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SOCIAL STRUCTURE



A. R. Radcliffe-Brown

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Studies presented to

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

Edited by

MEYER FORTES

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PREFACE

NO living scholar has had so decisive an influence on the development of social anthropology as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. As a teacher he is unrivalled; and his writings are ranked among the classics of anthropology. His influence is due not only to the wide geographical range of his work as a teacher and field investigator, but also to his gift for imparting to students the thrill of new discovery and the desire to join in the task of further research.

This book was planned as a tribute to Radcliffe-Brown on his retirement from the Chair of Social Anthropology at Oxford in 1946. Fortunately, he did not then give up teaching for good. He is, characteristically, engaged in the launching of a new department of sociology in the Farouk I University at Alexandria, Egypt.

Our book is a testimony to the lead given by Radcliffe-Brown throughout the past thirty-five years in expanding research in social anthropology and in building up a body of theoretical principles. The variety of subjects dealt with by the contributors corresponds to the width of Radcliffe-Brown's own interests, and shows how much we all owe to his stimulus. In these essays the reader will also discover one of the main reasons why Radcliffe-Brown inspires such esteem and affection among his pupils and colleagues. It is because he is just as pleased when an hypothesis of his is shown, by the test of field observation, to be untenable as when it is proved to be sound.

Radcliffe-Brown has founded or revivified teaching and research in social anthropology in all the five continents, and has held to a consistent line of thought throughout his career; but he has never countenanced the growth of an '-ism' or school based on his theories. 'There is no place for orthodoxies and heterodoxies in science', he has recently said.[1] This is in keeping with his single-minded and detached devotion to the advancement of social anthropology 'as a branch of natural science'.[2]

It is easy to criticize this postulate about the place of social anthropology in the pursuit of knowledge. No one would claim that either the methods or the very tentative generalizations

[1] 'On Social Structure', *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, lxx. 1 (1940), p. 1.
[2] Ibid., and 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies' (1931), p. 5.

so far achieved in the study of human society and culture can stand comparison with those of physics, chemistry, or biology. Yet, without the assumption that the standpoint of the natural sciences is valid for the study of human society and culture, without the conscious endeavour to apply scientific methods to this study, the great progress made in it during the past fifty years would have been impossible. In this regard Radcliffe-Brown is going no farther than his greatest predecessors and contemporaries. It is when he takes the logical step of asserting that the aim of a 'generalizing science' of human social life (as opposed to historical study of the same phenomena) must be the discovery of universal laws,[1] and when, more boldly, he attempts to formulate such laws, that he incurs severest criticism.[2]

Whether or not these laws are valid will be settled in due course by the progress of research. The controversies they have provoked and the field research they have given rise to have been an unquestionable gain for social anthropology. As Professor Robert Redfield has pointed out in his admirable 'Introduction' to a book[3] which was the model and precursor of the present book, Radcliffe-Brown's greatest contribution to social anthropology lies in his 'explicit and systematic' theory and method. This theory and the method of research and analysis underlying it were foreshadowed in essentials in Radcliffe-Brown's earliest work; but they have evolved gradually. And much as the theory owes to Durkheim, its emphasis on synchronic study and its rejection of conjectural history are the results of field experience.

This is not the place to expound Radcliffe-Brown's theory and method at length. He has done this himself with a clarity, elegance, and economy difficult to match in the literature of the subject. His starting-point, the view that 'any persisting culture ⟨is⟩ an integrated unity or system in which each element has a definite function in relation to the whole',[4] was and is shared by other anthropologists. His gradual refinement of this thesis and of the key concepts involved is, however, a unique achievement.

[1] This view is stressed in many of his papers but is most clearly set out in the previously cited paper of 1931.

[2] As from Professor Lowie—cf. R. H. Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory*, London, Harrap (1937), pp. 221 ff.

[3] F. Eggan (ed.), *Social Anthropology of North American Indian Tribes*, University of Chicago Press, 1937.

[4] Loc. cit. (1931), p. 19.

It is thus that he has finally arrived at emphasizing specifically what has been the implicit guiding orientation of all his work, the importance of social structure as the 'most fundamental part' (though not the whole of) social anthropology.[1]

In his explanations and demonstrations of what the use of scientific method in social anthropology means, Radcliffe-Brown has been in the van of those who hold with Whitehead that it is impossible to know what to look for without a theory. In this he differs particularly from those who maintain that anthropology is scientific so far as it confines itself to the unbiased collection and classification of 'facts' and relies on what is described as induction to produce valid generalizations. The first principle of method always stressed by Radcliffe-Brown is that general laws can only be discovered by the comparative study of diverse types of society, or of variant 'species' of one social type; and he has demonstrated the fertility of this procedure (as well as its difference from the classical comparative method of Tylor, Frazer, and others) in his well-known monograph on Australian social organization (1930–1). His second principle is that comparative sociology must use the standard scientific technique of starting from an hypothesis, testing it by intensive field-work, modifying the original hypothesis in the light of the field results, and continuing thus to build up a systematic body of knowledge. This procedure is followed in Radcliffe-Brown's own work, and it has led him to the tentative formulation of 'sociological laws' as well as to specific hypotheses about such subjects as kinship, totemism, the nature of social sanctions, and so forth. A glance at the literature of social anthropology since the publication of Radcliffe-Brown's first major work, *The Andaman Islanders*, in 1922, is enough to show how much valuable research has been directly inspired by these hypotheses. This applies especially to the study of kinship. It would, I think, be generally acknowledged that many of the most important advances in this branch of anthropology during the past twenty-five years have been due to Radcliffe-Brown.

Radcliffe-Brown's theoretical standpoint has its roots in ideas that were being debated in the first two decades of this century. It was a time when a number of thinkers and research workers in the broad field of comparative sociology, notably Durkheim and his colleagues, were experimenting with what has come to be

[1] Loc. cit. (1940), p. 2.

known as the 'functional' approach. It was during this period, for instance, that the late Professor B. Malinowski, with whom Radcliffe-Brown is often coupled, carried out the field researches upon which he later built his 'functional' theories, and other anthropologists like Thurnwald and Rivers were handling ethnographical material in a sociological frame of reference. The points of contact and of divergence between Radcliffe-Brown's guiding concepts and those of Malinowski and other 'functionalists' do not concern us. What is more relevant here is the background of education and experience against which Radcliffe-Brown's ideas have taken shape.

As is well known, his greatest affinity is with Durkheim and his followers. Some of Radcliffe-Brown's most fruitful hypotheses have arisen from testing Durkheimian theories in the field. It is not so well known, however, that the original stimulus to take up the study of comparative sociology and to pay special attention to the simpler societies came from an acquaintance with Kropotkin. This famous Russian scholar, whose book on *Mutual Aid* (1902) had come as a salutary corrective to the extravagant application of the notion of the 'struggle for existence' in social and political philosophy, was living in England. Radcliffe-Brown was then a Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was reading Mental and Moral Science (1901–6). His studies in psychology brought him into contact with W. H. R. Rivers, that versatile and erratic but inspiring teacher and investigator, who had turned more and more to anthropology after the Torres Straits Expedition of 1898. Radcliffe-Brown became Rivers's first pupil in anthropology in 1904.[1] He worked also with A. C. Haddon, the father of scientific field-work in British anthropology. Radcliffe-Brown's theoretical views later diverged considerably from those of his teachers. But their influence lies behind the main difference between his standpoint and that of Durkheim—that is, his emphasis on the critical importance of the test of field-work in the verification of sociological theories.

In 1905 Radcliffe-Brown paid his first visit to South Africa as secretary of the Anthropological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which held its meeting there. The following year he was elected Anthony Wilkin Student in Ethnology at Cambridge and went out to the Anda-

[1] Loc. cit. (1931), p. 7.

man Islands. Returning in 1908, he wrote a preliminary report of his field-work. This was the thesis which gained him a Fellowship of Trinity College and subsequently became the basis of *The Andaman Islanders*. The next two years were largely taken up with teaching at the London School of Economics, where he held the newly created post of Reader in Ethnology, and at Cambridge, where he lectured on Comparative Sociology. Re-election to the Wilkin Studentship enabled him to spend the years 1910–12 in Western Australia. The outcome of this expedition was the important paper on 'Three Tribes of Western Australia' (1913), which contained the germ of the theory and method later perfected in the monograph of 1930–1.

The 1913 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was held at Birmingham. As the result of a suggestion made by Sir Richard Temple, the eminent Orientalist, who was President of the Anthropological Section, Radcliffe-Brown was invited to give a course of lectures in the University of Birmingham. It is of interest to record that these lectures were reported at length in the local press and provoked much discussion. Their theme was the comparative study of human society by the methods of the natural sciences, and the difference between such studies and those of social philosophers.

The outbreak of the First World War found Radcliffe-Brown in Australia again, where he had gone with the British Association for their 1914 meeting. The war was a set-back though not altogether barren. For from 1916 to 1919 he served as Director of Education in the kingdom of Tonga (Friendly Islands). Apart from its ethnological value this experience of administration in what corresponded to colonial conditions was the source of Radcliffe-Brown's later interest in applied social anthropology. Invalided out of Tonga, he took advantage of personal connexions to visit South Africa. After a trip to Basutoland he took up an appointment as Ethnologist to the Transvaal Museum at Pretoria. His work there was concerned mainly with material culture, a branch of anthropology with which, as can be seen from *The Andaman Islanders*, he was well acquainted.

In 1920 an important development in South African university education, then entering a period of rapid expansion, took place. This was the establishment, at the University of Cape Town, of a Chair of Social Anthropology as the nucleus of a School of African Life and Languages. Until then there had

been no provision in the young universities of South Africa for the study of the native races of the country. Yet difficult and urgent economic and social problems were arising as a result of the breakdown of Bantu tribal life and of the increasing flow of Africans into the towns and industrial areas. Leading personalities in the academic world and in political circles had been pressing for the dispassionate study of these problems, and the Chair at Cape Town was the first step in this direction. Radcliffe-Brown's appointment to this Chair in 1921 was widely acclaimed in South Africa.

Five very busy years followed. First, there was the task of building up the School of African Life and Languages. Radcliffe-Brown's skill as a teacher soon attracted large undergraduate audiences, and his wide scholarship and integrity quickly won him a leading position among the staff. But there was also the more formidable task of making the educated public understand the significance of anthropological studies for South Africa. This was necessary in order to gain the support and, more particularly, the funds for the research plans Radcliffe-Brown had prepared. But it was also in part a personal crusade. Ever since his student days Radcliffe-Brown has held unwaveringly to the belief that the only road to the solution of the ills of human society is the long and arduous one of first building up the scientific knowledge upon which effective remedies can be based with some hope of success. This was the theme of all his extra-mural activities. He wrote for the press, gave public lectures, addressed many conferences of bodies concerned with education and social welfare, and, most successful of all, organized vacation courses in applied anthropology.

There was little time for field-work or scientific writing; but *The Andaman Islanders*, which had been finished in 1913 and had been delayed by the war, appeared in 1922; and between 1922 and 1926 came a series of papers embodying some of his most fertile contributions to social anthropology. In his Preface to the book Radcliffe-Brown describes *The Andaman Islanders* as a 'work of apprenticeship'; but it was hailed as 'a revolutionary theory of social anthropology' in a critical review by Sir Richard Temple,[1] and was quoted with approval by Mauss in the famous *Essai sur le don*.[2] To-day, in the light of thirty-five years of further research, it is easy to see the flaws in its theoretical

[1] *Man*, xxii (1922), no. 7.

[2] *Année sociologique*, 1923–4.

premisses which Radcliffe-Brown had in mind when he called it 'a work of apprenticeship'. It is still, nevertheless, justly admired as one of the outstanding monographs in the subject, unsurpassed as an experiment in method.

In 1926, frustrated, through lack of funds, in his plans to develop extensive field research in South Africa, Radcliffe-Brown accepted the newly founded Chair of Social Anthropology in the University of Sydney. The School he started at Cape Town continues to flourish under his first South African pupil, I. Schapera. His influence was felt also in the new University of the Witwatersrand, where Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, a colleague who shared his point of view in theory and method, initiated the teaching of anthropology. The subject is now taught in every South African university.

Radcliffe-Brown's five years (1926–31) in Australia took a similar course to his South African sojourn, but the results were more impressive. Having sufficient funds at his disposal, he was able to send his pupils into the field. He made Sydney the base for research workers from America and Great Britain who were working in Australia and the Pacific. He founded and edited the journal *Oceania*, and resumed the Australian researches interrupted by the First World War. He also gave much time to extra-mural activities, as in South Africa. In 1930 he went to Java as the Australian delegate to the Fourth Pacific Science Congress.

Radcliffe-Brown's tenure of the Sydney Chair ended in 1931, when he went to Chicago as Professor of Anthropology. The School, the journal, and the researches he initiated in Australia continue to thrive. He introduced a course of studies for administrative officials going out to Papua and New Guinea; and this has remained an important part of the work of the Sydney School of Anthropology as a link between academic anthropology and practical administration. This is seen, in this book, in the paper by Dr. Hogbin, one of his first Australian pupils. Radcliffe-Brown's major scientific contribution of this time is 'The Social Organisation of Australian Tribes', which first appeared in *Oceania* in 1930–1, and is a fundamental work on the area.

In 1931 the British Association for the Advancement of Science held its centenary meeting in London. Radcliffe-Brown attended as President of the Anthropological Section,

thus renewing contact with an organization which had by chance materially influenced his career. His Presidential Address was a full and considered statement of his theoretical position and an apt prelude to his work in the United States.

Radcliffe-Brown's impact on American anthropology is on record in Professor Redfield's 'Introduction' which has already been referred to. That it stimulated field research of the highest order as well as some clear thinking about fundamental theoretical matters is obvious from the literature of the past fifteen years. Almost everything Radcliffe-Brown wrote between 1931 and 1937 aroused keen controversy among American anthropologists. The distinguished group of American contributors to this book were among the earliest pupils, colleagues, and friends of his American years. It is of special interest to note that Radcliffe-Brown's theories and methods have been successfully developed by American anthropologists in the study of advanced, literate communities in America, Europe, and the Far East.

A particularly congenial episode at this time was a visit to China as Visiting Professor at Yenching University. Chinese philosophy and culture are a favourite study of Radcliffe-Brown's, second only to his love for the writings of the great French masters.

