessary to develop an alternative to Smith's proposed conceptualization. Some extended thoughts on this subject have already been set forth elsewhere (8, 9) so that here we need only refer to a few of the major elements.

For the purpose of clarity, I have found it useful to avoid characterizing the political aspects of society as governmental. In modern complex society, the term government is freighted with such a variety of specific structural connotations that I shall reserve it for reference to those social roles that are devoted to the task of making and executing day-to-day political decisions. In its place I prefer the more familiar term, political system. I shall use this phrase to identify the most inclusive set of political actions in a social system.

Political action will be viewed as an aspect of social action in general. An act will be political, as against economic, religious, or kin-type, for example, when it is more or less directly related to the formulation and execution of binding or authoritative decisions for a social system (see Easton [8]). A decision is an act that allocates valued things among two or more persons or groups, either by granting something or by denying something. A decision is authoritative when the persons it affects consider themselves bound by it. For our limited purposes here, it does not matter why a decision is accepted or what its consequences are for the social system as a whole.

From this point of view, political decisions are made in all kinds of concrete social systems: families, extended kinship groups, age-sets, associations, corporate lineages, business firms, trade unions, parties, and so on. Each of these social units has sets of activities that we can designate as their political systems, in so far as any binding decisions are made and put into effect. But in political

science and other social disciplines, we are ultimately concerned with the functioning, maintenance, and change of society as a whole, the most inclusive social system. Hence unless the context indicates otherwise, I shall confine the idea of political system to those activities more or less directly related to the making of binding decisions for a society and its major subdivisions.

To provide some convenient points of reference for the analysis of political systems, it is useful to pose the following question: What kinds of activities need to be undertaken if a society is to be able to make and implement such binding decisions? As we have seen, Smith has isolated two kinds of activities, the administrative and the "political" or power-oriented. My criticism is not that this specification is erroneous, but that it is too general to be of much use. Instead, I suggest that there are at least five basically different kinds of activities in which members of a society must engage if binding decisions are to be made and put into effect: (1) the formulation of demands, (2) legislation, (3) administration, (4) adjudication, and (5) the marshaling of support or solidarity. For our purposes here the last activity is the most important.

First, if a decision is to be made, it must be possible for at least some of the members of the society to press demands with regard to what they think ought to be done. Without the existence of potentially conflicting demands there would be no need to make choices between alternative courses of actions. And especially as the population of the society increases, it is necessary to have activity devoted to formulating demands in a way so that decisions can be made. In some complex societies, for example, opinion leaders, the mass media, interest groups, and the like present a multitude of heterogeneous demands; it is part of the function of parties to collect these, synthesize them, sort out what are viewed as realistic or desirable alternatives, formulate them into contestable, relatively homogeneous issues, and then seek decisions based upon the acceptance of one or another alternative. Without the reduction of many demands to a relative few, it would be impossible for decision-makers to cope with them.

Second, processes must exist to allow these alternatives to be acted on and converted into binding rules validating behavior. This

is what we can broadly conceive of as legislation. It may range structurally from the informal consensus achieved by the elders of a small band of Bushmen to the highly self-conscious laws of a modern legislature.

Third, there must be administrative processes or activities that will implement the decisions. Persons and facilities need to be initially organized and directed toward the attainment of the goals defined through the legislative process.

Fourth, in every system there are adjudicative activities that invoke binding rules, whether in the form of deliberately made decisions or customary laws activated as the occasion requires it, and apply them in the face of presumed breaches.

And fifth, there must also be activities that result in the marshaling of support, and the development of solidarity. There are three levels or foci around which support is typically mobilized in every political system: the government, the regime, and the political community. (For a fuller development of these concepts see [9].)

If a *government* (in the sense of political leaders and an associated administrative organization) is to make its acts binding, it must be able to mobilize effective power or support for both its key men and its decisions. In complex mass societies, for example, governments mobilize by sponsoring appropriate policies, by adroit publicity, and by making use of the potential of political parties and interest groups. Support for a government will therefore involve activity devoted to the mobilization of solidarity around alternative demands and policies, symbols, personalities, and organizations associated with making and carrying out binding decisions.

If a government in this broad sense is to be capable of performing its tasks, the members of the system must be prepared to support the particular norms and structures that organize the way in which all political activities are performed. That is, they must be willing to support the "constitutional order" or *regime*. Here we are identifying the fundamental rules of the game, as they are often described, regulating participation in political life and the particular way of organizing political power in the given society. When we distinguish a democracy from a dictatorship, a presidential from a parliamentary form, or, in the older style, a monarchy from a republic, we are

adopting criteria of differentiation that refer to the regime level of the system.

It is quite possible and has often happened that the support around a regime is eroded, without, however, disturbing the solidarity of the *political community.* Political community refers to the most inclusive aggregate of persons who identify with each other as a group, and who are prepared to regulate their differences by means of decisions accepted as binding because they are made in accordance with shared political norms and structures. As a rule, those who do not accept these norms and procedures or who are excluded from them are viewed as strangers or aliens, persons who do not belong to the political community. It is quite possible for a person to withdraw his support from a given government, and to seek to change the regime, without thereby indicating any intention of modifying his allegiance to the political community. For example, members of the French political system were recently quite dissatisfied with a series of French governments and with many aspects of the regime called the Fourth Republic. Their support of the new regime, the Fifth Republic, and its new government did not necessarily indicate any intention to withdraw from or alter the integrity of the French political community.

It is clear that we can distinguish analytically the three levels I have called the government, regime, and community. The utility in doing so derives from the fact that different mechanisms typically contribute to the maintenance of support in each case. And although diminution of support at each level normally has consequences for the other levels, each may vary quite independently of the other. Unless we are careful to identify the consequences of variations of support structure for each level, we shall be likely to obscure important differences in the nature of the political struggle in the various political systems being considered.

Of the five types of activities that I have postulated as necessary for the maintenance of any political system, Smith's conceptualization of politics compels us to pay particular attention to those activities concerned with support. As we have seen, Smith's identification of the administrative and "political" aspects of a political system

gave us too little leverage for distinguishing systems. From the point of view of understanding primitive societies, this weakness is especially true of Smith's effort to isolate the subset of activities that he calls a "political system," that is, the nonhierarchical competition for power over policy. In striving to do so he was able to identify only one kind of critical difference among various "political systems," and this dealt with the variation in types of segments involved, ranging from corporate lineages for some systems to age-sets, regiments, and the like for others, and to entirely different ones for modern systems. We can now see that this formulation has succeeded in obscuring two other kinds of important differences: variations in the nature of the support structure among primitive systems, and the different foci toward which support is directed in primitive as compared with modern systems.

With regard to the nature of the support structures, granted that in all political systems segments struggle with each other for control over policy, the mode of analysis I am suggesting here emphasizes the need to look for the variations in political systems that emerge from the way support is generated and mobilized. How do members of a society organize to mobilize their resources, human and material, for or against the occupants of governmental roles and their decisions, the regime, and the community?

In selecting the lineage segments of stateless societies for special attention, the editors of *African Political Systems* seized upon an aspect that did in fact mark these societies off from primitive states, although not for the reasons they gave. Stateless societies could not be distinctive because of their possession of segments; Southall (21), Barnes (3), Fallers (10), Turner (22), and numerous others beside Smith have shown that some states with varying degrees of centralized authorities also display such segmentary units. But even though the editors of *African Political Systems* could not quite put their finger on it, they showed deep political sensitivity in at least trying to explain the differences between states and stateless systems in terms of segmentation. Inadequate as this criterion proved to be, the fact is that the editors were quite intuitively reacting toward something else in the nature of the segmentation process itself. In effect, what they detected was that generally in stateless societies,

and as it later turned out, in some centralized states as well, the support structure formed by varying kinds of alliances or combinations among the segments tends to be unstable. Fission, fusion, and the accretion of segments, place the whole political system upon shifting sands. This is such a critical factor in understanding the nature of this kind of segmentary system that it merits much closer attention.

Although all systems may have segments, there are some systems in which the segments are relatively stable in number, size, and tendency to maintain their alliances. There are others, however, in which the segments are expected to and do undergo relatively frequent subdivision, and typically readjust their alliances with equal ease. We can agree with Smith that all systems, primitive and modern, are segmentary; but we also need to recognize that only some systems tend to maintain to a high rate of continuing segmentation. Here we are distinguishing what we can call segmentary from segmenting systems. The difference lies not in the absence of all changes in size, number, and alliances of segments but rather in the fact that in some systems the rate of change is much slower than in others. And in those in which the rate of change is relatively rapid, the support structure displays important qualitative differences. It is this major dissimilarity that we must gloss over if we are content simply to stop with the perfectly valid point that all systems possess political groups or segments.

In effect it was just this difference in rate of change that Barnes (3) was pointing up in his study of the Fort Jameson Ngoni. He sought to give it more graphic conceptual significance by calling this system a "snowball state." In his words, "the Ngoni State was like a snowball which grows larger and larger as it is pushed from place to place, but still remains uniform throughout. At last it becomes unwieldy and must be broken before it can be moved further. The same accumulation of snow then begins again with each fragment" (pp. 60–61). In other systems, the rate of internal subdivision or segmentation may be so slow that the snowball seldom if ever subdivides externally, that is, seldom fragments into separate and independent political systems.

Systems typically subdivide in a number of ways. New segments may arise as a result of the fission or subdivision of a preexisting unit,

the accretion of a fragment from some other unit, or the fusion of two or more like units. The segmentation may occur internally, in which case the new arrangement of segments may simply add to or subtract from the number of available units to which the political leadership can turn. It may occur externally, when segments hive off from the old society entirely and establish themselves as new and competing independent political systems. In hiving off, the newly created segments change the internal support structure by reducing the number of segments that might otherwise be available in the competition among groups. They also change the external setting by adding to the number of systems with which the given system must compete or by swelling the power potential of these competitors.

In systems in which the process of segmentation is relatively easy, common, and culturally expected, the mobilization of support for any purpose that calls for joint action involves a constant challenge to the political leadership which must seek to maintain a balance of support in the face of relatively frequent shifts in the support structure. This gives the political struggle in such systems a special character deriving from the nature of support available at the governmental level.

Instability in the support structure has consequences at the community level as well as the governmental level. In primitive systems as opposed to modern systems, conflict seldom arises over the nature of the regime. In modern complex systems attempts are commonly made to change not only the occupants of the governmental roles and the policies they pursue, but also the very way of organizing the relationships among these roles, the distribution of rights and obligations associated with them, and the norms governing political action. For example, the change from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich, or from the Fourth to Fifth Republic in France, has involved such a transformation. In these cases, however, although the governments and regimes were altered, the integrity of the political community was not violated.

In contrast most political upheavals in primitive systems are not efforts to undermine an existing regime, but efforts to alter the rulers or their policies within the context of the same regime, or to split

away entirely from the political community. Segments may hive off, in segmenting systems, to establish entirely new chiefdoms; but the regime of the original system is not modified, nor for that matter is a different kind of regime introduced into the new system formed as a result of the withdrawal.

The fact that dispute is likely to occur over adherence to the political community or with respect to governmental roles and policies, gives political struggle in highly segmenting primitive systems a unique character. Not only does political conflict involve a possible high rate of realignment of support groups *within* a political system, but it also may give rise to the constant threat that some support segments will find it possible to withdraw entirely from the community. They may then fuse with or adhere to other systems in the environment of the original system, adding to the competitive strength of these systems; or they may simply exist as a new and independent system. In either event, the result of segmentation has been a modification in the external situation with which the parent system is now confronted. It is clear that not only is the internal support structure likely to change frequently, but also the external system of alliances may be subject to a rate of fluctuation corresponding to the rate of external subdivision.

Solidarity around the two major political foci in dispute, government and community, is much less stable in primitive systems than in those in which the segments constituting the support structure find it more difficult to fragment and multiply, or fuse and withdraw from the competition for power. In modern democratic systems, for example, entry into the political market place for such segments as new interest groups is very difficult. The rate of internal subdivision of existing segments or of the emergence of entirely new ones is very low; the support structure and its component segments tend to achieve a fairly high degree of stability. A segment may fluctuate in strength, that is, in the measure of support it can give from time to time; some segments may disappear entirely. But in any decade it is easy to enumerate the number of new segments of any significance that emerge in the political arena.

This is particularly apparent when we turn from internal to external fission. In modern systems, separatism, or external fission, and

irredentism or external fusion and accretion, are processes that occur relatively infrequently. And certainly even when they do occur, they are not accepted as part of the normal and expected behavior as is true of primitive segmenting systems.

Of course, the rate of segmentation can be expected to vary for any given system over time, and it should not be difficult to discover an actual measure of this for any system. Furthermore, not all complex or mass societies have the same rate of segmentation. We need only look at the so-called developing mass societies today, such as Indonesia, to witness conditions under which entry of new political groups and disappearance of old ones occur at a high rate, relative at least to European societies. And one of the interesting aspects of primitive African societies under the impact of European culture is the disappearance of older kinds of political groups and the conflict that occurs between these traditional groups and the new ones that are seeking entry into the political market place (see Apter [1]). But in spite of the fact that few if any support structures can be expected to remain static, the point that I am suggesting here is that a major area of differentiation, not only between modern and primitive systems, but also among primitive systems themselves is the rate of segmentation, both internal and external, and the foci with respect to which the support segments are relevant. What requires further investigation are the consequences this has for the nature of the political struggle in the respective systems.

From the point of view of future research in this area a host of questions may be suggested. What are the various types of segments that constitute support structures? What are the different rates of segmentation over given time spans? Under what conditions of residential patterns, kinship or social structure, types of authority systems, modes of subsistence, technical or physical means of control in the hands of authority, and the like can we expect differential rates of segmentation? What are the conditions that determine the rate of entry and exit from the political market place or from a given political system for various segments and of recombination of alliances among them? What are the typical objectives of support groups in different systems and what effect has this upon the politi-

cal struggle? Answers to such questions will help to shed light on the differential effects of variations in the nature of the support structures of political systems.

In identifying the rate of segmentation as one of the significant variables of political systems, we have been examining only one of the points implicitly suggested by the isolation of the so-called stateless societies. To do so, however, I have had to make an assumption that can no longer be allowed to lie hidden, an assumption adopted extensively and without question throughout the literature on primitive politics.

We are told that those societies designated as stateless are completely devoid of organized authority, and that order is achieved not by the activities of a centralized body for making and implementing decisions, but simply by the "balanced opposition among segments" or the counterposition of like segmentary units. A political system can therefore be identified in such societies but it is different from other political systems. In stateless societies, it is said, the political functions are performed solely through the competitive struggle for power and position among the juxtaposed segments.

If we were to accept the implications of this analysis, then it seems to me that we would not be justified in saying that such societies manifest political systems. There is little that is peculiarly political in the balancing of groups for the maintenance of order, as we have already seen. I have sought to locate the specifically *political* aspect of any society in its capacity to make and execute binding decisions.

The fact that most students of stateless societies have taken it for granted that these societies do possess political systems need not be considered decisive here. It may have seemed natural to anthropologists to assume that stateless societies must have political systems, but there is no inherent or ineluctable reason why this should be so. In stateless societies composed of corporate lineages, for example, there is no reason why we should not view each lineage, at its highest level of internal organization, as an independent political system. Competition for power on the part of a lineage would then

be seen as equivalent to behavior in foreign relations. Interlineage conflict could then be interpreted as an instance of international friction.