Radcliffe-Brown left Chicago in 1937 to take another newly created Chair, this time in the University of Oxford. He thus became also a Fellow of All Souls College, which had taken a leading part in getting this chair established. The study of anthropology has an illustrious ancestry at Oxford. Tylor belonged to Oxford, and after him came men like Henry Balfour, R. R. Marett, and Sir John L. Myres. But the anthropological researches of these scholars were largely incidental to other academic duties. Anthropology is not taught at the undergraduate level: it has always been a small post-graduate school at Oxford. Radcliffe-Brown's chair marked an important advance in the standing of the subject.

Yet the position of anthropological studies in Great Britain was not very favourable at the time of Radcliffe-Brown's arrival. As Lord Hailey pointed out at the Centenary Meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1944,[1] there was, at that time,

[1] Lord Hailey, 'The Role of Anthropology in Colonial Development', *Man*, xliv (1944), no. 5.

'no systematic demand for research workers' in anthropology in Great Britain. There was, in fact, no 'systematic demand' for anthropology in any form. The small band of younger professional social anthropologists (they could be counted on the fingers of the two hands and were recruited from half a dozen countries) working in England at that time had little outside encouragement. One or two were Radcliffe-Brown's own pupils, but most of them had been trained by Malinowski, and had also sat at the feet of the veterans of the Torres Straits Expedition, Haddon and Seligman. Radcliffe-Brown received a cordial welcome from the British social anthropologists. Though little hope of increasing their ranks could be entertained, with both him and Malinowski in the country there was every prospect of lively theoretical developments.

Then came the war and an end, for the time being, to anthropological teaching and research. Radcliffe-Brown had just been elected President of the Royal Anthropological Institute and he gave much time to its affairs during the difficult and disheartening years 1939–42. His two presidential addresses (1940 and 1941) sum up his present theoretical standpoint on the study of kinship systems and on the concept of social structure. From the autumn of 1942 to the summer of 1944 he was in Brazil as Visiting Professor at the University of São Paulo. This visit was a mission undertaken at the request of the British Council in order to maintain cultural liaison between Great Britain and South America. Enemy action nearly put an end to it before it had properly begun, for the convoy in which Radcliffe-Brown sailed was attacked and driven back shortly after leaving England.

The war, however, was not a dead loss for British anthropology. Economic, political, and especially military necessities aroused a new and lively public interest in the African and Asiatic dependencies of Britain and her allies. The plans for post-war economic and social development in these areas generated under pressure of war-time experiences included big schemes of research in the natural and social sciences. The boom in anthropological studies thus foreshadowed began after Radcliffe-Brown had retired from the Oxford chair. But he was able, in spite of the still abnormal conditions of university life, to lay the foundations of a school capable of making an effective contribution to these research schemes without sacrificing the

aim of advancing the study of social anthropology as a 'natural science of human society'. On relinquishing the chair at Oxford he was immediately invited to Alexandria as the first Professor of Sociology in the Farouk I University. Just before that he delivered the first Henry Myers Lecture at the invitation of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

The essays collected together in this book are an acknowledgement of the debt social anthropology owes to Radcliffe-Brown. They are also, and even more, an offering of admiration and affection for 'R.-B.'. We speak for all those, and they are many, to whom his friendship has been one of the best rewards of the business of being an anthropologist. His patience in listening to others, his tolerance of others' opinions and ideas, his inexhaustible readiness to help with criticism, advice, and tactful guidance, have been a standby to his pupils and colleagues. In more personal matters, too, his friendship has been a help to many of us. Radcliffe-Brown is one of those men of whom it may truly be said that nothing that concerns mankind is a matter of indifference to him. His interests, his learning, and his philosophy of life are as much those of the humanist as of the man of science.

M. F.

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A METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL CLASS

THE METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF CLASS

THE research task confronting the social scientist when he studies the social and status structures of a modern community is similar to that the geographer faces when he discovers a new territory. The geographer identifies and describes the principal characteristics of the new regions and, by use of such concepts as direction and distance, locates them and measures their relations to each other and to previously determined points. From this body of knowledge the cartographer constructs maps which are scientific representations of what he conceives the spatial relations in the new territory to be and what their connexions are with the rest of the known world. Obviously, his map can represent nothing more about the territory than the knowledge he possesses.[1]

The scientist who studies the social and status structures of a community faces similar problems and falls victim to similar errors. He must identify, describe, locate, interrelate, and measure the facts about the structure of social interaction. To report on such analyses the social ecologist draws maps which represent the social use of physical space through time by human groups. Structural and status analysts construct scientific representations (or 'maps') which represent their knowledge of the structure and status interrelations which compose the community's social system. The ecologists characteristically draw spot maps of people in physical areas; the structural and status analyst charts and diagrams the social and status interrelations of human beings.[2]

[1] C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company (1927). S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Action*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company (1941). Hugh R. Walpole, *Semantics; The Nature of Words and Their Meanings*, New York: W. W. Norton and Company (1941). Albert M. Frye and Albert W. Levi, *Rational Belief; An Introduction to Logic*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, (1941). P. W. Bridgman, *The Logic of Modern Physics*, New York: The Macmillan Company (1927).

[2] See 'The Yankee City Series': vol. i, W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1941); vol. ii, W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Status System of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1942); vol. iii, W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*, New Haven: Yale University

Current procedures for class stratification, while reliable, are too time-consuming and expensive and require too large a field staff of experts, often making it impossible for the interested student of human affairs to use a knowledge of social class to understand his particular problem. Students learning how to study social class need a more precise, more mechanical, and more explicitly communicable set of techniques. As our knowledge about social class accumulates, status analysts are increasingly aware that if they are to make valid comparisons among the class systems of the cities and towns of our several regions and develop larger generalizations about the nature of social status, it is necessary that we have a more adequate and explicit methodology for the study of this phenomenon.

Two new systems for the investigation and exact measurement of social class in American communities are presented in this essay. They are called Evaluated Participation and the Index of Status Characteristics. Together they provide accurate and exact procedures for measuring social class and the class position of individuals, for validating results obtained and for translating social class and socio-economic status categories into mutually understandable terms.

The method of Evaluated Participation (E. P.), comprising several techniques, is posed on the propositions that those who interact in the social system of a community evaluate the participation of those around them; that the place where an individual participates is evaluated; that the members of the community are explicitly or implicitly aware of the ranking and translate their evaluations of such social participation into social class ratings that can be communicated to the investigator. It is, therefore, the duty of the field man to use his interviewing skill to elicit the necessary information and to analyse his data with the requisite techniques for determining social class, thereby enabling the status analyst to determine the levels of stratification present and to rank any member of the community.

The Index of Status Characteristics (I.S.C.) measures the socio-economic levels of the community and, when related to Evaluated Participation (E.P.), makes it possible for the status analyst to say what is meant in socio-economic terms by such class concepts as upper, middle, or lower class and corre-

Press (1945); vol. iv, W. Lloyd Warner and Josiah O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1947).

spondingly what is meant by higher or lower socio-economic levels in terms of social class and Evaluated Participation.[1]

(Since the evidence for demonstrating the use of the two methods comes from a study of the middle-western city of 'Jonesville', it is necessary for the readers' understanding of the problem to take time out for a paragraph to describe the city. 'Jonesville', a city of 10,000 used to develop the two methods, is a market centre for the surrounding rural areas. About a third of the city's income is gained from industrial enterprises. The city has a five-class system. It differs from Yankee City in not having an 'old family *élite*' which is superordinate to the 'new family *élite*'. The five classes are: an upper level, composed of 'old' and 'new families', upper and lower-middle classes, and two lower classes. Most of the population is in the lower-middle and upper-lower classes.)

TECHNIQUES FOR STATUS PLACEMENT

Six techniques, when combined, form the E.P. method for stratifying a community and for placing families and individuals at their proper level in the status system of a community. Each plays a decisive part in the process of determining the social stratification of a community or of the status of an individual or family.

The several techniques for status placement are called: Social Reputation, Emblematic or Symbolic Reference, Equivalence and Non-equivalence, Categorical Reference, Institutional Membership or Real Interconnexion,[2] and Total and Segmental Configuration. Each of these terms refers to an explicit procedure for rating people. This same procedure is used informally in the social logics[3] of the inhabitants of the communities of the United States. Each frequently appears in the interviews and gossip and conversation of the people. All of them provide evidence about the nature of the American class system.

Total Configuration includes all or any part of an interview or interviews which explicitly divides the population of a

[1] The present essay is based on a forthcoming volume called *Two Methods for the Study of Social Class*, by W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells.

[2] See A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 'The Nature of a Theoretical Natural Science of Society' (Notes on the Discussion by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Seminar, 1937).

[3] See W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization*, New York: Harper and Brothers (1937), p. 10.

community into several social class categories which cross-cut the whole community and distribute people into superior and inferior general social strata.

Segmental Configuration refers to the same technique but indicates that the informant has used a minimal number of class levels. Ordinarily, when using the technique of Total Configuration the informant demonstrates the reliability of his status judgements and explains his points by listing a number of individuals and families who belong to the several class levels. The class analyst, by comparing the amount of agreement and disagreement among several lists of names that have been class-placed, can thereby validate his own class categories.

Total Configuration, being an explicit effort by the informant to give an overall status schema for the whole community and one which research experience shows that many observant and intelligent people in a town possess as part of their adaptive equipment, which they can communicate readily enough, is a most satisfactory and rewarding technique to the status analyst.

In general, the operations are quite simple. Interviews which contain such schemas are taken from informants from several class levels, from the two sexes, from the old and the young, and from several occupational groups. Such a distribution of informants provides status information which largely checks itself and makes it likely that agreement among the informants assures the status analyst that the social class system derived from their statements is reliable and an ever present and all pervasive social reality.

Excerpts from the Total Configuration of an upper-middle-class doctor illustrate how this technique is used; the doctor's description of the class structure of Jonesville provides evidence that he is highly conscious of the presence of a class order and thinks of it in terms of the status configuration which includes everyone. The present interview was taken in his home and recorded by the field-worker while the informant spoke.

'Let's start with the top level and then work down. Now, I won't be able to tell you everybody or the whole thing, but what I will do, Bill, is to tell you the main class groups and the main sections of some of these classes, and I will give you illustrations.

'The society class around here are the 400, and, in the main, it's rooted right over there in the Federated Church. It comes

from the Federated Church. Now, Bill, a lot of people are 398s, but they think they're 400s. With a few exceptions, no one who's not in the Federated Church is in this class.'

The doctor then listed a large number of families and gave the reasons for their enjoying top status.

'I think that's about all the society class,' he continued; 'there may be one or two that I have overlooked, but that's all I can think of.

'Now, the next class down is what we call the fringe of society around here.' The doctor named a number of people who were downward mobile from the *élite* or had never been accepted. 'The fringe of this thing has a lot of families in it, some of whom have had money and lost it.

'The next stratum starts with the fringe and takes in certain other elements. This is what you'd better call the upper-middle class. This level is made up mainly of the women who dominate the Country Club, along with some other groups, especially the top and the fringe. The top dominates the Country Club, at least they are in but they're not active. They're the ones who, you might say, are behind the scenes and really control things. The fringe is pretty active, and this group of women are active, too. The women in this group just seem to split a gut to do things right. It's amusing as hell.' (He then gave a long list of people belonging to this level.)

'Well, now, that's about enough of that middle-class group. That's not all of them. There are big gaps in there. But that will give you some idea of the people who are in it around here.

'Now, we come to the working class. The working class is made up of good, solid people who live right, but never get any place. They never get in real trouble. They are the ones who work down at the Mill and the other factories. They are the ones who work around as clerks in the stores, own little trucks and maybe little businesses—that type of thing. These neighbourhood grocers, and so on.'

When he had completed his discussion of that level, he said, 'Well, while they're fixing supper for us I just want to mention one more class. Now, this one is really a lulu. These are the families that are just not worth a damn.' As he said that he leaned over and said, 'I'll tell you another thing, Bill, they're not worth a fart. They're just not worth a damn, and they just

don't give a damn. Now, they're not immoral—they're not unmoral—they're just plain amoral. They just simply don't have any morals. I'll tell you they just have animal urges, and they just respond to them. They're just like a bunch of rats or rabbits.'

The class levels (and their designations from each informant) were determined and charted; a number was applied to each class level for purposes of comparison and to distinguish between class levels and grades within a class. (See Table 1 for an example.) The top horizontal column of Table 1 identifies the informant by his or her occupation; the vertical column below each informant presents the informant's class categories and his designation for each level. Each informant, when using Total Configuration, always gives a long list of names as examples of the several status levels. These names, when compared for agreement and disagreement on class placement, help the analyst aline the class levels among the several schemas of his informants and later give him validation of his own conceptualization of class.

The names on each informant's list are placed on a master list (Table 2) which contains all of them, as well as their class placement by each informant. Each name and its class placement of a given informant is *paired* with its class placement by another informant and the amount of agreement and disagreement among the pairs counted. For example, when Informant A puts Mr. Smith in the upper-middle and Informant B also places him there, such a pair is counted as one agreement. Should Informant C place Mr. Smith in upper-middle, this would amount to three pairs of agreements (A+B, B+C, and A+C.) But should Informant C put Smith in lower-middle, he would disagree and, therefore, the count on pairs of agreements and disagreements on Smith's class position would be one pair of agreements (A+B) and two pairs of disagreements (C+A, C+B). Table 2 gives the results of such a count for the ten informants used here. These ten Total Configurations and the names listed are not selected because of any factor except that they are good examples for illustrating Total Configuration as a method of determining what the social class system of a given community is. The informants are listed in the extreme left-hand column and the top horizontal column in Table 2 to permit the reader to examine the 'pairs'

of agreements (A) and disagreements (D) of each informant. Since two informants make up a 'pair', to get the number of pairs, the totals of agreements (810) and disagreements (42) in the lower left-hand corner should be divided by 2 (there are 405 pairs that agree and 21 that disagree).

A Symbolic Reference is any term used by members of a community which expresses their evaluations of, judgements and estimates about, the social status of a person, family, institution, or social level, the direct reference of the words used not being important and often absent, but the indirect reference to status clearly recognized by the speaker and fully understood by the hearer.

Status Reputation is any term used by members of the community which expresses their evaluations of, judgements about, the social status of a person, family, institution, or social level, the words used having both direct and indirect reference (meanings) and thereby possessing status significance in the communication between the speaker and the listener.

Institutional Membership (Real Interconnexion) is locating the membership of an individual in the following institutions: family, clique, association, and church (but not economic groups).

The doctor used the techniques of Symbolic Reference and Status Reputation when he said, 'The society class around here are the 400 class.'

'The 400' is a symbolic term because when taken literally it denotes 400 individuals or families, but its real reference, the meaning it conveys to the listener, is to the highest level in the community. In the present context it is also made equivalent with the 'society class'. The 'society class' here is a Status Reputational term for it denotes a kind of people, a kind of 'superior' behaviour, and a group of people. In other words, the whole term refers to people who are a superior kind behaviourally and who herd together.

The reference is direct for the 'society class' and indirect for 'the 400' (the term 400 does not fit the object but the term 'society class' does).

The expressions 'rooted right over there in the Federated Church' and 'comes from the Federated Church' are an effort by the informant to give church structuring to the top class to show that they are interconnected by church as well as by

TABLE 1. *Master List of Total Configurations*

		Class	Carleton, a minister	Withington, a minister	Davis, a doctor	Little, a school girl	Brown, a teacher	Towne, a politician	
I	*Above the Common Man.*	U	Group One — the highest. People so high up they're social history around here. People who feel secure.	The fancy crowd. The wealthy and prominent. Federated Church people.	The 400. The society class. The 398s who think they're 400s. Federated Church people.	The High Class. The No. 1 Class. My class. Second highest class.	Upper stratum. People with family and money.	The Top Families. The Federated Church People.	U
II		UM	Group Two. People who are working to get somewhere.	Strictly middle-class. People a notch or two below the fancy crowd.	The fringe of society. The upper-middle class.	Higher-middle. Middle-middle.	'Upper-middle'	The solid people but don't go in for social things. The Methodist Church.	UM
III	*Common Man.*	LM	Third Group. More religious than intelligent.	Working people. 'Baptists'.	The working class.	Low-middle.	Lower, but middle status.	The plain common people. Like most of the Baptists.	LM
IV		UL	The Fourth Group. At the bottom of the pile.	Very low. People with a persecution complex.		Higher-lower.	Lower-class.	The little people. The real poor people, but honest and fine.	UL
V	*Below the Common Man.*	LL			The lulus. People just like animals, not worth a damn.	The lowest class.	Canal renters. Older Poles. The people back of the tannery.	The poor, but not respectable.	LL

TABLE 1. *Master List of Total Configurations* (cont.)

		Class	*Others*	
I	*Above the Common Man.*	U	A group founded on wealth and ancient family. People who look down on everyone else in town. Snobs. The silk stockings. The landed gentry. The aristocrats. The Mainstreeters.	
II		UM	Not in the top group, but good substantial people. The level just below the top group. Prominent but not tops. The strivers. People who are in everything. The community leaders. Working hard to get in the 400. Above the average but not tops.	
III	*Common Man.*	LM	Average people. Ordinary people. Working people, but superior. Top of the working people. Not poor and not well off. Good common people.	People with nice families but don't rate socially. Nobodies (socially) but nice. People just below the Country Club crowd. Top of the common people.
IV		UL	The Mill people. The poor but honest. Poor people but nothing the matter with them. The little people. The younger Poles. Poor but hard working. Poor but respectable. 'We're poor [UL] but not as poor as a lot of people [LL].'	
V	*Below the Common Man.*	LL	The poor and unfortunate. The chronic reliefers. Tobacco road. Poor whites. Hill-billies. River rats.	Peckerwoods. Dirty and immoral. (Those who) live like pigs. People who scrape the bottom. Goddamn yellow hammers.

TABLE 2. *Master List of Agreements and Disagreements on the Class Placement*

Informant		*Brown*	*Carleton*	*White*	*Davis*	*Black*	*Towne*	*Ball*	*Rives*	*Withington*	*Little*	*Total (D)*	*Total (A)*
Total no. families		15	18	44	122	31	11	37	19	16	27		340
A teacher	A	0	0	9	11	7	5	10	7	7	5		61
Brown	D	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
A minister	A	0	0	5	6	3	0	5	2	0	1		22
Carleton	D	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	
A lawyer	A	9	5	0	30	20	7	24	14	7	6		122
White	D	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	
A doctor	A	11	6	30	0	22	11	34	17	9	16		156
Davis	D	1	1	6	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	13	
An accountant	A	7	3	20	22	0	4	14	13	3	5		91
Black	D	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	
A politician	A	5	0	7	11	4	0	8	6	4	8		53
Towne	D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
A merchant	A	10	5	24	34	14	8	0	11	7	7		120
Ball	D	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	
A farm expert	A	7	2	14	17	13	6	11	0	4	7		81
Rives	D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	
A minister	A	7	0	7	9	3	4	7	4	0	4		45
Withington	D	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	2	8	
A school girl	A	5	1	6	16	5	8	7	7	4	0		59
Little	D	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	4	
Total	A	61	22	122	156	91	53	120	81	45	59		810
	D	1	2	7	13	4	0	2	1	8	4	42	

(A = Agreements; D = Disagreements)

clique and family. This is use of Institutional Membership. He also goes on to say that no one who is not in the Federated Church is in that class. Once again, he uses Institutional Membership to locate the status of people. It is clear that both of these references imply high status for the Federated Church itself. The reference to '398s' but 'they think they're 400s' is again Symbolic Reference.

Categorical Reference is a term referring to the placement of one individual or family into a particular class previously established when the effort of the informant is not to identify the class so much as to place the individual or family in a particular social class. The statement, 'The Jones family is in the 400', is an example of such a term.

Equivalence and Non-equivalence is any expression used by members of the community which locates the social class of an individual by saying that the person referred to is superior, inferior, or equivalent to the social class of another individual or family whose class has been previously established. The informant may take these placements consciously or unconsciously about himself or others or about his own or other families, or about such institutions as cliques, associations, and churches.

DETERMINATION OF THE INDEX OF STATUS CHARACTERISTICS

The Index of Status Characteristics as a measurement of social class is posed on two propositions, that economic and other prestige factors are highly important and closely correlated with social class, but these social and economic factors, such as talent, income, and money, if their potentialities for rank are to be realized, must be translated into social class behaviour acceptable to the members of any given social level of the community. This method is designed to provide an 'objective' method for establishing the social level of everyone in the community and to do so by simple, economic means. The skills involved are very few. The amount of information needed is small; the length of time necessary, short. The necessary data for each characteristic in the Status Index are easily acquired and do not necessarily require interviewing.

After the social class levels have been determined by the

several techniques of Evaluated Participation and a sufficient sample of individuals and families from each class level have been assigned their social class position, the I.S.C. for each family can be found.

The I.S.C. is determined for no one but the head of the family. All other members of the family who are unmarried and living in the same house are assigned the same social status. It was first proved that giving the other members of the family the same status as the head of the house was a valid procedure before we continued with this method of analysis.

The four characteristics used in the Index were first selected from the previous research on Yankee City. They are: occupation, source of income, house type and dwelling area, chosen because they correlated highly with class and because they are easily obtained and capable of exact comparison among all American communities. The basic criterion for choosing them was that they express in concrete form the two basic propositions which underlie the method of the I.S.C.

The procedures for computing the I.S.C. for an individual or his family are listed below:

1. Rate occupation, source of income, house type, and area lived in on a seven-point scale. (See Table 3.)
2. From these primary findings secure the Weighted Total. (See below.)
3. Convert the Weighted Total into an Index.
4. For purposes of prediction, determine the degree of certainty of the resulting Index.

Further directions will be given now for each separate operation. Table 3 presents the seven-point scales for rating each of the four characteristics; should the evidence for one of the four ratings be absent, the other three can still be computed. If data are lacking for two of the four, computations of an Index for that particular family or individual should not be tried. When ratings are available for all four characteristics, they should be multiplied by the weights in the left-hand column of Table 4. It will be noticed that the other columns give instructions for weighting the three characteristics when the fourth is absent.

A Weighted Total is secured by adding the several products. To illustrate: suppose the ratings for a given individual are 5, 5, 7, and 6 for occupation, source of income, house type, and

TABLE 3. *Simple Scales for Rating of Four Status Characteristics underlying Index of Status Characteristics*

Characteristic and rating	*Definition*
Occupation	
1.	Large professionals, large proprietors and managers.
2.	Small professionals.
3.	Clerks and kindred workers.
4.	Skilled workers.
5.	Small proprietors and managers
6.	Semi-skilled workers.
7.	Unskilled workers.
Source of income	
1.	Savings and investments, inherited.
2.	Savings and investments, gained by earner.
3.	Profits and fees.
4.	Salary.
5.	Wages.
6.	Private relief.
7.	Public relief and non-respectable income.
House type	
1.	Large houses in good condition.
2.	Large houses in medium condition and medium-sized.
3.	Medium-sized houses in medium condition and all remodelled houses.
4.	Large houses in bad condition and medium-sized houses in bad condition.
5.	Small houses in good condition and all dwellings over stores.
6.	Small houses in medium and bad condition.
7.	Houses of any size in very bad condition.
Areas lived in	
1.	The 'fashionable' areas of 'right' addresses.
2.	The better suburbs and apartment house areas, houses with large yards, &c.
3.	Areas all residential, larger space around the house than average, or apartment areas in good condition, above average.
4.	Residential neighbourhoods, no deterioration in the area, average.
5.	Area not quite holding its own, beginning to deteriorate, business entering, &c.
6.	Considerably deteriorated, but not slum.
7.	Slum.

area. The Weighted Total for this individual would be found in the following way:

Characteristics	*Rating*	*Weight*	*Product*
Occupation . . .	5 ×	4	20
Source of income .	5 ×	3	15
House type . . .	7 ×	3	21
Area lived in . .	6 ×	2	12
	Weighted total		68

TABLE 4. *Weights for Computation of I.S.C.*

Status characteristic	*Weights to be used if all ratings available*	*Weights to be used if ratings on one Characteristic missing*			
		Occupation missing	*Source of income missing*	*House type missing*	*Area lived in missing*
Occupation. . .	4	..	5	5	5
Source of income .	3	5	..	4	4
House type. . .	3	4	4	..	3
Area lived in . .	2	3	3	3	..

The reader should examine Table 5 which shows how the Index gives social-class placement and the degree of accuracy of the placement for predictive purposes in each area of the scale. The several classes are indicated by U, UM, LM, UL, and LL, running from upper to lower-lower. They indicate social-class placement that is almost certainly correct (96 per cent.) when they appear without subscripts. When small letter subscripts (e.g. U_{um}) are present, they indicate social-class placement that is probably correct (69 per cent.), but with the addition in the small letter subscript that the correct social-class placement may be indicated by it.

Indeterminate, the third category, indicates social-class placement cannot be made with greater certainty than to say that the individual or family in question is between the two classes or in one or the other of the two classes indicated.

It will be seen by examining Table 5 that the families who fall in the upper extremes of the range from 12 to 17 are almost certainly upper class and that those who appear in the 18 to 22 points in the range are somewhat less likely to be upper but still do so with a high degree of regularity.[1] The families who fall in the narrow limits of 23 and 24 may be upper or upper-

[1] It will be noted that in this paper there is no division recognized between superior and inferior levels in the upper class corresponding to the 'old family' and 'new family' groups of Yankee City. No such distinction exists in the newer communities located in the more recently settled regions of the United States. But where there is such a distinction the I.S.C. will not indicate it because the people in the 'old family' level are often more lowly placed on the Index than those in the 'new family' level. Since in any community the upper-upper class rarely if ever comprises more than 2 or 3 per cent. of the population and is highly visible socially, the technique of Evaluated Participation quite easily and quickly in a few interviews distinguishes the members of that level from others belonging to the top stratum.

middle. For those two classes their position is indeterminate but we know anyone occupying such a position is exactly between the two classes or is likely to be at the bottom of the upper class and the very top of the upper-middle. Our experience teaches us that in most cases the position of the person placed is neither in one class nor the other and is truly indeterminate.

TABLE 5. *Conversion Table for the I.S.C. into Social Class*

Weighted total	*Social class level*
12–17	U
18–19 20–22	U_{um}
23–24	Indeterminate
28–29 30 31–32 33	UM
34–37	Indeterminate
38 39 40–41 42–43 44–47 48–49 50	LM
51–53	Indeterminate
54 55–59 60 61 62	UL
63–66	Indeterminate
67–69	LL_{ul}
70 71–79 80–84	LL

For all practical purposes, the status analyst can assign anyone who falls between 12 and 22 as upper class and between

23 and 24 as indeterminate in class. He can classify those who range from 25 to 33 as upper-middle and those from 34 to 37 as indeterminate, and between upper-middle and lower-middle.

Lower-middle class families fall in the I.S.C. from 38 through 50, 51 to 53 being indeterminate; upper-lower families, from 54 through 62, 63 to 66 being indeterminate; the remainder of the I.S.C range, from 67 to 84, is lower-lower.

It will be noted that the range per class is comparatively great while the indeterminate range between them is quite small. For example, the range for upper is 11 points; for upper-middle, 10 points; and for lower-middle, 14 points. The range for upper-lower is 10 points and for lower-lower, 19 points. The indeterminate part of the range between upper and upper-middle is but 2 points, between the next two classes, 4 points, between lower-middle and upper-lower, 3 points, and for the lowest two classes, 4 points.

Not only is there a wide range for each class but the cases bunch there numerically and tend to accumulate near the centre of the class and drop towards the limits of a class range, thus indicating: (1) the existence of class categories in the community, and (2) that the I.S.C. measures their place in the status hierarchy and tells who the families are within each social class.

APPLICABILITY OF EVALUATED PARTICIPATION AND INDEX OF STATUS CHARACTERISTICS

The method of Evaluated Participation can be used in any kind of community. The results obtained will vary, of course, from community to community. Some cities may have many classes, some towns only a few, some may be rigidly organized, others very loosely. When used by itself, Evaluated Participation is time-consuming and difficult to apply to metropolitan communities. The Index of Status Characteristics is easily used anywhere. It is particularly valuable for large metropolitan communities. The range from 12 to 84 can soon be established and a sufficient sample for each level quickly acquired. The establishment of this range gives great certainty to the researcher that he has a representative sample of the status levels and at the same time reduces the problem of sampling when it is impossible to study all of the individuals in a community. Once the range has been worked out,

subsequent spot interviewing can determine the general social class levels by establishing the relation of the several points on the range of the I.S.C. to their class position.

In future research, either of two field procedures for the combined use of E.P. and I.S.C. is possible. The present sequence of E.P. first on a selected sample of families and individuals, the I.S.C. second to determine the relation of the range of the I.S.C. to the several class levels for this sample, and then the use of the I.S.C. by itself for the rest of the community may be used. Or the researcher may obtain the range of I.S.C.'s from 12 to 84, estimate from the figures here the approximate place where the several class levels divide, and then interview for the class position of those families who fall in and near the dividing area. For example, with such a procedure for the division between upper and upper-middle, the interviewer would examine the family position of 'old Americans' at points 23 to 26, for upper-middle and lower-middle, at 33 to 37, or for lower-middle and upper-lower, to 50 and 54. The division indicated might be somewhat above or below those of Jonesville's or the other communities' where this method has been tested.