The mere fact that among the Bantu Kavirondo, for example, the highest level of organized lineages—the clans—possess homogeneity of culture, acknowledge common ancestors, and reside in a well-defined locality, need not of itself compel us to view them as a political entity. The United States and Canada have common Anglo-Saxon origins, very similar cultures, and many interlocking kinship ties, and together inhabit a well-defined region. But they are by no means the same society, nor do they share their political systems. Of course, the relationship here is not completely analogous to the relationship between lineages in segmentary lineage societies, but it is nevertheless similar enough to suggest that proximity and cultural or even kinship connections do not of themselves force us to consider various social units as bound together by participation in a common political system.

By our definition a political system is a set of actions oriented to the making and implementing of binding decisions for a social system, and unless we can identify the processes by means of which this is achieved for stateless societies, it would be quite illogical to insist that these societies possess a cohering body of political relationships. Since they lack a central organization for resolving differences among themselves at the highest level, we might well be tempted to conceptualize them as separate and independent political entities.

What the facts indicate, however, is that even in stateless societies there are some *structures* for adjusting differences among the maximal lineages. For example, if we look at the Logoli of the Bantu Kavirondo, in cases of disputes involving two clans it was customary for elders from the disputing clans to come together and iron out their differences. The parties to the dispute could normally be expected to accept the settlement as compelling. At the same time, it was by no means certain that they would do so. And if they refused, there was no central authority or other formal sanctioning device to guarantee their obedience. Moreover, there is no evidence that the elders of all clans met to settle problems confronting the

whole society or cultural group. Presumably it is for this reason that the society has been classified as acephalous.

To insist, however, upon the existence of decisions covering the whole of a society, or of a centralized authority capable of engaging in such activity, or of specific means for enforcing decisions, is to confuse structure with process. Means and structure may vary, and the degree of variation ranges within certain very broad limits, as will be made clear below.

What is clear with regard to stateless societies is that some decisions are taken, even though the scope of these decisions may be limited to the parties to the dispute and even though an informal structure may arise only as the occasion dictates it. We have here an illustration of what we can call a *contingent* political system. Political relationships among the clans are activated for specific purposes and with respect to limited objectives or contingencies. In other societies, because of other circumstances, the structure of decision-making may be more extensive in scope, decisions may be more numerous and obtain a higher degree of compliance, and because of the existence of specialized political structures, the system may be continuous in operation.

From the point of view of research it would of course be quite feasible to view such primitive, contingent systems not as political systems but as something separate and unique. In this event we would find ourselves in the awkward position of having to describe them in other terms. We would rapidly become involved in the very uneconomical process of developing a special mode of analysis to deal with those sets of relationships in which over-all structures of authority and decision-making are not in existence. If the value of an analytic framework increases with its simplicity and inclusiveness, other things being equal, it seems far more economical to assimilate the political activity found in stateless primitive societies to the whole category of actions we call political systems. We can then view them as a special type of such systems rather than as unique sets of action. We can then ascribe variations not to the absence of political functions or processes but to differences in structure and means. As is often the case in the literature, we may label contingent systems as being rudimentary by most criteria; but this does not

reduce the utility of incorporating them within the whole category of political systems.

As I have already indicated, a major though not by any means exclusive preoccupation of anthropologists in recent times has been the collection of data about political systems to help in the development of a useful typology. Our examination of recent research on this point suggests first, that such a classification is not likely to be attained without a forthright attempt to conceptualize the major properties of political systems in general; and second, that one important classificatory criterion will be found to exist in the variations in the support structures of different systems. But this is only one among a number of differentia and we can now turn to an examination of others that have emerged, especially in the time span with which we are directly concerned.

Historically, the major criteria for classification have not varied much, perhaps because on the whole so little attention has been paid to political systems. Furthermore, efforts at classification have bogged down at the very outset in the establishment of dichotomies and have remained mired in this mode until very recently.

Sir Henry Maine took the initial step in this direction, distinguishing systems according to requirements for membership or political obligation. For him, at one pole were those systems in which membership was obtained on the basis of biological or kinship ties; at the other, those in which presence on the territory was sufficient to create political obligations. Lowie (16) gave the *coup de grâce* to this dichotomy by demonstrating that in all systems, even those in which kinship ties were critical, membership must depend in some degree upon presence in the locality. Two decades later, the editors of *African Political Systems* provided the alternative dichotomy of states as against stateless systems, based upon the criterion of presence or absence of organized political authorities. Despite its merits in other respects, it still left anthropology with polarized types.

This most recent dichotomy did induce students to examine in detail one or the other of the relevant types, especially the stateless systems. (See, for example, Cunnison [7]; Lienhardt [15]; Mednick [17]; Wallace [23]; and White [24].) Some went even further, as

we have already seen, and sought to modify this classificatory scheme by adding new types that combined characteristics from both state and stateless systems (3, 21). It is obvious that the process of accumulation of types in and around the original dichotomy could continue indefinitely to the point where we might end with a cumbersome set of *ad hoc* classes with varying but not necessarily consistent or accumulative theoretical value. Apart from Smith's article there has been little attention to, or even awareness of, the need to think of reconceptualizing the whole approach to the classification of systems as a guide for the continued collection and interpretation of data.

Quite unexpectedly, when we scrutinize the available data, we find that they suggest a possible approach to classification that would provide us initially not with two fixed and mutually exclusive classes of systems, but with a continuum of types. Fortunately, as has been found in other sciences, this fits in with optimal research strategy in constructing typologies, at least in the early development of a field. Rather than to attempt a classification on the basis of the presence or absence of certain characteristics, it is frequently found useful to place phenomena on a continuum, with the expectation that to do so will make it possible to locate cluster points. In the light of the theoretical criteria used for constructing the continuum, we are then able to let the data inform us of the actual distribution of systems and by cutting the continuum at these points, we would acquire a set of meaningful types.

This procedure has certain shortcomings with respect to the development of general political theory, the most serious being that it yields an essentially descriptive typology with minimal deductive content. It would still remain necessary to scrutinize the typology so obtained in order to discover whether it might suggest a theoretical framework with higher deductive capabilities. But this is not to say that locating systems on a continuum is of no theoretical advantage. In the first place, we shall see that the properties incorporated on the scale do have important theoretical relevance. And in the second place, since location on the continuum will be correlated with a number of other political characteristics, the classification so derived should be rich in potentially verifiable hypotheses.

The scaling of primitive political systems is particularly appropriate since it appears that they possess a variety of politically significant characteristics that vary concurrently. And it is just this point that anthropologists have been seeking to emphasize by the apparently disproportionate attention they have paid to the presence or absence of an organized governmental apparatus for the regulation of the use of force and violence. If we interpret their point broadly, we can see that in effect they are saying that the critically important variable in the functioning of a political system is the degree of structural differentiation between political and other kinds of social roles in the fulfillment of various political functions. As it turns out, this variation tends to be mutually interdependent with other major political and social variables. What has not been clarified in the literature is the types of differentiation that can occur, and the way in which these types are related to each other and to other dimensions of a political system with which they may be correlated. Using political role differentiation as a point of departure, and in an entirely tentative and exploratory spirit, let us see what these remarks imply with regard to the classification of systems.

Differentiation itself appears in several ways. We can differentiate political roles from other social roles, we can differentiate one kind of political role from another, and we can differentiate between the degree of specialization associated with various political roles. Let us look at each of these aspects in turn.