W. Lloyd Warner

CHARACTER FORMATION AND DIACHRONIC THEORY

CULTURE CHANGE AND CHARACTER STRUCTURE

AS anthropologists, we deal with two levels of analysis—on the one hand, the study of the structure and functioning of social groups, in which, although detailed observations may be made on individual behaviour, the psychology of the individual is not examined; and, on the other, the study of the relationships between the psychology of the individual, the culture within which he lives, and the structure and functioning of the social groups of which he is a member. Radcliffe-Brown has repeatedly argued that it is possible to give a self-contained account of a society without recourse to any examination of the psychological structure of its individual members, and without invoking in any way the individual differences among them, except in so far as these differences are formally patterned. Thus the study of culture as an abstraction based on observed traditional behaviour of the members of a given group at a given period of time has proved a workable approach to a synchronic statement about many primitive societies.[1]

However, as soon as any diachronic questions are raised the whole position is altered. If we are to avoid statements of action at a temporal distance, such as 'the slowness of the industrial revolution in Germany was a major cause of World War I', or 'the open frontier was responsible for the fluidity of the American class system', and substitute for them scientifically valid descriptions of social process—descriptions of how, in fact, an antecedent condition of society is converted into some subsequent condition—it seems necessary to include in our investigations a study of the individuals who are concerned in

[1] I say 'many societies' advisedly, because in giving an account of Arapesh socio-economic life (The Mountain Arapesh, III. Socio-Economic Life, IV. Diary of Events in Alitoa', *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, New York, xl. 3 (1947), pp. 159–420) I found it impossible to give an adequate sociological statement which did not include the specification of each actor in terms both of his social position and of his personality. The specification in terms of social position alone could, of course, be made without invoking individual psychology, and I am not prepared to say that another investigator, with a more purely sociological frame of reference, might not have devised a way of presenting the peculiarities of Arapesh social organization without this extra degree of specification.

the change. We need to consider such individuals both as representatives of cultural regularites which are themselves undergoing change, and as specified persons who have been able to act in given ways because of the peculiarities of their own life histories. Many of the changes which are recorded in the long time spans of conventional history (such as 'the decay of the monarchy' or 'the rise of popular government') occur sporadically in the behaviour of individuals, and only gradually become consolidated into identifiable pattern changes. While such changes are going on, innumerable moments of choice occur, and the explanation of the choices taken may often lie in idiosyncratic factors in the lives of key individuals. It seems probable, therefore, that, as we approach a study of diachronics, making contemporary studies of social change as it occurs, rather than relying upon reconstructions from haphazardly preserved and fragmentary materials, it will be necessary to develop methods of dealing with the relevant aspects of the individual psychology of the participants.[1] Any

[1] Recent mathematical studies (J. von Neumann, and O. Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour*, Princeton University Press, 1944) make it possible to examine these questions with somewhat more rigour. Von Neumann is concerned only with 'static' (sc. 'synchronic') analysis, and demonstrates, as I understand it, that in those conceptual games in which the players rationally seek to form coalitions (sc. allegiances, segments of social organizations, &c.) a self-contained description of the 'solution' will include: (1) a statement of the number of players; (2) a list of the rules; (3) an externalistic description of the psychology of the players, each of whom, in the Von Neumannian games, is by hypothesis specifically described as completely rational, i.e. able to solve all problems of strategy presented by the game, and as motivated only in terms of a single linear value scale; (4) a statement of the 'conventions and standards of behaviour' specific to the given system of coalitions; and (5) a list describing the positions taken by the identified players in the system of coalitions.

From this we may judge that a purely empirical psychological description of the individuals will suffice for sociological purposes. We shall need to know their system of values, which may be complete, and their species of 'rationality', i.e. a description of the formal relations between their courses of action and the contexts in which they occur; but we shall not require any understanding of the internal workings of their brains, though any such understanding may, of course, help us to write our externalistic description.

The step from the hypothetical von Neumannian game played by definable 'players' to a human society composed of human beings is fraught with difficulty, but it is profitable at least to examine the nature of the difficulties which we face. Human beings *learn*. This means that their degree and species of 'rationality' and their motivational systems become a function of past sequences of events, and still more important, that the rules of the game and the 'conventions' of the particular solution become in part incorporated into the psychology of the players. It is this last peculiarity of human systems which makes the psychology of learning crucial to diachronic study. When we are discussing changes in the rules or conventions it

systematic attempt to include the psychological structure of individuals must rely, of course, not only upon an adequate psychological theory, but also upon adequate cultural theories regarding the process of cultural standardization of behaviour, the nature of character formation, and the way in which idiosyncratic behaviour is to be referred systematically to a cultural and societal base. Such an adequate theory will be dependent upon theoretical advances in a number of different fields.[1] This paper will attempt to introduce a preliminary degree of order into one aspect of this problem. It will deal with the sorts of regularities which can be discriminated in the character structures of individuals in societies which are changing at different rates and with different degrees of culture contact.

THE PROBLEM IN A HOMOGENEOUS SOCIETY

The problems of describing the correspondences between the structure of a homogeneous, slowly changing society and the character structure of the individuals who embody the culture of that society are beginning to be defined.[2] We have blocked out conceptually a large number of such areas as: the relationship between the representations of family structure and political structure in the psychology of the individual, or the relationship of both family and political structure to the conception of the supernational; the pattern of sequences of initiative and response characteristic of parent–child or child–child relationships as they appear also in the interaction

is vital to know how far these are incorporated in the psychology of the individuals and the general characteristics of change in such incorporations. (Cf. Gregory Bateson's essay 'Bali: The Value System of a Steady State,' in this volume.)

[1] e.g. the fields of neural codification, perception, *Gestalt*, developmental psychology, motivation, learning, constitutional type, formal analysis of social interaction, &c.

[2] Bateson, *Naven*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1936). Idem, 'Morale and National Character', in *Civilian Morale*, 2nd Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, ed. by Goodwin Watson, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. (1942), 71–91. Idem and Margaret Mead, *Balinese Character, A Photographic Analysis*, New York Academy of Sciences (1942). Ruth F. Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. (1947). E. H. Erikson, 'Childhood and Tradition in Two American Indian Tribes', in *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, New York: The International Universities Press (1945), i, pp. 319–50. G. Gorer, 'Themes in Japanese Culture', *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, v. 5 (March 1943), pp. 106–24. Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (*The American Character*), New York: Penguin (1944).

between master and servant, leader and follower; and the correspondences between the types of sanction used in a society and the types of conscience structure found in the individuals. We have already a considerable amount of observational work on, and analysis of, these problems, and, while the subject has in no sense been fully explored, some of the outlines at least may be said to have been sketched in.

In this preliminary attempt to introduce one degree of order into the data on cultural change, the unique features of each society and the special insights to be derived from a study of its particular institutions will no longer be emphasized. Instead, attention will be focused on those regularities of character formation which are functions of cultural homogeneity. Here we shall be dealing with well-described societies, about which formal statements can be made with considerable confidence. On the other hand, all statements of regularities postulated for changing culture contact societies will necessarily be tentative and, to a degree, suggestive rather than systematic.

The terms 'homogeneous' and 'slow-changing' will be used as synonyms, provided the rate of change of items of culture is less than the rate at which adults can assimilate the new items.[1] Cultures to which these terms apply will be contrasted with those which are changing rapidly. No rapidly changing culture has real homogeneity, since rapid change results in differences between generations comparable to differences in culture, in that there are groups of individuals, belonging to different generations, who embody different discriminable attitudes.[2]

[1] This use of the word 'homogeneous' does not exclude caste societies or societies with many different sub-groups, so long as the relationships among such groups are part of the common shared culture and change slowly. Thus gypsies, foreign migratory workers, dissident religious sects, &c., may come to be so included in the recognition of the other members of a culture as not actually to interfere with its homogeneity.

[2] For a discussion of the comparability of theories of contact between members of different cultures and members of different generations, see G. Bateson, 'Culture Contact and Schismogenesis', *Man*, xxxv (December 1935), pp. 178–83. But, however systematically useful it may be to compare generation contact under rapid social change with contact between cultures suddenly juxtaposed, there is still the possibility that, as our psychosomatic conceptions develop, we may find that the biological nexus existing in one case but not in the other may have very significant implications for differences in the personality. Whether the new learning occurs in the family situation or outside it may also be very significant. Thus, the children of an oriental people who import western furniture and learn to sit on chairs by preference whereas their parents sit upon them only with difficulty on state

As relevant characteristics of personality development in homogeneous and slowly changing societies, we may identify: the *sequential consistency* between the experience of a growing child at one period and at another; the *summation* or total expression of the gamut of cultural experience in the behaviour of the adult members of the society; the *prefiguring* of future experience as the child sees others go through sequences through which he will later go; the *consolidation* of past experience as the growing individual sees younger individuals go through sequences culturally identical with those through which he has passed; and the increasing *automaticity* of behaviour and the consequent increasing *sureness* which accompany maturation.[1]

These characteristics of growing up in a homogeneous society need little elaboration for anthropologists, who will recognize at once that an indulgent childhood and a harsh initiation—or an exacting childhood and indulged adolescence—may coexist within the learning pattern of a given culture, and that experience of such contrasts may have consistent implications for character structure. They will often have documented the extent to which a single act—the presentation of a gift, the avoidance of an affinal relative, the arrangement of an offering—contains within its ritual idiom the major presuppositions of a culture. Whether we describe the resulting personality types in words implying ethical judgement,[2] or, in time, develop some neutral terms for the purpose is not relevant here. The products of homogeneity are a vanishing type at this period in history, but, as they constitute the group participating in the primary phase of culture contact, an accurate appraisal of the regularities in their character formation is essential.

occasions may have learned something radically different in kind (i.e. to do easily what their parents do with difficulty), from that which is learned by oriental children who learn in school a form of behaviour which their parents continue to repudiate, and so have learned to do with difficulty something which their models, the European teachers, do with ease. Undoubtedly a higher level of abstraction would bring these two conditions within one conceptual scheme again, but at this early stage of formulation it seems unwise not to leave them differentiated.

[1] For a more detailed discussion see M. Mead, 'The Implications of Culture Change for Personality Development', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, xvi. 4 (October 1947).

[2] e.g. attributing value to them as having dignity or denying them value because they lack the ideas of progress and the divine discontent bred of sharp cultural contact.

THE PROBLEM IN DIFFERENT STAGES OF CONTACT

By 'primary culture contact' I shall mean those situations in which an individual reared in one cultural setting has to adjust, either as an immigrant or as a native into whose group others immigrate, to another set of cultural values, both sets of values coming from homogeneous, slowly changing cultures. Whenever one part of this contact relationship is no longer to be referred to a homogeneous culture, but rather to some later stage of culture contact, certain complexities are added to the picture. If, for example, a regiment of soldiers, all from the same remote rural region of the occident, come into face-to-face relations with a non-occidental people, the situation may have primary culture contact character. If, on the other hand, the regiment is composed of men drawn from the mixed population of a metropolitan city, the contact may contain secondary as well as primary culture contact features. A full 'secondary culture contact' condition occurs when both sets of individuals under discussion have been reared in groups already affected by primary or secondary culture contact, and in which representatives of homogeneous cultures are relatively rare, even aberrant. Because there may be any number of varieties of such culture contact, no rigid distinction can be made between primary and secondary culture contact. Even a very loose distinction, however, seems to be useful, although, of course, actual situations will not, in most cases, be as clear-cut as any systematic discussion makes them seem.

In primary culture contact the impact on character formation will differ systematically as between the effects of the new environment on the personalities of the immigrants and the effects of such immigration of members of other cultures on the personalities of the native members of the community. Among the immigrants we find a variety of adjustments, all derived from the fact that the immigrant brings to the new environment a personality shaped in a previous and different environment. He may, while living and working in the new culture, continue to refer all of his behaviour to the values of his original culture, adjusting only to the concrete realities of his new situation—learning proper names, bus routes, how to give change—but continuing to interpret these activities in the old terms. He may enter the new culture so determined to become a part of it

that he actually succeeds in putting large sections of his former life and values out of his consciousness, and even his use of his mother tongue may become stumbling or disappear altogether. He may pattern his relationship to the new culture in terms of work alone, continuing to live in a cultural enclave in all other respects. He may work among immigrants from his original culture but marry a wife from the new culture and channel his culture contact relationships through a changing home pattern. He may continue to preserve only single items from the old culture—continue to take a newspaper from his former country, maintain membership in a national organization, or insist on the familiar old rituals at holiday time or for *rites de passage*, &c.

We may next consider the native population into whose society immigrants come. The content is of another order here, whether the immigrants enter in superordinate relationships as governors and teachers, in coordinate relationships as traders or travellers, or in subordinate relationships as slaves, unskilled workers, or performers of socially devalued tasks. The study of this sort of contact situation may increase our understanding of the differences between culture contact and generation break. The native remains among his own people, surrounded by an environment to each detail of which he has learned to respond in a culturally coherent manner. Into this environment intrude individuals who either take the place of familiar figures or introduce into his life new types of events towards which he has no traditional behaviour. His habitual responses are interrupted and distorted, even as he himself attemps to pursue an even course in a familiar world. As he makes one ineffective attempt after another to evoke intelligible responses from the immigrant—who stands in a familiar place and is often clothed like the native himself, but whose posture and gestures are all keyed to a different emphasis—the result is not a feeling that he must review his own character, but a feeling that his world has been fragmented. 'In the beginning God gave to every people a cup of clay from which they drank their lives—our cup is broken', said the California Indians; 'We have lost our road,' said the Plains Indians, as the figures and forms of an immigrant and alien culture crowded into their lives.[1]

[1] For contemporary studies of culture contact groups see: E. & P. Beaglehole, *Modern Maoris*, Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research

The position of members of the older generation faced by drastic alteration in the behaviour of their sons' generation is somewhat analogous to that of the native whose orientation is disturbed by the invasion of his familiar world by individuals with different sets of habits. The members of the older generation still see the cultural scene as theirs, and the behaviour of the next generation as inappropriate and disruptive. In occasional instances, of course, the culture of the next generation may be accepted by the older generation as more valid than their own, and in that case they may invade it. Their disorientation is then more like that of the immigrant, while the younger generation is subjected to a disorientation more like that of the native.