First, differentiation may refer to the extent to which a political role can be distinguished from other social roles. Here there will always be at least the distinction between those who govern and those who are governed, since in no system do children participate in decision-making tasks, and normally women and strangers are also excluded. But as far as those who participate in political functions are concerned, there may be complete fusion between political and other social roles. In some African political systems, for example, all tasks aside from those assigned to women and children, are performed by the male elders. There are no special criteria that enable us to identify when the elder is performing a political as against an economic, religious, or purely familial role. There is just

one role, the male elder, and in it the occupant fulfills all functions. But even though there is an actual fusion of roles, we can differentiate them analytically in terms of the consequences the role behavior has for the various political functions which, as we postulated earlier, must be fulfilled in each society.

Second, differentiation is used to refer to the extent to which political roles are distinguishable from each other. Some systems have more different political roles than other systems. Some have only one political role, such as that of a paramount chief or a member of a council of leaders; others have a number of well-defined roles—consider for example, a system with a paramount chief, spatially separated local chiefs or vassals, and attached subordinates such as indunas, magicians, armed guards, and other palace officials. We may also encounter informal, influential types, persons who do not hold office but whose opinions are sought and whose interests are consistently taken into consideration. Complex societies reflect the highest degree of role proliferation in politics.

And third, differentiation may refer to the degree to which political roles fulfill either specific or multiple and diffuse functions. In so far as in most systems we have at least some differentiation between rulers and subjects, there is some difference in function. But let us confine our remarks to the ruling group itself. Where there is only one political role, such as a paramount chief or member of a council, then all political tasks will be performed by this leader and there will be no differentiation. Where, however, there are two or more political roles, there are two possibilities. There may be differentiation either with respect to the kinds of tasks performed by each political figure or only with respect to the level at which similar tasks are performed. It is this kind of distinction to which Southall (21) refers when he draws a distinction between pyramidal and hierarchical structures. In the pyramidal structures he sees similar powers being repeated at all levels, whereas in hierarchical ones, "certain powers are reserved at the top of the structure, and lesser powers distributed to the lower levels of it" (p. 251).

Thus we have systems in which, for example, there are paramount chiefs and satellite chiefs, or, as in the ideal European feudal order, there is a prince or lord at the apex of a pyramid of vassals

and lesser vassals. In such systems, political roles at all levels of authority perform identical types of political tasks. The scope of the authority will vary with the level, but there is no division or specialization of tasks associated with each level. The paramount chief, the subchief, and the sub-subchief differ only in rank: each collects tribute, holds his own court, settles disputes for his own subjects, and performs the whole range of political functions for those dependent on him. And this may be true even though at each level of authority there may be specialization of political roles, that is, a division of tasks between the chief at that level and his associated officials. Here the specialization is horizontal occurring within but not between the various levels of the pyramids.

In hierarchical by contrast to pyramidal systems, specialization occurs vertically as well. For example, the use of force as a sanction may be reserved to the paramount chief; he alone may put offenders to death or raise a war party. Here we have not only various political roles at different levels, but also functions at one level that do not recur at other levels.

The utility and ultimate simplicity of this three-dimensional scale of differentiation derive from the fact that the variables specified here are interdependent. Thus a system low in differentiating political from social roles will usually also be low on the other two variables. When political roles begin to separate off from other social roles, the probability increases that political roles will also begin to differentiate among themselves. And the degree to which this happens will increase the probability that each separate type of role will acquire specialized tasks or activities directed to the fulfillment of specific functions. Thus as we move along the continuum from the low toward the high end, all dimensions will have a tendency to move together and consistently in the same direction. However, these changes may take place at different rates. Hence systems that are high on differentiating political from social roles should be classifiable with respect to the extent to which the political roles are differentiated among themselves. Similarly, systems that have equivalent degrees of differentiation among political roles may vary with respect to the diffuseness or specificity of the tasks performed by those who fill these roles.

One of the central kinds of investigation associated with this approach to typology would be the exploration of the conditions under which varying degrees of differentiation arise. To what extent, for example, does differentiation vary with the size of the society; with its ethnic composition; with its mode of subsistence; with the frequency, volume, and type of demands made; with the nature of the communication network; with the technical requirements for the implementation of decisions; with the general attitudes towards authority; with the social structure, as evidenced in kinship and other kinds of social relationships; with the types of personalities prevalent in the society; and with accessibility to the physical means (shield and spear as against guns, tanks, aircraft, and bombs) for usurpation, rebellion, and conquest. These variables add up to the physical, social, and psychological setting in which a political system must operate and to which it will respond.

If we consider degrees of role differentiation to be internal variables, to neglect external variables such as those just mentioned would be tantamount to viewing political behavior as a closed system. It is taken for granted that a political system must be viewed as an open system, responding to changes in nonpolitical, although politically relevant, factors. By and large, aside from the effect of such external variables as size, number of subcultures, kinship, residential patterns, and modes of subsistence, the literature on primitive political systems does not devote much attention to the social environment in which a system functions. And yet the sampling of societies is so extensive that statistical correlation techniques could even now be used to arrive at some initial approximation of the possible relationship of these system parameters to variations in role differentiation.

We are not, of course, interested in role differentiation just for its own sake. If a classification of systems along these lines is to have any utility it must improve our understanding of how different types of systems operate. The virtue of the role differentiation approach is that we can expect to find variations of other important political characteristics associated with each cluster point on the role-differentiation continuum. For example, we can hypothesize that significant increases in role differentiation will be accompanied by sig-

nificant differences (1) in the criteria of recruitment, (2) in claims to the legitimate use of force as a sanction, (3) in continuity of political processes, and (4) in rate of segmentation of the support structure—to mention only a few variables. Let us examine this hypothesis in detail.

(1) At the low end of the continuum, where differentiation is low or nonexistent, recruitment to the fused sociopolitical roles will be largely ascribed. Societies here consist of small, undifferentiated kinship groups, seldom extending beyond the elementary family, as in the case of the Bushmen. Sex, age, and biological ties are the decisive criteria for assigning a person to his social role. Since the male elders perform all the political tasks, political and sex-kin-age roles are indistinguishable. All related adult males in the band are members of the camp council, and not even the chief of the family has any special right to make decisions for the band as a whole or to settle disputes. The senior male may have by right the nominal role of chief, as is the case among the Bushmen, but aside from limited administrative tasks that he may perform, the authority of the council over the band is as diffuse as that of the biological father in the nuclear family.

As role differentiation increases, kinship as an ascriptive role determinant becomes attenuated, especially when specific political roles begin to emerge. Kinship criteria begin to be displaced by achievement based on personal ties of loyalty, and specific attributes such as military prowess, wealth, and status, and other values salient in the culture. Kinship need not lose all its importance: among many Bantu tribes with highly differentiated political structures, for example, the role of paramount chief falls only to an aspirant in the hereditary line within the royal clan. But an aspirant must also have enough skill and reputation to marshal support from age-sets or other social groups. Ascribed criteria will limit the range of choice and improve one's chances of becoming chief, but achievement criteria will determine which of a number of heredity aspirants wins the chieftaincy.

Ascribed criteria of kinship will also continue to have important consequences for the way in which role occupants fulfill their functions. This is the major point of Faller's (10) study of the Soga.

There he shows that a person will frequently occupy kinship and political roles that impose incompatible demands and expectations upon him. The conflict so generated between such a person and his two constituencies imposes significant strains upon the functioning of the administrative organization.

(2) At the low end of the scale we can expect that the claim to the use of legitimate force in sanctioning decisions will not need to be more than minimal, if it exists at all. Systems at this level will tend to rely largely on psychological or moral sanctions. But again, as we move along the continuum, we can hypothesize that the greater the degree of differentiation and specialization in the political structure, the greater will be the tendency to reinforce the authority of the administrative organization. Structures will emerge through which the rulers can generate support, including a greater reliance upon the monopolization of the legitimate use of force.

Why this tendency should prevail is quite apparent. By virtue of a high degree of differentiation, the group of political leaders dominating an administrative organization will be able to control the technical means for making and implementing decisions. Assertion of the sole right to use legitimate force is made possible by this control, and at the same time reinforces it. It becomes generally acceptable because it meets the need on the part of the society as a whole for stability and order.

(3) At the low end of the continuum high-level decisions will tend to be episodic, i.e., to be made only when disputes affecting the whole society have to be resolved. The increase in differentiation of political roles is itself an index of an increase in conflicts that cannot be handled privately and must therefore be handled by political means. As such conflicts increase in volume and frequency, the new political roles will tend to acquire greater continuity in their functioning. The mere fact that there is more to be done will mean that a group of authorities will need to be constantly available to do it, if the system is to maintain itself. An increase in the political work load leads to greater differentiation in all respects; and this in turn makes it probable that the authorities will have enough to do to keep them continuously busy. This may well react back upon the differentiation of roles themselves, if the recently

enunciated Parkinson's law can be shown to apply to primitive as well as to modern systems.

(4) The rate of segmentation of the support structure can be expected to vary inversely with differentiation. Where differentiation is low, the rate of segmentation is likely to be high, because the entry or withdrawal of political units does not threaten the balance of political interests or the position of any single group. But as differentiation increases and central political leadership and administrative organization appear, fission, fusion, and accretion tend to jeopardize the interests of all or some sections of the central group. This is true even in modern complex societies: witness the long battle over statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. So many groups saw their interests threatened by the admission of these segments to statehood, that no positive action could be taken for decades.

As differentiation increases, not only will the rate of segmentation be affected by the fear of upsetting the applecart, but the very existence of an administrative organization and an associated political leadership will make it possible for the state to inhibit any growth in segmentation. As differentiation increases, so does the capacity to monopolize the instruments for the use of legitimate force. This capacity in itself can be and typically is used to reduce at least those kinds of segmentation that reduce the size of the membership of the political system, and to dictate the terms under which the entry of new segments will be permitted. This is simply another way of saying that it is characteristic of highly differentiated systems to develop means for maintaining the integrity of the political community as a whole.

An increase in differentiation has a similar effect upon segmentation within the political system; that is, where there is no question of segments' departing from the political community. In systems with a low degree of differentiation, there is no group of political leaders or administrative organization that views the whole political system as its constituency. There is accordingly no group of persons that has an interest in interfering with the increase or decrease of segmentation. Whatever other factors give rise to this process can operate without restraint. But where we do have differentiation of

leadership and administrative roles, two counteracting tendencies are at work. On the one hand, the leaders who are striving for political power may seek to create new support groups or to favor realignments of existing ones, depending on the circumstances. Disinherited sons or other relatives in line for the chieftaincy in primitive systems typically will engage in long and protracted dynastic disputes with discernible effects on the rate of segmentation.

On the other hand, those who are in possession of the positions of legitimate authority will seek to maintain the balance that enabled them to take power. They will act to stabilize the number and alignments of the segments. Although the outcome in terms of possible rates of segmentation cannot be predicted for any given case, since there are so many purely situational or accidental variables at work, we can nevertheless expect that, at the very least, the over-all effect will be to reduce the rate of segmentation from what it would have been if no differentiated political structure had been in existence. At the most, as it appears from the literature, it is probable that there is an absolute difference in the rates of segmentation between those systems at the extreme ends of the scale, the rate corresponding inversely to the degree of differentiation, allowing of course for differences in the size of the populations of the societies involved.

I have dealt here with only a few of the characteristics that we can expect to vary with role differentiation. As I have indicated, a classification based upon attributes such as these, related as they appear to be to degrees of political differentiation, is already implicit in the data. The task would be to plot all systems on this continuum, to discover where the clusterings occur, and to use this information as a basis for constructing a useful typology.

This is not an enterprise, of course, that can be undertaken here. My remarks are simply intended to show that concentrated attention must be given to problems of general conceptualization in the field of political anthropology, and to suggest one profitable path for theorists to follow. The data have been collected. What we urgently need now is theoretical work.

LITERATURE CITED

In order to provide a more complete survey of the literature published in 1955–57, the reference section below is followed by a series of abstracts of important books and articles dealing with political anthropology. These abstracts have been arranged by topic and were prepared by John D. McCaffrey, a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago. References listed below for which abstracts have also been given are marked by an asterisk.

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I. STUDIES OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Max Gluckman, "Political Institutions" in *The Institutions of Primitive Society.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956 (first edition: Blackwell and Oxford, 1954).

The author is particularly concerned with social cohesion and control, which he feels depends on internal division that establishes a series of opposed groups with cross-cutting ties of alliance. The various ties, linking groups—kinship, trade, or ritual—have political functions. In western society, as in primitive, groups apparently have an inherent tendency to segment and become bound by such countervailing alliances. These processes contribute to social cohesion and to the maintenance of order in societies lacking specialized governmental structures. Illustrations of the operation of different kinds of linking mechanisms are given.

I. Schapera, *Governments and Politics in Tribal Societies.* London: Watts, and Co., 1956.

In this detailed, comparative analysis of four South African societies (Bushmen, Bergdama, Hottentot, and Southern Bantu) Schapera makes use of generalizations concerning primitive political organization, especially those developed by Maine, Lowie, Radcliffe-Brown, Fortes, and Evans-Pritchard. Problems concerning territoriality, sovereignty, membership, authority, and public opinion, and the relation of these to political organization, are emphasized. Environmental and subsistence factors are correlated with political characteristics.

The author notes certain tendencies in the general development of political organization. He hypothesizes that, with increasing size, the significance of kinship as the basis of political association declines, and heterogeneity becomes predominant. Governmental functions become

more numerous and varied; governmental organizations increases in complexity, degree of specialization, and power and privilege. As powers and privileges increase, conflict over their control becomes more frequent and intense. These developments depend upon community size which in turn is associated with environmental conditions and modes of subsistence.

Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Political Organization and Land Tenure Among the Northwestern Indians, 1600–1830," *Sthwest. J. Anthrop.* 13: 301–21 (1957).

Aspects of the political organization of northwestern United States Indians during the pre-reservation period are described with self-conscious consideration for the conceptualization of primitive political organization. Political organization is defined as the process by which decisions are made concerning the behavior of a territorially definable group. The tribe is the unit most extensively analyzed. The structure of intertribal political roles, the extent of political activity, and the degree of popular control over decision-making are discussed. Tribal relations occurred through confederation, amalgamation, adoption, alliance, and dependence. These are analyzed with attention to the conditions under which they occurred and to their political and economic implications. The basic principle of land tenure was territorial tribal ownership within which land or right to its use was controlled by various social units. Illustrations are given of Indian recognition of, and respect for, tribal territorial units.

II. SOCIAL COHESION

Ian Cunnison, "Headmanship and the Ritual of Luapula Villages," *Africa* 26: 2–16 (1956).

The headman's political position depends on his ritual status. Mystical prestige is the basis of a headman's relations with villagers, and of the extent of his authority in the absence of effective control over village economic and kinship affairs. A headman's popularity and the size of his village are associated with the health, harmony, and prosperity of the population; the lack of these elements is popularly conceived to be due to the headman's ritual failure. This results in residential migration and therefore in the maintenance of a balance among villages. Individuals are ritually protected only by village residence which imposes recognition of the headman's political superiority and observation of ritual taboos, taxation, labor, and tribute.

Germaine Dieterlen, "The Mande Creation Myth," *Africa* 27: 124–38 (1957).