Secondary culture contact, even in its very simplest forms—as in the case of children of a group of Sicilian immigrants to a rural American community, or American Indian children whose parents have just been placed on a reservation—is a great deal more complicated than primary culture contact. The growing child receives simultaneously impacts reflecting the original cultural values of his parents and impacts from the contemporary culture in which he is growing up. If his parents migrated from a rural economy to a large industrial centre, he experiences a disciplinary pattern shaped on the farm combined with a wage-earning pattern fitted to the city. If his parents have come from another country, the language spoken at home may come to be a symbol of one part of life, that spoken at school of quite a different part. If his parents belong to a native group whose way of life has been disrupted by immigrants, he will experience no such sequence, but instead will be presented with both the native ways of his parents and the new ways of the immigrants as parts of one world in which he is being reared. Perhaps a useful analogy here is the matter-of-factness with which the child of parents who have seen the invention of the automobile or the airplane accepts automobiles, airplanes, and horses as all equally intelligible parts of transportation, without any realization of the sequence of invention. Events which have been sequential in the lives

(1946). E. H. Erikson, 'Observations on Sioux Education', *Journal of Psychology*, vii (1939) pp. 101–56. C. Kluckhohn and D. Leighton, *The Navaho*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (1946). Gordon MacGregor, *Warriors without Weapons*, University of Chicago Press (1946).

of his forebears become contemporaneous in his own life, and his responses will differ accordingly.

Individuals reared in a secondary culture contact situation which has become stabilized may show a considerable degree of regularity in their character structure. In the United States, certain expectations may reasonably be entertained of the children of immigrant parents. Parental values will decrease in importance, and children and adolescents will turn more to their contemporaries for approval and disapproval. Sanctions, such as shame and pride, appropriate to such a horizontal organization will appear. If such a second generation group forms either a very large majority or a very small minority in a given society, the process of stabilization will be easier than if the group which has experienced secondary culture contact and the group that has not are more evenly matched in size.

The patterns of behaviour developed by the second generation are likely to be thin, but sufficiently reliable and internally consistent to permit of viable relationships both with other second generation persons[1] and with native members of the country in which they live. However sharp the contrast—whether it be between a nomadic North American Indian tribe and New England-bred farmers, between South American Indians and Italian immigrants, between Lapps and Russians, or Eskimos and Danes—the individual who is reared in the culture contact situation still learns that there are systematic patterns of behaviour. There will be conflicts, especially in the relationship between parents and children, but, if no new changes take place, the second generation may be expected to develop a type of character structure upon which a different but integrated culture can be built.

If, however, the growing child experiences not one simple contrast in the behaviour of those about him, but a great variety of degrees of contrast, we have a still more complicated

[1] The development of the boys' gang in large American cities is a typical example. Born of European parents who are no longer able to serve as models, and reared in a world which demands that parents accord applause to their children (which the European parents are unable to give) the adolescents segregate themselves into a world of their own, in which the values of the gang leader and of the gang members are paramount over the values of the larger society. The boarding-school, which, on a small scale, attempts to substitute a new standard culture for the diversities of the homes from which individuals come, also tends to develop the same sort of overriding emphasis upon the immediate judgement of the group of contemporaries.

situation. This condition is becoming increasingly characteristic of the modern world, in which individuals and groups migrate from one country to another, live, not in enclaves, but intermingled with members of groups in different culture contact phases, move easily from one type of industrial pursuit to another, oscillate between rural and urban economies, and make great shifts in class alinement in a very few years. Children grow up in homes in which each parent represents a different form of secondary culture contact; all four grandparents may have different backgrounds. Teacher, physician, nurse, social worker, policeman, grocer—each in turn represents some different form of culture conflict or generation conflict. The child who is reared in a homogeneous culture undergoes a large number of experiences which are all part of one whole, however great the apparent discontinuities among them. The child whose parents have undergone primary culture contact experiences, in confused and often unsystematic fashion, two sets of internally coherent patterns. But for the modern child in a modern city, virtually all coherence disappears. Each act which the child encounters as he is fed, bathed, dressed, hushed to sleep, and wakened again may stem from some different background, and there may be no consistency between any two of them. Gentleness of touch and ferocity of corrective methods alternate without meaning, and rewards and punishments follow no recognizable sequence. Clothes are unadapted to activities, furniture unadapted to ways of sleeping and sitting, cutlery and crockery unsuited to the ways in which the child is taught to eat and drink. The arrangement of every room is unpredictable; the electric switch is seldom in the same place. A hand held out for help may meet instead a slap, a pinch, a lollipop.

Out of a social structure which permits modern man such mobility, both horizontal and vertical, which places hardly any restraint on the cultural gap he may attempt to bridge by marriage, which provides an economy no longer requiring high skill and long habituation, there has developed a learning situation which is producing a special type of character formation. This new type of character structure is bound to become more characteristic of ever wider areas of the world, unless the changes now in progress are arrested by totalitarian régimes of enforced homogeneity. We do not yet know whether

it is a type of character structure which will be capable of building up new social forms after the 'residue of an age of faith' is exhausted.

THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH TO LIFE

It is possible, however, to advance some preliminary hypotheses about the order of regularities which will be found in the character structures of those reared under continually shifting conditions of secondary culture contact, where rapid technological changes, sharp generation conflicts, and frequent new migrations prevent any stable second generation pattern from developing. The illustrations will be taken from the American scene, with an assumption that comparable features would be found elsewhere.

First, the growing child develops an approach to life which I, stressing the habit of taking each situation as a single unit and adapting rapidly and fully to it, have called *situational*,[1] and Erikson, stressing the type of commitment which occurs when every situation in life must be so regarded, has called *tentative*.[2] Thus we have the extreme surface openness of the American character, with its capacity for rapid intimacy and rapid acceptance of group membership, and also the lack of expectation of the coherence or permanency characteristic of homogeneous cultures.

Second, there is a tendency to reduce all values to simple scales of dollars, school grades, or some other simple quantitative measure, whereby the extreme incommensurables of many different sets of cultural values can be easily, though superficially, reconciled and placed in a hierarchical order. Such a reduction of incommensurable values appears to be a usual phenomenon in societies which have recently undergone marked changes involving culture contact. The fairly recent cultures of the American Plains Indians, in which groups with different traditions all adjusted to the buffalo-hunting horse culture which developed after the discovery of America, show a curious resemblance to the present American culture, where money income or the size of one's name in neon lights are analogous

[1] Margaret Mead, 'Trends in Personal Life', *New Republic*, 115. 12 (23 September 1946), pp. 346–8.

[2] E. H. Erikson, 'Ego Development and Historical Change', *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* ii, New York: The International Universities Press (in print).

to 'counting coup' as a measure of success. The rapidity of the spread of institutions like the Ghost Dance may also be referred to the way in which a new, simple value scale simplifies intolerable conflicts resulting from contrasts in culture.[1]

It is in these latter phases of secondary culture contact, in which the child's learning experiences are among individuals representing a great variety of forms of primary and secondary culture contacts, generation change and intra-societal shift, that we find expressions of the immigrant's sense of personality distortion and the native's sense of a shattered outer world. The perception of the outer world becomes atomized, as the growing child is no longer presented with a coherent set of culturally interrelated experiences to guide his perception. Relationships disappear and experience is broken down into small, discrete bits which may be given temporary meaning in any one of a thousand patterns but lack coherent relationship to any one pattern. It is as if a child were taught to perceive a human skeleton not as a single system of functionally relevant, articulated, non-interchangeable units, but instead as composed of two hundred-odd irregular and comparably meaningless bits—as if, in fact, a picture of a skeleton had been reduced to a jig-saw puzzle, each bit of which might also fit into a hundred other designs.[2]

[1] See Bateson, 'Bali: A Value System of a Steady State' in this volume. In our comparative study of thirteen primitive societies (M. Mead, ed.), *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. (1937), we found that 'in three competitive cultures' (as distinguished from the other ten) 'there is no way of measuring success except by comparison with another's, and there are no fixed positions to which an individual can attain without fear of subsequent loss' (p. 470). Lawrence K. Frank, 'The Cost of Competition', *Plan Age*, vi. 9–10, (November-December 1940), pp. 314–24, has pointed out that competition tends to reduce the complexity of values by forcing any given individual to compete on the same set of terms as other members of the society. It is important to recognize that the converse statement may also be true: that a reduction in complexity of values which occurs as a part of a culture contact situation may, by introducing some simple unit which will increase the comparability within the diversity, itself facilitate the development of competitive behaviour.

[2] Such an atomization of external reality is, of course, not in itself incompatible with an integrated culture, provided the character formation of the individuals is such that there is a genuine relationship between the series of temporary patterns imposed upon the aggregation of bits. Balinese culture is filled with instances in which some material or event sequence is first atomized and then rearranged in a new form, and of instances in which the violent disruption of some ceremonial event sequence by an irrelevant interruption is ignored because of the persistent pattern into which the Balinese themselves reassemble what appears to the Western observer to be shattered, discontinuous bits. Extreme atomization of alien cultural

ATOMIZATION OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD

This atomization of the external world has a variety of manifestations. Instead of a wide modulation of affective tone, in which very different tones of voice and quality of attention are given to the disparate and incommensurable elements in a complex pattern, all orders of experience come to be treated in the same tone. The master of ceremonies in a radio programme has no difficulty in maintaining an even-tenor voice as he deals *seriatim* with soft drinks, the batting average of a baseball player, a recent great president, and the atom bomb. Knowledge becomes a matter of facts as such, rather than of their organization and interpretation, and skill becomes a large number of small, precise aptitudes, rather than a way of life. In the schools science is taught in separate segments—chemistry one year, physics another—without cross-reference. Instead of a single international policy, or a co-ordinated domestic policy, there are many distinct programmes advocated by groups or parties who show very little recognition of the inconsistencies among and within the programmes they advocate. Human beings are perceived within a set of categories which permit ready interchangeability.[1] Courtship and marriage come to be

elements is a characteristic cultural phenomenon by which culture contact is rendered relatively ineffective in Bali. The conspicuously small amount of routine fatigue and the capacity of the Balinese to shift easily from one activity to another are probably also systematically related to the way in which the individual responds only partially to external stimuli or imposed tasks. When Balinese ceremonial is analysed regionally, the jig-saw puzzle figure becomes more meaningful, because many details in a *rite de passage* are unintelligible unless referred to some equally meaningless detail in the *same rite de passage* in another village or district. Without a historical record it is impossible to interpret this curious distribution further. There may be a premium upon reducing the meaningfulness so as to reduce its coercive effect upon the attention of the individual. Such a reduction would, in fact, be made possible by a random dissection of ritual wholes into disconnected items which could no longer reinstate the whole. Another possible—and undemonstrable—explanation would attribute the random distribution of various apparently related bits to some process of assimilation of alien elements, in which one community had selected one set of bits, another community another. It has been suggested by Dr. Theodora Abel, after an analysis of the responses of Balinese subjects to her 'limited free design test' ('Free Designs of Limited Scope as a Personality Index', *Character and Personality*, vii (1938), pp. 50–62) that this reduction in the meaningfulness of external detail is related to a very great rigidity of personality at a deeper level—a rigidity which may be partly preserved by this cultivated lack of attention to the external world.

[1] M. Mead, 'How Religion has Fared in the Melting Pot', in *Religion in the Post-War World Series*, ed. by Willard Sperry. *Religion and Our Racial Tensions*, iii, pp. 61–82.

almost as impersonal as the choice involved in marrying one of three cross-cousins in a small primitive tribe; there is a difference in time relations but a common impersonality. In a system in which kinship regulates marriage the limitation on personal factors in choice is set by past situations which define the range of choice for living individuals. In modern America relationships are defined, and thus the range of choice limited, by present situations, work in the same office, attendance at the same college, membership in the same club. In a primitive society of the type mentioned individuals are required to accept a relationship because of a marriage two generations earlier. In modern America individuals accept friends and marriage partners from among those who are presented to them through the fortuitous circumstances of their contemporary work and residence arrangements.

I have stressed the way in which American companionship, partnership, and marriage arrangements, which are dependent upon ephemeral situations, resemble kinship-patterned primitive societies in order to emphasize the fact that patterning, though of a highly simplified type, develops even in a very disturbed and confused culture contact society. The apparent complexity of American culture, with its enormous number of publications, radio programmes, amusements, makes of automobiles, changing styles, &c., hides a basic simplification.[1] All of these superficially diverse patterns are atomized in a way which makes the likenesses among them more easily perceived than the differences. It is the interchangeability of a film, a radio programme, and an evening of bowling which is stressed, rather than their incomparability. As an accompaniment of this strenuous effort at simplification, ethical attitudes tend to be expressed in very black and white terms, or to be so qualified in situational terms as to seem very cynical.[2]

Thus the personality type which develops where most of the rearing adults have experienced secondary culture contact reflects on the one hand the native's sense of a shattered outer

[1] The European, to whom differences in material objects are related to a more incommensurable set of values, of course *experiences* American culture as a manifold of bewildering and unordered complexity.

[2] Granville Hicks in his recent study of a small, up-state New York community [*Small Town*, New York: The MacMillan Co. (1946)] comments extensively on the prevalence of such judgements as, 'I can put up with drunkards, but I can't stomach them in church'.

world, which comes from the rapid impingement of immigration, technological change and urbanization, and, on the other, the sense of internal disorientation of the immigrant. The outer world appears atomized into meaningless units; the inner world also loses its structure and becomes fragmented and chaotic, in that the structure which usually results from the process of growing up in a human culture is often not only not strong enough to resist strain, but also not coherent enough to retain some semblance of form when the breakdown occurs. The increase of schizophrenia, in which all relationship with organized cultural reality is relinquished, is probably one symptom of this condition.

A recent intensive American study in which individuals who showed either a very high degree of hatred of socially disadvantaged groups, as measured on an elaborate questionnaire, or a very high degree of friendly sympathy toward such groups, has yielded some very suggestive results.[1] The group characterized by an unusual amount of hatred showed a type of character formation with a high amount of outer conformity, but a lack of inner order against which the outward conformity might be seen as a defence. This group contained a large number of culturally 'normal' individuals and also individuals with some marked psychotic trends. The contrast group of those who were sympathetic with the disadvantaged contained many neurotic personalities, individuals with sufficient strength to maintain a difficult relationship to the world without breaking down. They had accepted the contradictions and discrepancies inherent in American culture, and, instead of handling these contradictions by denying them, they had internalized the conflict.

It may be suggested that in extreme culture contact conditions, such as now exist in the United States and will probably become more widespread over the world, these are some of the types of adjustment which may be expected to develop. We may find an extreme oversimplification, a recategorizing of cultural experience into such characteristic American forms as fraternities, clubs, &c. Such solutions, among which gambling and betting in the United States, parts of Latin America, and

[1] Else Frenkel-Brunswik, and R. Nevitt Sanford, 'Some Personality Factors in Anti-Semitism', *Journal of Psychology*, xx (1945), pp. 271–91. Also unpublished materials on this research.

Australia may also be mentioned, provide superficially coherent contexts in which the personality can act without making an attempt at any basic reorientation. Religious and political movements which base their appeal upon the existence of the disorientation and offer a single formula under which all the fragmented aspects of life can be brought together again are another characteristic form in such cultures.[1]

A third attempt at solution comes from efforts to increase the complexity of the broken and oversimplified culture, not by any single solution or any surface multiplication of organizational forms, but by a change in the level of organization, both in the personality structure and in the social forms. One example of such a change is the increase in awareness of social process which is often, even in primitive societies, a concomitant of culture contact or migration. It is probably not without significance that the therapy which is offered to the psychotic individual, whose oversimplifications have broken down, tends to involve a *decrease* in complexity or organization, as in treatment by electric shock, insulin shock, or frontal lobotomy. The typical therapies for the neurotic, on the other hand, are the various laborious, exacting forms of psychoanalysis, in which the personality is reorganized on a *higher* level of complexity and awareness.

We are entering an era in history when an understanding of cultural change is essential. Synchronic studies have provided us with descriptions of cultural systems of varying complexity and varying types of character structure. For an understanding of the changes from one system to another we need material

[1] Examples of the propaganda forms, which are themselves accompaniments of different forms of social organization, may be found in *Hitler Junge Quex*, a Nazi film released in 1933 [analysed by G. Bateson in 'Cultural and Thematic Analysis of Fictional Films', *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, v. 4 (February 1943), pp. 72–8] and in *The War for Men's Minds*, a war-time film made for the Canadian Film Board under the directorship of John Grierson. The *Quex* film relies upon first invoking in the audience the deepest layers of the personality, as formed in early family relationships, and then presenting a choice between chaos and order, with order reinforced by these early family images. The Canadian film, built up of clippings from newsreels with a cut from *The Triumph of the Will*, the great Nazi film on the Nuremberg Party Rally, relies on taking the discrepancies in the contemporary world, between ideal and real, between militarization and humanity, between regimentation and individuality, and makes these the elements out of which the propaganda appeal is built. It suggests that the discrepancies, the distortions, the contradictions are the very stuff out of which a different order is to be achieved.

on the way in which individuals exposed to various forms of secondary culture contact, either directly or through the mediation of previously exposed adults, take their personality structure from the conditions of cultural instability, and become the sources of new forms of cultural order.

MARGARET MEAD

BALI: THE VALUE SYSTEM OF A STEADY STATE[1]

'ETHOS' AND 'SCHISMOGENESIS'

IT would be an oversimplification—it would even be false—to say that science necessarily advances by the construction and empirical testing of successive working hypotheses. Among the physicists and chemists there may be some who really proceed in this orthodox manner, but among the social scientists there is perhaps not one. Our concepts are loosely defined—a haze of chiaroscuro prefiguring sharper lines still undrawn—and our hypotheses are still so vague that rarely can we imagine any crucial instance whose investigation will test them.

The present paper is an attempt to make more precise an idea which I published in 1936[2] and which has lain fallow since that time. The notion of *ethos* had proved a useful conceptual tool for me, and with it I had been able to get a sharper understanding of Iatmul culture. But this experience by no means proved that this tool would necessarily be useful in other hands or for the analysis of other cultures. The most general conclusion I could draw was of this order: that my own mental processes had certain characteristics; that the sayings, actions, and organization of the Iatmul had certain characteristics; and that the abstraction, 'ethos', performed some role—catalytic, perhaps—in easing the relation between these two specificities, my mind and the data which I myself had collected.

Immediately after completing the manuscript of *Naven* I went to Bali with the intention of trying upon Balinese data this tool which had been evolved for the analysis of Iatmul. For one reason or another, however, I did not do this, partly because in Bali Margaret Mead and I were engaged in devising other tools—photographic methods of record and description—and partly because I was learning the techniques of applying genetic psychology to cultural data, but more especially because at some inarticulate level I felt that the tool was unsuitable for this new task.

[1] A term borrowed from communications engineering: that on-going state of a system of interdependent variables which shows no *progressive* or *irreversible* change. The homeostasis of the internal environment of an organism is an example of 'steady state'.

[2] G. Bateson, *Naven*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936.

It was not that ethos was in any sense disproved—indeed, a tool or a method can scarcely be proved false. It can only be shown to be not useful, and in this case there was not even a clear demonstration of uselessness. The method remained almost untried, and the most I could say was that, after that surrender to the data which is the first step in all anthropological study, ethological analysis did not seem to be the next thing to do.

It is now possible to show with Balinese data what peculiarities of that culture may have influenced me away from ethological analysis, and this demonstration will lead to a greater generalization of the abstraction, ethos. We shall in the process make certain heuristic advances which may guide us to more rigorous descriptive procedures in dealing with other cultures.

1. The analysis of Iatmul data led to the definition of ethos as: 'The expression of *a culturally standardized system of organization of the instincts and emotions of the individuals.*'[1]

2. Analysis of Iatmul ethos—consisting in the ordering of data so as to make evident certain recurrent 'emphases' or 'themes'—led to recognition of schismogenesis. It appeared that the working of Iatmul society involved *inter alia* two classes of regenerative[2] or 'vicious' circles. Both of these were sequences of social interaction such that A's acts were stimuli for B's acts, which in turn became stimuli for more intense action on the part of A, and so on, A and B being persons acting either as individuals or as group members.

3. These schismogenic sequences could be classified into two classes: (*a*) *symmetrical schismogenesis*, where the mutually promoting actions of A and B were essentially similar, e.g. in cases of competition, rivalry, and the like; and (*b*) *complementary schismogenesis*, where the mutually promoting actions are essentially dissimilar but mutually appropriate, e.g. in cases of dominance-

[1] *Naven*, p. 118.

[2] The terms 'regenerative' and 'degenerative' are borrowed from communications engineering. A regenerative or 'vicious' circle is a chain of variables of the general type: increase in A causes increase in B; increase in B causes increase in C; . . . increase in N causes increase in A. Such a system, if provided with the necessary energy sources and if external factors permit, will clearly operate at a greater and greater rate or intensity. A 'degenerative' or 'self-corrective' circle differs from a regenerative circle in containing at least one link of the type: 'increase in N causes *decrease* in M'. The house thermostat or the steam-engine with a governor are examples of such self-correcting systems. It will be noted that in many instances the same material circuit may be either regenerative or degenerative according to the amount of loading, frequency of impulses transmitted around the path, and time characteristics of the total path.

submission, succouring-dependence, exhibitionism-spectatorship, and the like.

4. In 1939 a considerable advance was made in defining the formal relations between the concepts of symmetrical and complementary schismogenesis. This came from an attempt to state schismogenic theory in terms of Richardson's equations for international armaments races.[1] The equations for rivalry evidently gave a first approximation to what I had called 'symmetrical schismogenesis'. These equations assume that the intensity of A's actions (the rate of his arming, in Richardson's case) is simply proportional to the amount by which B is ahead of A. The stimulus term in fact is (B—A), and when this term is positive it is expected that A will engage in efforts to arm. Richardson's second equation makes the same assumption *mutatis mutandis* about B's actions. These equations suggested that other simply rivalrous or competitive phenomena—e.g. boasting—though not subject to such simple measurement as expenditure on armament, might yet when ultimately measured be reducible to a simply analogous set of relations.

The matter was, however, not so clear in the case of complementary schismogenesis. Richardson's equations for 'submission' evidently define a phenomenon somewhat different from a progressive complementary relationship, and the form of his equations describes the action of a factor 'submissiveness' which slows down and ultimately reverses the sign of warlike effort. What was, however, required to describe complementary schismogenesis was an equational form giving a sharp and discontinuous reversal of sign. Such an equational form is achieved by supposing A's actions in a complementary relationship to be proportional to a stimulus term of the type (A—B). Such a form has also the advantage of automatically defining the actions of one of the participants as negative, and thus gives some mathematical analogue for the apparent psychological relatedness of domination to submission, exhibitionism to spectatorship, succouring to dependence, &c.

Notably this formulation is itself a negative of the formulation for rivalry, the stimulus term being the opposite. It had been observed that symmetrical sequences of actions tend sharply to reduce the strain of excessively complementary relationships

[1] L. F. Richardson, 'Generalized Foreign Politics', *British Journal of Psychology*, Monograph Supplement xxiii (1939).

between persons or groups.[1] It is tempting to ascribe this effect to some hypothesis which would make the two types of schismogenesis in some degree psychologically incompatible, as is done by the above formulation.

5. It is of interest to note that all the modes associated with the erogenous zones,[2] though not clearly quantifiable, define themes for *complementary* relationship.

6. The link with erogenous zones suggested in 5, above, indicates that we ought, perhaps, not to think of simple rising exponential curves of intensity limited only by factors analogous to fatigue, such as Richardson's equations would imply; but rather that we should expect our curves to be bounded by phenomena comparable to orgasm—that the achievement of a certain degree of bodily or neural involvement or intensity may be followed by a release of schismogenic tension. Indeed, all that we know about human beings in various sorts of simple contests would seem to indicate that this is the case, and that the conscious or unconscious wish for release of this kind is an important factor which draws the participants on and prevents them from simply withdrawing from contests which would otherwise not commend themselves to 'common sense'. If there be any basic human characteristic which makes man prone to struggle, it would seem to be this hope of release from tension through total involvement. In the case of war this factor is undoubtedly often potent. (The real truth—that in modern warfare only a very few of the participants achieve this climactic release—seems hardly to stand against the insidious myth of 'total' war.)

7. In 1936 it was suggested that the phenomenon of 'falling in love' might be comparable to a schismogenesis with the signs reversed, and even that 'if the course of true love ever ran smooth it would follow an exponential curve'.[3] Richardson[4] has

[1] *Naven*, p. 173.

[2] E. H. Homburger, 'Configurations in Play: Psychological Notes', *Psychoanalytical Quarterly*, vi (1937), pp. 138–214. This paper, one of the most important in the literature seeking to state psycho-analytic hypotheses in more rigorous terms, deals with the 'modes' appropriate to the various erogenous zones—intrusion, incorporation, retention, and the like—and shows how these modes may be transferred from one zone to another. This leads the writer to a chart of the possible permutations and combinations of such transferred modalities. This chart provides precise means of describing the course of the development of a large variety of different types of character structure (e.g. as met with in a different cultures).

[3] *Naven*, p. 197.

[4] Op. cit. (1939).

since, independently, made the same point in more formal terms. Paragraph 6, above, clearly indicates that the 'exponential curves' must give place to some type of curve which will not rise indefinitely but will reach a climax and then fall. For the rest, however, the obvious relationship of these interactive phenomena to climax and orgasm very much strengthens the case for regarding schismogenesis and those cumulative sequences of interaction which lead to love as often psychologically equivalent. (Witness the curious confusions between fighting and love-making, the symbolic identifications of orgasm with death, the recurrent use by mammals of organs of offence as ornaments of sexual attraction, &c.)

8. *Schismogenic sequences were not found in Bali.* This negative statement is of such importance and conflicts with so many theories of social opposition and Marxian determinism that, in order to achieve credibility, I must here describe schematically the process of character formation, the resulting Balinese character structure, the exceptional instances in which some sort of cumulative interaction can be recognized, and the methods by which quarrels and status differentiation are handled. (Detailed analysis of the various points and the supporting data cannot here be reproduced, but references will be given to published sources where the data can be examined.)[1]

BALINESE CHARACTER

(*a*) The most important exception to the above generalization occurs in the relationship between adults (especially parents) and children. Typically, the mother will start a small flirtation with the child, pulling its penis or otherwise stimulating it to interpersonal activity. This will excite the child, and for a few moments cumulative interaction will occur. Then just as the child, approaching some small climax, flings its arms round the mother's neck, her attention wanders. At this point the child will typically start an alternative cumulative interaction, building up towards temper tantrum. The mother will either play a spectator's role, enjoying the child's tantrum, or, if the child actually attacks her, will brush off his attack with no show of anger on her part. These sequences can be seen

[1] See especially G. Bateson and M. Mead, *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*. Since this photographic record is available, no photographs are included in the present paper.

either as an expression of the mother's distaste for this type of personal involvement or as contexts in which the child acquires a deep distrust of such involvement. The perhaps basically human tendency towards cumulative personal interaction is thus muted.[1] It is possible that some sort of continuing plateau of intensity is substituted for climax as the child becomes more fully adjusted to Balinese life. This cannot at present be clearly documented for sexual relations, but there are indications that a plateau type of sequence is characteristic for trance and for quarrels (see *d* below).

(*b*) Similar sequences have the effect of diminishing the child's tendencies towards competitive and rivalrous behaviour. The mother will, for example, tease the child by suckling the baby of some other woman and will enjoy her own child's efforts to push the intruder from the breast.[2]

(*c*) In general the lack of climax is characteristic for Balinese music, drama, and other art forms. The music typically has a progression, derived from the logic of its formal structure, and modifications of intensity determined by the duration and progress of the working out of these formal relations. It does not have the sort of rising intensity and climax structure characteristic of modern occidental music, but rather a formal progression.[3]

(*d*) Balinese culture includes definite techniques for dealing with quarrels. Two men who have quarrelled will go formally to the office of the local representative of the Rajah and will there register their quarrel, agreeing that whichever speaks to the other shall pay a fine or make an offering to the gods. Later, if the quarrel terminates, this contract may be formally nullified. Smaller—but similar—avoidances (*pwik*) are practised, even by small children in their quarrels. It is significant, perhaps, that this procedure is not an attempt to influence the protagonists away from hostility and towards friendship. Rather, it is a formal recognition of the state of their mutual relationship, and possibly, in some sort, a pegging of the relationship at that state. If this interpretation is correct, this method of dealing with quarrels would correspond to the substitution of a plateau for a climax.

[1] *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*, pl. 47, and pp. 32–6.

[2] Ibid., pls. 49, 52, 53, and 69–72.

[3] See Colin McPhee, 'The Absolute Music of Bali', *Modern Music* (1935); and *A House in Bali*, London: Gollancz (1947).