The significance of a creation myth among geographically dispersed peoples is assessed. Numerous groups in the French Sudan claim descent

from a common stock located in Mande. A myth common to these groups is recounted periodically at a special ceremony. Themes found in the myth appear in the social and ceremonial organization of many of the lineages. The myth asserts the derivation of these lineages from the Mande, recounts the population of the world by the ancestors, the founding of villages, and the distribution of the lineages. The participation of all lineages at the ceremony during which the myth is recited is ritually recognized, and the continued existence of the lineages is conceived to be thereby assured. The author concludes that the wide expansion of this myth is responsible for the maintenance of an "international" kind of organization by providing justification for relations among these groups and by expressing a traditional unity. Whether or not the myth has historical validity, its functions remain the same.

Lloyd A. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Study of Integration and Conflict in the Political Institutions of an East African People.* Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1956.

This case study is concerned with the nature of conflict and integration within traditional and modern Soga political systems. In the traditional system, authority was organized by corporate lineages and a centralized state structure. The two were antagonistic in that norms and expectations governing role behavior and the exercise of authority differed for lineage and state organizations. The application to the same individuals of incompatible but equally legitimate sets of expectations was associated with personal and institutional strain and instability. This type of conflict did not produce two opposed groups, committed to different norms, but was characterized by the individual's acceptance of both patterns for action.

Today, a western bureaucratic model of administration, which emphasizes impersonal and disinterested norms of official behavior, coexists with the traditional system of authority based on particularism and personal loyalty. The institutionalization of these opposed types of authority with their concommitant role expectations results in individual conflict and institutional instability as each is applied to the same sets of persons. The lack of Soga political integration is at least partly due to this condition.

Jack Goody, "Fields of Social Control Among the LoDagaba," *J. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* 87: 75–104 (1957).

The author reports an examination of the bases of social control in a society that Lowie considered to be an extreme example of an acephalous system. Social control is maintained among the LoDagaba by two relatively independent systems: one, the system of merging descent groups; the other and more significant, the system of ritual areas by which social control is based on contiguity and supernatural sanctions.

The concept of segmentary systems, as developed in *African Political Systems,* is criticized in detail. The author argues that segmentary opposition and association are not exclusive to developed lineage systems, or to stateless systems. Modifications of the concept's application are proposed that would retain the principle of the segmentation process without limiting it to particular kinds of associated groups.

Melvin Mednick, "Some Problems of Moro Historical and Political Organization," *Philippine Stud. Rev.* 5: 39–52 (1957).

The Moro are distinguished from other Philippine peoples by the size and degree of their political organization. Their political system provided the organizational mechanism by which cultural and ecological variations within the Moslem Philippine world were minimized. This system is described by the author as a pyramidial hierarchy of authority having extensive administrative, military, and judicial role division. Authority was exercised over people rather than territory, with differential power determined by the relative population of membership units. Islamic law and religion were, with kinship, significant integrative factors. Economic interdependence and the defense requirements of subordinate social units worked to maintain the political system, while at the same time transitory alliances and fluid principles of succession restricted its stability.

George P. Murdock, "Political Moities," in L. D. White, ed., *The State of the Social Sciences.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1956.

This analysis is concerned with the contribution of types of political structure to social integration and stability. The cross-cultural method of analysis is used. The moiety system of the Creek confederation and the political parties of modern democratic states are described as being similar, one common function being the channeling of internal friction toward the countervailing group in such a way that peace through regulated conflict was achieved.

The Berber tribes achieved an integration and stability transcending individual districts by extending their moiety system into intertribal relations, which resulted in a balance-of-power arrangement similar to that of the Triple Alliance. Its success in limiting warfare and preserving democratic institutions suggests to the author the potential utility of the balance-of-power system for modern international politics.

Robert F. Murphy, "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion," *Amer. Anthrop.* 59: 1018–35 (1957).

The significance of Mundurucú warfare in the nineteenth century is considered by the author to lie in the maintenance of tribal boundaries,

the activation of male unity, and the promotion of tribal cohesion. Warfare gave structure to relationships within the society, and between it and other groups. Tribal solidarity was maintained because wars provided a release for the latent hostility generated by the Mundurucú social structure. More specific ends of warfare—prestige, ritually valued trophy heads, captives, and economic gain—were of secondary importance compared to the value of warfare as a "safety-valve" mechanism. Inter-village relations among the Mundurucú were based on marriage, joint participation in raids, and post-raiding ceremonies. Ceremonies and cooperation in war were facilitated by a system of patrilineal descent with matrilocal residence.

V. W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life.* Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1957.

The character of residential structure is the focus of this study of the Ndembu village and its relations within the total tribal system. Analyses of structure and process were required to demonstrate the way by which contradictory organizational principles produce conflict among groups, restrict social unity, and act to disperse kin and affines widely throughout the total system. The incompatibility of matrilineal descent and virilocal residence largely accounts for the frequent incidence of disputes among groups allied by marriage, for martial conflict and the high divorce rate, and for conflicting loyalties. Maternal descent formed the basis of village continuity, of succession to political office, and, potentially, of continuity for political authority. The instability of marital relations and the frequency of village secession by the matricentric family promoted political conflict within the village and among groups related by virtue of marriage.

Social cohesion was, to some extent, maintained by the geographic extension of ties of affinity and kinship throughout the tribal area. These, however, did not insure stability. A unity of common values was promoted by ritual action and cult group associations which transcend the whole society and are independent of kinship and lineage. In this way, conflicts within subsystems become absorbed within larger units.

III. LAW

Paul Bohannan, *Justice and Judgment Among the Tiv.* London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957.

This account of Tiv jural phenomenon indicates the concepts and behavior of a particular system of law while suggesting a sociological framework of analysis by which the Tiv system may be compared with other systems. Cases are presented in support of the Tiv legal principles inferred by the author.

Both the officially recognized native courts and the unofficial courts

of the lineage, or "moots," are described: their organization, jurisdiction, procedures, and norms of participant behavior. Transgression of the law, or breach of norm, is followed and defined by a type of social action the author terms counteraction. The court is an institution of counteraction. Counteraction is followed by correction consisting either of action in accordance with the norm originally transgressed, or of action in atonement for the original breach. Judges of the native court are thought of as arbitrators to whom the Tiv may or may not take a dispute. Judgment consists largely in suggesting settlements that public opinion will force the litigants to accept. Courts of the lineage are community actions for decision in disputes among kinsmen and neighbors who cannot dissolve their established relationships. These courts concern themselves with action involving magical power and witchcraft, matters which the Tiv consider to be of the greatest importance.

The Tiv conceptually organize both of these jural institutions within a single system. The author considers each to be a means toward the maintenance of a peaceful community, and terms them the governmental and religious aspects of a single task, the correction of the social order.

Edward B. Harper, "Hoylu: A Belief Relating to Justice and the Supernatural," *Amer. Anthrop.* 59: 801–16 (1957).

Hoylu is a ritualized request for supernatural administration of justice. Appeals to supernatural sanctions occur in cases violating caste norms in such a way that the maintenance of social role is threatened. This may be a consequence of adverse decisions by governmental courts, or of situations in which insufficient evidence eliminates the possibility of governmental court action. The kind of request made of the supernatural varies with caste membership. The character of the use of Hoylu by three different castes is described.

S. F. Nadel, "Reason and Unreason in African Law," *Africa* 26: 160–73 (1956).

This is an expanded critical review of certain aspects of three publications: Anderson's "Islamic Law in Africa," Gluckman's "The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia," and Howell's "A Manual of Nuer Law." Gluckman's volume is the most intensively considered. Problems to which Nadel gave his attention include: the distinction between law and custom; the self-help mechanism; and the jural significance of reason, logic, natural justice, moral action, and legal flexibility.