(*e*) In regard to warfare, contemporary comment on the old wars between the Rajahs indicates that in the period when the comments were collected (1936–9) war was thought of as containing large elements of mutual avoidance. The village of Bajoeng Gede was surrounded by an old vallum and foss, and the people explained the functions of these fortifications in the following terms: 'If you and I had a quarrel, then you would go and dig a ditch around your house. Later I would come to fight with you, but I would find the ditch and then there would be no fight'—a sort of mutual Maginot Line psychology. Similarly the boundaries between neighbouring kingdoms were, in general, a deserted no-man's land inhabited only by vagrants and exiles. (A very different psychology of warfare was no doubt developed when the kingdom of Karangasem embarked on the conquest of the neighbouring island of Lombok in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The psychology of this militarism has not been investigated, but there is reason to believe that the time perspective of the Balinese colonists in Lombok is to-day significantly different from that of Balinese in Bali.)[1]

(*f*) The formal techniques of social influence—oratory and the like—are almost totally lacking in Balinese culture. To demand the continued attention of an individual or to exert emotional influence upon a group are alike distasteful and virtually impossible; because in such circumstances the attention of the victim rapidly wanders. Even such continued speech as would, in most cultures, be used for the telling of stories does not occur in Bali. The narrator will, typically, pause after a sentence or two, and wait for some member of the audience to ask him a concrete question about some detail of the plot. He will then answer the question and so resume his narration. This procedure apparently breaks the cumulative tension by irrelevant interaction.

(*g*) The principal hierarchical structures in the society—the caste system and the hierarchy of full citizens who are the village council—are rigid. There are no contexts in which one individual could conceivably compete with another for position in either of these systems. An individual may lose his membership in the hierarchy for various acts, but his place in it cannot be altered. Should he later return to orthodoxy and be accepted

[1] See G. Bateson, 'An Old Temple and a New Myth', *Djawa*, xvii (Batavia, 1937).

back, he will return to his original position in relation to the other members.[1]

The foregoing descriptive generalizations are all partial answers to a negative question—'Why is Balinese society non-schismogenic?'—and from the combination of these generalizations we arrive at a picture of a society differing very markedly from our own, from that of the Iatmul, from those systems of social opposition which Radcliffe-Brown has analysed, and from any social structure postulated by Marxian analysis.

We started with the hypothesis that human beings have a tendency to involve themselves in sequences of cumulative interaction, and this hypothesis is still left virtually intact. Among the Balinese the babies, at least, evidently have such tendencies. But for sociological validity this hypothesis must now be guarded with a parenthetical clause stipulating that these tendencies are operative in the dynamics of society only if the childhood training is not such as to prevent their expression in adult life.

We have made an advance in our knowledge of the scope of human character formation in demonstrating that these tendencies towards cumulative interaction are subject to some sort of modification, deconditioning, or inhibition.[2] And this is an important advance. We know how it is that the Balinese are non-schismogenic and we know how their distaste for schismogenic patterns is expressed in various details of the social organization—the rigid hierarchies, the institutions for the handling of quarrels, &c.—but we still know nothing of the positive dynamics of the society. We have answered only the negative question.

BALINESE ETHOS

The next step, therefore, is to ask about Balinese ethos. What actually are the motives and the values which accompany the complex and rich cultural activities of the Balinese? What, if not competitive and other types of cumulative interrelationship,

[1] See M. Mead, 'Public Opinion Mechanisms among Primitive Peoples', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, i (1937), pp. 5–16.

[2] As is usual in anthropology, the data are not sufficiently precise to give us any clue as to the nature of the learning processes involved. Anthropology, at best, is only able to *raise* problems of this order. The next step must be left for laboratory experimentation.

causes the Balinese to carry out the elaborate patterns of their lives?

1. It is immediately clear to any visitor to Bali that the driving force for cultural activity is *not* either acquisitiveness or crude physiological need. The Balinese, especially in the plains, are not hungry or poverty-stricken. They are wasteful of food, and a very considerable part of their activity goes into entirely non-productive activities of an artistic or ritual nature in which food and wealth are lavishly expended. Essentially, we are dealing with an economy of plenty rather than an economy of scarcity. Some, indeed, are rated 'poor' by their fellows, but none of these poor are threatened by starvation, and the suggestion that human beings may actually starve in great occidental cities was, to the Balinese, unutterably shocking.

2. In their economic transactions the Balinese show a great deal of carefulness in their small dealings. They are 'penny wise'. On the other hand, this carefulness is counteracted by occasional 'pound foolishness' when they will expend large sums of money upon ceremonials and other forms of lavish consumption. There are very few Balinese who have the idea of steadily maximizing their wealth or property; these few are partly disliked and partly regarded as oddities. For the vast majority the 'saving of pennies' is done with a limited time perspective and a limited level of aspiration. They are saving until they have enough to spend largely on some ceremonial. We should not describe Balinese economics in terms of the individual's attempt to maximize value, but rather compare it with the relaxation oscillations of physiology and engineering, realizing that not only is this analogy descriptive of their sequences of transactions, but that they themselves see these sequences as naturally having some such form.

3. The Balinese are markedly dependent upon spatial orientation. In order to be able to behave they must know their cardinal points, and if a Balinese is taken by motor-car over twisting roads so that he loses his sense of direction, he may become severely disorientated and unable to act (e.g. a dancer may become unable to dance) until he has got back his orientation by seeing some important landmark, such as the central mountain of the island around which the cardinal points are structured. There is a comparable dependence upon social orientation, but with this difference: that where the spatial orientation

is in a horizontal plane, social orientation is felt to be, in the main, vertical. When two strangers are brought together, it is necessary, before they can converse with any freedom, that their relative caste positions be stated. One will ask the other, 'Where do you sit?' and this is a metaphor for caste. It is asking, essentially, 'Do you sit high or low?' When each knows the caste of the other, each will then know what etiquette and what linguistic forms he should adopt, and conversation can then proceed. Lacking such orientation, a Balinese is tongue-tied.

4. It is common to find that activity (other than the 'penny-wisdom' mentioned above) rather than being purposive, i.e. aimed at some deferred goal, is valued for itself. The artist, the dancer, the musician, and the priest may receive a pecuniary reward for their professional activity, but only in rare cases is this reward adequate to recompense the artist even for his time and materials. The reward is a token of appreciation, it is a definition of the context in which the theatrical company performs, but it is not the economic mainstay of the troupe. The earnings of the troupe may be saved up to enable them to buy new costumes, but when finally the costumes are bought it is usually necessary for every member to make a considerable contribution to the common fund in order to pay for them. Similarly, in regard to the offerings which are taken to every temple feast, there is no purpose in this enormous expenditure of artistic work and real wealth. The god will not bring any benefit because you made a beautiful structure of flowers and fruit for the calendric feast in his temple, nor will he avenge your abstention. Instead of deferred purpose there is an immediate and immanent satisfaction in performing beautifully, with everybody else, that which it is correct to perform in each particular context.

5. In general there is evident enjoyment to be had from doing things busily with large crowds of other people.[1] Conversely there is such misfortune inherent in the loss of group membership that the threat of this loss is one of the most serious sanctions in the culture.

6. It is of great interest to note that many Balinese actions are articulately accounted for in sociological terms rather than in terms of individual goals or values.[2]

[1] Bateson and Mead, op. cit., pl. 5.

[2] Cf. *Naven*, pp. 250 ff., where it was suggested that we must expect to find that some peoples of the world would relate their actions to the sociological frame.

This is most conspicuous in regard to all actions related to the Village Council, the hierarchy which includes all full citizens. This body, in its secular aspects, is referred to as *I Desa* (literally, 'Mr. Village'), and numerous rules and procedures are rationalized by reference to this abstract personage. Similarly, in its sacred aspects, the village is deified as *Betara Desa* (God Village), to whom shrines are erected and offerings brought. (We may guess that a Durkheimian analysis would seem to the Balinese to be an obvious and appropriate approach to the understanding of much of their public culture.)

In particular all money transactions which involve the village treasury are governed by the generalization, 'The village does not lose'. (*Desanne sing dadi potjol.*) This generalization applies, for example, in all cases in which a beast is sold from the village herd. Under no circumstances can the village accept a price less than that which it actually or nominally paid. (It is important to note that the rule takes the form of fixing a lower limit and is not an injunction to maximize the village treasury.)

A peculiar awareness of the nature of social processes is evident in such incidents as the following: A poor man was about to undergo one of the important and expensive *rites de passage* which are necessary for persons as they approach the top of the Council hierarchy. We asked what would happen if he refused to undertake this expenditure. The first answer was that, if he were too poor, *I Desa* would *lend* him the money. In response to further pressing as to what would happen if he really refused, we were told that nobody ever had refused, but that if somebody did, nobody would go through the ceremony again. Implicit in this answer and in the fact that nobody ever does refuse is the assumption that the ongoing cultural process is itself to be valued.

7. Actions which are culturally correct (*patoet*) are acceptable and aesthetically valued. Actions which are permissible (*dadi*) are of more or less neutral value; while actions which are not permissible (*sing dadi*) are to be deprecated and avoided. These generalizations, in their translated form, are no doubt true in many cultures, but it is important to get a clear understanding of what the Balinese mean by *dadi*. The notion is not to be equated with our 'etiquette' or 'law', since each of these invokes the value judgement of some other person or sociological entity. In Bali there is no feeling that actions have been or are categorized as

dadi or *sing dadi* by some human or supernatural authority. Rather, the statement that such-and-such an action is *dadi* is an absolute generalization to the effect that under the given circumstances this action is regular.[1] It is wrong for a casteless person to address a prince in other than the 'polished language', and it is wrong for a menstruating woman to enter a temple. The prince or the deity may express annoyance, but there is no feeling that either the prince, the deity, or the casteless person made the rules. The offence is felt to be against the order and natural structure of the universe rather than against the actual person offended. The offender, even in such serious matters as incest (for which he may be extruded from the society)[2] is not blamed for anything worse than stupidity and clumsiness. Rather, he is 'an unfortunate person' (*anak latjoer*), and misfortune may come to any of us 'when it is our turn'. Further, it must be stressed that these patterns which define correct and permissible behaviour are exceedingly complex (especially the rules of language) and that the individual Balinese (even to some degree inside his own family) has continual anxiety lest he make an error. Moreover, the rules are not of such a kind that they can be summarized either in a simple recipe or an emotional attitude. Etiquette cannot be deduced from some comprehensive statement about the other person's feelings or from respect for superiors. The details are too complex and too various for this, and so the individual Balinese is for ever picking his way, like a tight-rope walker, afraid at any moment lest he make some mis-step.

8. The metaphor from postural balance used in the last paragraph is demonstrably applicable in many contexts of Balinese culture:

(*a*) The fear of loss of support is an important theme in Balinese childhood.[3]

(*b*) Elevation (with its attendant problems of physical and metaphorical balance) is the passive complement of respect.[4]

(*c*) The Balinese child is elevated like a superior person or a god.[5]

(*d*) In cases of actual physical elevation[6] the duty of balancing

[1] The word *dadi* is also used as a copula referring to changes in social status. *I Anoe dadi Koebajan* means 'So-and-so has become a village official'.

[2] Mead, 'Public Opinion Mechanisms among Primitive Peoples', loc. cit., 1937.

[3] Bateson and Mead, op. cit., pls. 17, 67, and 79.

[4] Ibid., pls. 10–14. [5] Ibid., pl. 45. [6] Ibid., pl. 10, fig. 3.

the system falls on the supporting lower person, but control of the direction in which the system will move is in the hands of the elevated. The little girl in the figure standing in trance on a man's shoulders can cause her bearer to go wherever she desires by merely leaning in that direction. He must then move in that direction in order to maintain the balance of the system.

(*e*) A large proportion of our collection of 1,200 Balinese carvings shows preoccupation on the part of the artist with problems of balance.[1]

(*f*) The Witch, the personification of fear, frequently uses a gesture called *kapar*, which is described as that of a man falling from a coco-nut palm on suddenly seeing a snake. In this gesture the arms are raised sideways to a position somewhat above the head.

(*g*) The ordinary Balinese term for the period before the coming of the white man is 'when the world was steady' (*doegas goemine enteg*).

APPLICATIONS OF THE VON NEUMANNIAN GAME

Even this very brief listing of some of the elements in Balinese ethos suffices to indicate theoretical problems of prime importance. Let us consider the matter in abstract terms. One of the hypotheses underlying most sociology is that the dynamics of the social mechanism can be described by assuming that the individuals constituting that mechanism are motivated to maximize certain variables. In conventional economic theory it is assumed that the individuals will maximize value, while in schismogenic theory it was tacitly assumed that the individuals would maximize intangible but still simple variables such as prestige, self-esteem, or even submissiveness. The Balinese, however, do not maximize any such simple variables.

In order to define the sort of contrast which exists between the Balinese system and any competitive system, let us start by considering the premisses of a strictly competitive von Neumannian game and proceed by considering what changes we must make in these premisses in order to approximate more closely to the Balinese system.

1. The players in a von Neumannian game are, by hypothesis, motivated only in terms of a single linear (sc. monetary)

[1] At present it is not possible to make such a statement in sharply defined quantitative terms, the available judgements being subjective and occidental.

scale of value. Their strategies are determined: (*a*) by the rules of the hypothetical game; and (*b*) by their intelligence, which is, by hypothesis, sufficient to solve all problems presented by the game. Von Neumann shows that, under certain definable circumstances depending upon the number of players and upon the rules, coalitions of various sorts will be formed by the players, and in fact von Neumann's analysis concentrates mainly upon the structure of these coalitions and the distribution of value among the members. In comparing these games with human societies we shall regard social organizations as analogous to coalition systems.[1]

2. Von Neumannian systems differ from human societies in the following respects:

(*a*) His 'players' are from the start completely intelligent, whereas human beings learn. For human beings we must expect that the rules of the game and the conventions associated with any particular set of coalitions will become incorporated into the character structures of the individual players.

(*b*) The mammalian value scale is not simple and monotone, but may be exceedingly complex. We know, even at a physiological level, that calcium will not replace vitamins, nor will an amino-acid replace oxygen. Further, we know that the animal does not strive to maximize its supply of any of these discrepant commodities, but rather is required to maintain the supply of each within tolerable limits. Too much may be as harmful as too little. It is also doubtful whether mammalian preference is always transient.