John G. Peristiany, "Law," in *The Institutions of Primitive Society.* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956.

The distinctive problem in the study of law is the discovery of the way by which sectional interests are transcended and relations among

constituent groups regularized. Both complex and simple societies are composed of a number of segments. In a simple society, political organization may be coextensive with the individual segment; clearly defined political roles and explicit norms may be concerned only with the safeguard of sectional interests. Thus, among the Kipsigis public opinion and common tribal values are the significant factors in the maintenance of law and order among segments. Certain statuses exist that function to resolve sectional conflict through ritual and social mediation, emphasizing common values and manipulating public opinion. The relation between a social system and a system of values is revealed in the primitive legal process.

David M. Schneider, "Political Organization, Supernatural Sanctions and Punishment for Incest on Yap," *Amer. Anthrop.* 59: 791–800 (1957).

The author focuses on the relationship between political organization and the nature and severity of punishment. Identification of the association having the right to administer punishment is considered essential to an understanding of the nature of punishment. On Yap the lineage is nearly self-regulating and is responsible for its members and the application of sanctions against them. In general, when a kin group has the monopoly of the use of force, it may either choose to apply sanctions to its members or delegate that responsibility to supernatural agencies. On Yap, kin groups turn to supernatural agencies, perhaps because of an emphasis on the maintenance of lineage solidarity and because of the frequency of the type of crime and the magnitude of disruption. For example, incest is infrequent and not immediately disruptive. Sanctions thought to be applied by supernatural agencies must be of a kind that may be expected to occur. Illness and death are the sanctions of Yap supernatural agencies.

IV. SOCIAL CHANGE

John B. Adams, "Culture and Conflict in an Egyptian Village," *Amer. Anthrop.* 59: 225–35 (1957).

This paper analyzes how integration in an Egyptian village was impaired and the way by which village cleavages reflect policies and problems of modernization. Local factions and cliques within them are due to differential responses to the national government's aims and methods concerning village development. These various responses are associated with the perceived governmental intent as interpreted by the manner of expression rather than by content evaluation, peer group influence, the viability of family values, and the effectiveness of schools and other new institutions. The village mayor is identified by the author as the primary agent of compromise between the national government and local factions.

John W. Benett and Robert K. McKnight, "Approaches of the Japanese Innovator to Cultural and Technical Change," *Ann. Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.* 305: 101–13 (1956).

The ideological commitments of Japanese innovative groups during the historical course of modernization and their political implications are analyzed in this study. Japan is unlike Europe in that it represents a case of directed change with consciously formulated ends and means. The three major positions to which Japanese innovators have subscribed are: conservatism, liberalism, and pragmatism. Although there has been a broad acceptance of technological development as a goal, ideological orientation has differed with respect to conceptions of the social implications of technological change. These differences and their political significance at various periods are described.

Robert C. Paddon, "Cultural Change and Military Resistance in Araucanian Chile, 1550–1730," *Sthwest. J. Anthrop.* 13: 103–21 (1957).

The relatively successful Araucanian resistance to Spanish domination is attributed to the development of new military, political, and ideological institutions. Two periods of Araucanian social organization are described. During the early period resistance was based on localized autonomous kinship units, which formed temporary military alliances. Later Araucanian political and military institutions were based upon hierarchically organized territories including a number of localities. An effective ideology of resistance developed. A diety associated with warfare was rationalized. A public spirit of resistance was cultivated and manipulated. Political indoctrination and military training became significant aspects of childhood socialization.

V. POLITICAL ELITES

Felix M. Keesing and Marie M. Keesing, *Elite Communication in Samoa: A Study of Leadership.* Stanford Anthropological Series, No. 3. Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1956.

This presents a case study analysis of elite communication, i.e. messages to, from, and among persons having influence in instances of negotiation, public opinion formation, and decision-making. It is also a conscious investigation of the possibilities within anthropology for the study of communication. Research design and problems of analyzing and reporting data are considered. There is a special effort to demonstrate the importance of linguistic materials for the study of communication contexts. Throughout the text appear many self-consciously derived, specific propositions that the authors hope will be useful in further comparative and theoretical work.

Godfrey Lienhardt, "Anuak Village Headmen," *Africa* 27: 341–55 (1957).

Anuak village organization and the manner by which its headmen are changed is described. Headmen arise as successful sponsors chosen by informally organized age-sets. Selection of headmen is determined by the sponsors' economic ability to support an age-set. A particularly successful sponsor may organize and support a number of distinct age-sets, thereby increasing his political influence. Popular conceptions promoting the ease of a headman's deposition are analyzed. The author interprets this institution as having ceremonial significance, as reflecting Anuak notions of prestige, and as being associated with a competitive, independent social life.

Kenneth Little, "Two West African Elites," *Int. Soc. Sci. Bull.* 8: 495–98 (1956).

Little describes and compares the elite of two distinct tribal units—the Ewe of the Gold Coast, and the Birom of Nigeria. A literate class is the principal guide of Ewe modernization, and there is a tendency for new advisory and decision-making roles to develop in association with organizations that have economic functions.

Social change among the Birom has been due particularly to the influence of a new, educated paramount chief. New popular conceptions of elite qualities are developing, which include advanced education, material prosperity, and display. An elite of individuals who possess these characteristics is emerging.

S. F. Nadel, "The Concept of Social Elites," *Int. Soc. Sci. Bull.* 8: 413–24 (1955).

This article attempts to define elites and to determine the heuristic adequacy of the concept. A number of elite characteristics are enumerated with the fundamental trait given as a broad preeminence insuring an elite's popular influence and permitting the establishment of popularly imitated social standards. Nadel assumes a plurality of elites, including political, religious, intellectual, and artistic, and poses the problem of their interrelation within the society. He argues that a governing class's superiority lies not within its elite character as such but within its organization and within the measure of coercive power wielded by virtue of that organization. It is foremost a ruling group and only incidentally an elite. It may not be characterized by imitated, generalized superiority. The significance of research concerned for the process of the emergence of elites and their dynamic character is considered, and methods appropriate for such research discussed.

VI. FACTIONS AND CONFLICT

E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Zande Border Raids," *Africa* 27: 217–31 (1957).

Border raids between the Zande and Wando kingdoms were often hastily organized, small-scale actions suffering few casualties. Their significance was in their frequency, which sustained hostility and alertness. The raids illustrate the principle of territorial integrity and the fluidity of border provinces that were frequently divided and reformed.

William N. Fenton, *Factionalism at Taos Pueblo New Mexico.* Smithsonian Institution: Bureau of American Ethnology. Anthropological Paper, No. 56. Washington, 1957.

An analysis of a recent political crisis between the established, conservative political hierarchy and an innovative younger generation. An incident has created a fundamental breach between the factions, and the solution appears doubtful. Political behavior and governmental structure is described. Authority lies ultimately in the traditional priesthood controlled by one priest by virtue of his dominating personality.

J. L. Fischer, "Totemism on Truk and Ponape," *Amer. Anthrop.* 59: 250–65 (1957).

Variations in the strength of sib totemism on the two islands are interpreted by the author as being related to differences in individual sociopsychological conflict and differences of social structure. One difference is in the political structure of the two, and the political organization of each is briefly analyzed. On Ponape, political titles are numerous, and their achievement is associated with a system of competition by which the status of both individuals and sibs is altered. Competition among sibs occurs frequently, resulting in internal sib conflict. On Truk, political titles are few, and individual achievement and competition are minimized. Conflict is focused on generations rather than on sibs.

M. D. W. Jeffreys, "Ibo Warfare," *Man* 56: 77–79 (1956).

Fighting among the Ibo in pre-European times was characterized by individual tourneys with protective armament and wooden weapons. Serious injury or death was rare, and war was a friendly display of force calculated to break the monotony of the dry season.

Peter Lienhardt, "Village Politics in Trucial Oman," *Man* 57: 56 (1957).

This short statement concerns the association between changing political relations and altered land values. In the past, urban leaders exer-

cised indirect control over tribal communities through traditional tribal leaders who relied on urban military support. The possibility of the existence of oil has altered a situation in which poorly defined state and local rights were tolerated. Urban leaders are now attempting to convert tribal communities into dependencies, and tribesmen are asserting their full independence.

VII. MODERN COMMUNITY STUDIES

John D. Donoghue, "An Eta Community in Japan: The Social Persistence of Outcaste Groups," *Amer. Anthrop.* 59: 1000–1017 (1957).

The author focuses upon the political, economic, and psychological facts influencing the persistence of the eta as a corporate group that suffers discrimination although it possesses neither physical nor cultural characteristics that would prohibit its passage into the larger Japanese society. Patterns of social control are related to eta self-government. Community appointed officials act in matters of internal discipline, organize collective action, and maintain external relations. Community meetings serve to express public opinion, stress distinctiveness, and promote community solidarity.

Robert R. Jay, "Local Government in Rural Central Java," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 15: 215–27 (1956).

This article provides an extended summary of many aspects of local administrative, political, legislative, and judicial institutions. The importance for local issues of village relationships with regional and national groups is noted, with particular attention paid to the political implications of religious tension. Other factors of political and jural significance are considered; they include the organization and operation of the authority structure, personality factors and informal influences on decision-making, the relationship of social pressures to jural arbitration, and the way in which political rewards of power, prestige, and profit condition the intensity of political conflict.

Manning Nash, "The Multiple Society in Economic Development: Mexico and Guatemala," *Amer. Anthrop.* 59: 825–33 (1957).

This analysis of Guatemala, in comparison with Mexico, identifies the potentially innovative groups that might successfully promote economic development. Various urban and rural segments are considered in terms of their command over national wealth, political influence, and tendencies toward economic conservatism or innovation. The middle class is identified as the segment potentially interested in economic development and having the potentials to promote it successfully. Realization of middle-class economic potentialities depends on political ascendancy and the sup-

port of large population segments. Present economic commitments tend to exclude segments other than the Indian and the urban lower class. Consequently, conditions for middle-class political success include an economic program appealing to these groups.

Eric Wolf, "Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico," *Amer. Anthrop.* 58: 165–78 (1956).

Local communities are modified by their dependence upon the regional and national systems of which they are a part. Such communities as peasant societies can not be viewed as self-contained systems, but are more appropriately treated as the local termini of a web of relations extending through intermediate levels from the community to the nation. An understanding of national as well as local institutions contributes to the analysis of these relations. The exercise of power is an aspect of group relations modified by means of economic or political forms, and enters at all levels of sociocultural integration. These and other aspects of group relations require analysis if anthropology is to treat complex societies. As illustration of this kind of approach, the author describes ways by which groups in Mexico have rearranged themselves in conflict and accommodation during three historical periods.

VIII. ETHNOGRAPHIES

E. W. Ardener, *The Coastal Bantu of the Cameroons.* Ethnographic Survey of Africa. Western Africa, No. 11, London: International African Institute, 1956.

R. E. Bradbury, *The Benin Kingdom and the Edo-Speaking People of South-western Nigeria.* Ethnographic Survey of Africa. Western Africa, No. 13: London: International African Institute, 1957.

David P. Gamble, *The Wolof of Senegambia.* Ethnographic Survey of Africa. Western Africa, No. 14. London: International African Institute, 1957.

Harold D. Gunn, *Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria.* Ethnographic Survey of Africa. Western Africa, No. 12. London: International African Institute, 1956.

These accounts are based on both field and library research. Their purpose is to present a summary of existing knowledge as a contribution to a comprehensive African ethnographic survey. Each work contains information pertinent to political organization and law. Data organized in terms of the following categories usually appear. *Political organization,* which covers: the nature of the political unit; relations among political units; political unit membership criteria; political role characteristics; relationships among political office holders; methods and criteria of selec-

tion for political office; extent and source of authority; methods of maintaining authority; functions of political roles and political units; the character of political office installation practices; popular attitudes toward government; popular control of officials; the income of the political unit, its source and usages; warfare and military organization. Sections on *Law* often include information concerning the nature of civil and criminal disputes; the personnel involved in disputes; the source of law; judicial roles; legal procedures; the behavior of witnesses; and oaths and ordeals.

Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Bukidnon of Mindanao.* Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1956.

Political organization and behavior are briefly analyzed in this descriptive, ethnographic summary. Information is given concerning political roles, the extent and effectiveness of authority, ritual and judicial functions of political statuses, legal procedure, principles of adjudication, character and extent of self-help, and warfare and slavery.

Edward A. Winter. *Bwamba—A Structural-Functional Analysis of a Patrilineal Society.* Published for the East African Institute of Social Research. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1956.

Social composition, recruitment, and cohesion are of particular interest to the author. Village organization and relations with other units are extensively analyzed. Political organization is one of a number of ethnographic areas considered.

The village is a territorial unit and is organized around and perpetuated through the localized patrilineage, the outstanding feature in the system of social relations. The extent of political role specialization is slight. A loosely organized group of elders, representing their own residential units, exercise a diffuse, village-wide authority based on advice and mediation. Their personal influence and knowledge are significant in the informal jural system which, together with religious institutions, is important in the maintenance of social cohesion in the absence of strongly developed political authority. Informal leaders arise sporadically. In the past, the major foreign policy goals of each village have been the maintenance of village integrity, the protection of members, and the acquisition of wives. Alliances were formed between lineages for the regulation of marriage and defense. The relations of each lineage were unique and cut across those of other lineages so that the possibility of a centralized power unit developing was minimized. The author considers other features relating to the general political system in some detail: lineage structure, village immigration, feuds, the supernatural and witchcraft, self-help, jural procedures and participant behavior, intervillage disputes, and foreign influences on the indigenous system.

IX. POLICY-ORIENTED RESEARCH

Edward P. Dozier, George E. Simpson, and J. Milton Yinger, "The Integration of Americans of Indian Descent," *Ann. Amer. Acad. of Pol. Soc. Sci.* 311: 158–65 (1957).

The authors view the place of Indians in American society as representative of the general problem of the integration of minority groups into a social system. Past governmental policies have tended to perpetuate Indians as separate and distinct groups, but this has not prevented migration out of Indian communities. The authors predict that termination of Federal governmental services and reservation communities would not increase Indian integration into the larger society. Assumptions underlying Federal Indian policy, and assumptions persistent among Indians as to the implications of Federal policies, are considered. Some recent policies are reviewed.

Oliver La Farge, "Termination of Federal Supervision: Disintegration and the American Indian," *Ann. Amer. Acad. of Pol. Soc. Sci.* 311: 41–46 (1957).

The author considers alternative ways of dealing with the problem of American Indian populations. One aims at quickly eliminating the Indian's special protected status. The author believes such a policy to be ill-advised. Another policy would support the Indian's special status until Indians chose to dispense with Federal supervision. Patient work toward adjusting the Indian to modern American life to the point where he no longer needs special status is thought to be essential.

Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "The Indian Claims Commission Act," *Ann. Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.* 311: 56–70 (1957).

Awareness of the need for solving problems of jurisdiction and finance in Indian litigation, a desire for more prompt attention to Indian claims, and administrative expedience were factors prompting Congress to adopt the Indian Claims Commission Act in 1942 and to extend it in 1952. Types of claims and some current issues, including that of the role of the anthropologist as expert witness, are described.

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