(*c*) In the von Neumannian system the number of moves in a given 'play' of a game is assumed to be finite. The strategic problems of the individuals are soluble because the individual can operate within a limited time perspective. He need only

[1] Alternatively, we might handle the analogy in another way. A social system is, as von Neumann and Morgenstern point out, comparable to a non-zero sum game in which one or more coalitions of people play against each other and against nature. The non-zero sum characteristic is based on the fact that value is continually extracted from the natural environment. Inasmuch as Balinese society exploits nature, the total entity, including both environment and people, is clearly comparable to a game requiring coalition between people. It is possible, however, that that subdivision of the total game comprising the *people only* might be such that the formation of coalitions within it would not be essential—that is, Balinese society may differ from most other societies in that the 'rules' of the relationship between people define a 'game' of the type von Neumann would call 'non-essential'. This possibility is not here examined. (See von Neumann and Morgenstern, op. cit.)

look forward a finite distance to the end of the play when the gains and losses will be paid up and everything will start again from a *tabula rasa*. In human society life is not punctuated in this way, and each individual faces a vista of unknowable factors whose number increases (probably exponentially) into the future.

(*d*) The von Neumannian players are, by hypothesis, not susceptible either to economic death or to boredom. The losers can go on losing for ever, and no player can withdraw from the game, even though the outcome of every play is definitely predictable in probability terms.

3. Of these differences between von Neumannian and human systems, only the differences in value scales and the possibility of 'death' concern us here. For the sake of simplicity we shall assume that the other differences, though very profound, can for the moment be ignored.

4. Curiously, we may note that, although men are mammals and therefore have a primary value system which is multi-dimensional and non-maximizing, it is yet possible for these creatures to be put into contexts in which they will strive to maximize one or a few simple variables (money, prestige, power, &c.).

5. Since the multi-dimensional value system is apparently primary, the problem presented by, for example, Iatmul social organization is not so much to account for the behaviour of Iatmul individuals by invoking (or abstracting) their value system; we should also ask how that value system is imposed on the mammalian individuals by the social organization in which they find themselves. Conventionally in anthropology this question is attacked through genetic psychology. We endeavour to collect data to show how the value system implicit in the social organization is built into the character structure of the individuals in their childhood. There is, however, an alternative approach which would momentarily ignore, as von Neumann does, the phenomena of learning and consider merely the strategic implications of those contexts which must occur in accordance with the given 'rules' and the coalition system. In this connexion it is important to note that competitive contexts—provided the individuals can be made to recognize the contexts as competitive—inevitably reduce the complex gamut of values to very simple and even linear and monotone

terms.[1] Considerations of this sort, *plus* descriptions of the regularities in the process of character formation, probably suffice to describe how simple value scales are imposed upon mammalian individuals in competitive societies such as that of the Iatmul or twentieth-century America.

6. In Balinese society, on the other hand, we find an entirely different state of affairs. Neither the individual nor the village is concerned to maximize any simple variable. Rather, they would seem to be concerned to maximize something which we may call stability, using this term perhaps in a highly metaphorical way. (There is, in fact, one simple quantitative variable which does appear to be maximized. This variable is the amount of any fine imposed by the village. When first imposed the fines are mostly very small, but if payment is delayed the amount of the fine is increased very steeply, and if there be any sign that the offender is *refusing* to pay—'opposing the village'—the fine is at once raised to an enormous sum and the offender is deprived of membership in the community until he is willing to give up his opposition. Then a part of the fine may be excused.)

7. Let us now consider an hypothetical system consisting of a number of identical players, plus an umpire who is concerned with the maintenance of stability among the players. Let us further suppose that the players are liable to economic death, that our umpire is concerned to see that this shall not occur, and that the umpire has power to make certain alterations in the rules of the game or in the probabilities associated with chance moves. Clearly this umpire will be in more or less continual conflict with the players. He is striving to maintain a dynamic equilibrium or steady state, and this we may rephrase as the attempt to maximize the chances *against* the maximization of any single simple variable.

8. Ashby has pointed out in rigorous terms that the steady state and continued existence of complex interactive systems depend upon preventing the maximization of any variable, and that any continued increase in any variable will inevitably result in, and be limited by, irreversible changes in the system. He has also pointed out that in such systems it is very important to permit certain variables to alter.[2] The steady state of an engine

[1] L. K. Frank, 'The Cost of Competition', *Plan Age*, vi (1940), pp. 314–24.

[2] W. R. Ashby, 'Effect of Controls on Stability', *Nature*, clv, no. 3930 (24 February 1945), pp. 242–3.

with a governor is unlikely to be maintained if the position of the balls of the governor is clamped. Similarly a tight-rope walker with a balancing pole will not be able to maintain his balance except by *varying* the forces which he exerts upon the pole.

9. Returning now to the conceptual model suggested in paragraph 7, let us take one further step towards making this model comparable with Balinese society. Let us substitute for the umpire a village council composed of all the players. We now have a system which presents a number of analogies to our balancing acrobat. When they speak as members of the village council, the players by hypothesis are interested in maintaining the steady state of the system—that is, in preventing the maximization of any simple variable the excessive increase of which would produce irreversible change. In their daily life, however, they are still engaged in simple competitive strategies.

10. The next step towards making our model resemble Balinese society more closely is clearly to postulate in the character structure of the individuals and/or in the contexts of their daily life those factors which will motivate them towards maintenance of the steady state not only when they speak in Council, but also in their other interpersonal relations. These factors are in fact recognizable in Bali and have been enumerated above. In our analysis of why Balinese society is non-schismogenic, we noted that the Balinese child learns to avoid cumulative interaction, i.e. the maximization of certain simple variables, and that the social organization and contexts of daily life are so constructed as to preclude competitive interaction. Further, in our analysis of the Balinese ethos, we noted recurrent valuation: (*a*) of the clear and static definition of status and spatial orientation, and (*b*) of balance and such movement as will conduce to balance.

In sum it seems that the Balinese extend to human relationships attitudes based upon bodily balance, and that they generalize the idea that motion is essential to balance. This last point gives us, I believe, a partial answer to the question of why the society not only continues to function but functions rapidly and busily, continually undertaking ceremonial and artistic tasks which are not economically or competitively determined. This steady state is maintained by continual non-progressive change.

SCHISMOGENIC SYSTEM VERSUS THE STEADY STATE

I have discussed two types of social system in such schematic outline that it is possible to state clearly a contrast between them. Both types of system, so far as they are capable of maintaining themselves without progressive or irreversible change, achieve the steady state. There are, however, profound differences between them in the manner in which the steady state is regulated.

The Iatmul system, which is here used as a prototype of schismogenic systems, includes a number of regenerative causal circuits or vicious circles. Each such circuit consists of two or more individuals (or groups of individuals) who participate in potentially cumulative interaction. Each human individual is an energy source or 'relay', such that the energy used in his responses is not derived from the stimuli but from his own metabolic processes. It therefore follows that such a schismogenic system is—unless controlled—liable to excessive increase of those acts which characterize the schismogeneses. The anthropologist who attempts even a qualitative description of such a system must therefore identify: (1) the individuals and groups involved in schismogenesis and the routes of communication between them; (2) the categories of acts and contexts characteristic of the schismogeneses; (3) the processes whereby the individuals become psychologically apt to perform these acts and/or the nature of the contexts which force these acts upon them; and lastly, (4) he must identify the mechanisms or factors which control the schismogeneses. These controlling factors may be of at least three distinct types: (*a*) degenerative causal loops may be superposed upon the schismogeneses so that when the latter reach a certain intensity some form of restraint is applied—as occurs in occidental systems when a Government intervenes to limit economic competition; (*b*) there may be, in addition to the schismogeneses already considered, other cumulative interactions acting in an opposite sense and so promoting social integration rather than fission; (*c*) the increase in schismogenesis may be limited by factors which are internally or externally environmental to the parts of the schismogenic circuit. Such factors which have only small restraining effect at low intensities of schismogenesis may increase with increase of intensity. Friction, fatigue, and limitation of energy supply would-be examples of such factors.

In contrast with these schismogenic systems, Balinese society is an entirely different type of mechanism, and in describing it the anthropologist must follow entirely different procedures, for which rules cannot as yet be laid down. Since the class of 'non-schismogenic' social systems is defined only in negative terms, we cannot assume that members of the class will have common characteristics. In the analysis of the Balinese system, however, the following steps occurred, and it is possible that some at least of these may be applicable in the analysis of other cultures of this class: (1) it was observed that schismogenic sequences are rare in Bali; (2) the exceptional cases in which such sequences occur were investigated; (3) from this investigation it appeared, (*a*) that in general the contexts which recur in Balinese social life preclude cumulative interaction and (*b*) that childhood experience trains the child away from seeking climax in personal interaction; (4) it was shown that certain positive values—related to balance—recur in the culture and are incorporated into the character structure during childhood, and, further, that these values may be specifically related to the steady state; (5) a more detailed study is now required to arrive at a systematic statement about the self-correcting characteristics of the system. It is evident that the ethos alone is insufficient to maintain the steady state. From time to time the village or some other entity does step in to correct infractions. The nature of these instances of the working of the corrective mechanism must be studied; but it is clear that this intermittent mechanism is very different from the continually acting restraints which must be present in all schismogenic systems.

GREGORY BATESON

TIME AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE: AN ASHANTI CASE STUDY

RADCLIFFE-BROWN'S THESIS

IN his most recent discussion of the concept of social structure Radcliffe-Brown distinguishes between 'structure as an actually existing concrete reality' (that is, 'the set of actually existing relations, at a given moment of time, which link together certain human beings'), and 'structural form' (that is, 'the general or normal form' of a relationship 'abstracted from the variations of particular instances, though taking account of these variations'). The distinction is associated with the 'continuity of social structure through time' particularly in a 'relatively stable community'. The structural form may change little, though the actual social structure is constantly being renewed and changes with the birth and death of members and their changing relations with one another.[1] Developing his thesis, Radcliffe-Brown raises the elementary but fundamental question: How is the 'norm' established?

The distinction seems to be of doubtful validity. It errs, I believe, by attempting to synthesize a number of separate theoretical issues in one formula. To begin with, the time factor in social structure is by no means uniform in its incidence. Briefly, the following functions of time can be distinguished:

(*a*) As mere *duration* time is an extrinsic factor having no critical influence on the structure of social events or organization. Conversations, many ceremonies, court cases, the activities of a fishing group based on a canoe,[2] all occur over a stretch of time but are not intrinsically determined by this fact. Distribution and location in time are aspects of duration, as we see in seasonal activities, annual ceremonies, or institutions like the kula.[3] Simple sequence is another aspect of duration, as most history books show.

(*b*) As *continuity* (or its opposite, discontinuity), time is an intrinsic and critical characteristic of some social events or

[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lxx. 1 (1940).

[2] Cf. Raymond Firth, *Malay Fishermen*, London: Kegan Paul (1946), p. 114.

[3] B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, London: Routledge (1932).

organizations. In this case it is significant as an index of forces and conditions that remain more or less constant over a stretch of time; or else of those that give way precipitately to new forces and conditions. Thus all corporate groups, by definition, must have continuity. A lineage in a stable and homogeneous society exemplifies this.[1] It is kept in being by, and is at a given time an expression of the forces that determined its structure in the past and will do so in the future. Discontinuity is exemplified in areas where military invasion, conquest, and alien settlement on a big scale have occurred, or where a population of very diverse origins has been brought together forcibly in an alien land, as was the case with African slaves in the New World.[2]

(*c*) Finally, time may stand for what might be called *genetic* or growth processes, as opposed to mere historical sequence. Time is then correlated with change within a frame of continuity. Growth in this sense is more marked in social systems that are not in a more or less stable equilibrium than in those that are, though it occurs in the latter too. For growth is the product of two kinds of forces symbolized by the passage of time, those of continuity (conservative forces) and those of non-reversible modification. It may appear as simple increase or decrease, as in population changes, or in more complex qualitative differentiations in institutions and social relations. These may be of a negative kind due to contraction, involution, or loss of parts or functions; or they may be positive, showing expansion, accumulation, or development of parts or functions. The British House of Commons is a familiar instance of growth in social institutions and organization.[3]

It is pertinent to add that what has been said of time applies equally to the spatial factor which is universally present in social structure.[4] Thus we find mere location in space, which is extrinsic to the event or organization; ordered arrangement in which spatial relations directly shape structure; and controlled movement representing change in structure.

[1] Cf. M. Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, ch. iii, London: Oxford University Press (1945).

[2] Cf. T. S. Simey, *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1946).

[3] Cf. W. Ivor Jennings, *Parliament*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1939, reprinted 1948).

[4] Cf. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, ch. iii, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1940).

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I take 'structure' to refer to a distinguishable whole (an institution, a social group, a situation, a process, &c.) which is susceptible of analysis, in the light of appropriate concepts and by suitable techniques, into parts that have an ordered arrangement in space and time. Of course, what is a 'whole' in one context may be a 'part' in another and may be resolvable into an arrangement of less complex 'parts' as theory develops. What is really important, however, is not merely the determination of the 'parts' and their interrelations but the elucidation of the principles which govern structural arrangement and of the forces for which these stand.

In my view the distinction between 'actual structure' and 'structural form' is invalid, because structure is not immediately visible in the 'concrete reality'. It is discovered by comparison, induction, and analysis based on a sample of actual social happenings in which the institution, organization, usage, &c., with which we are concerned appears in a variety of contexts. When we describe structure we are already dealing with general principles far removed from the complicated skein of behaviour, feelings, beliefs, &c., that constitute the tissue of actual social life. We are, as it were, in the realm of grammar and syntax, not of the spoken word. We discern structure in the 'concrete reality' of social events only by virtue of having first established structure by abstraction from 'concrete reality'.

The real problem is that in social structure we are always faced with parts and relations of diverse nature and variability. There may be parts and relations which recur in all situations in which the organization or institution we are studying emerges, and others which seem to occur only by chance. The former may be constant in some respect but variable in others, corresponding in some ways to the statistician's independent variable; the latter may be a 'normal' usage or institution in an 'abnormal' context. The chief difficulties arise because of the great lack of uniformity in the nature of what we discern as a constant element. It may be what persists as opposed to what varies over time, so that 'constant' means the frame of continuity and 'variable' the process of growth or change. Thus among the constant features in the structure of the Tale lineage is its division into precisely defined segments, and among the

variable features is the number of such segments.[1] Or again, 'constant' may refer to what is considered essential or intrinsic, 'variable' to what is considered incidental. In the African institution of the bride-price, the passage of goods or valuables from the bridegroom's side to the bride's side is a constant, that is, essential, feature; but the valuables used and the amount passed vary widely even in one society.

If we consider the operations required to find valid answers to our questions, it appears that social behaviour in its collective aspects yields two kinds of data. On the one hand, we have data which have meaning primarily in terms of magnitude. The amount of bride-price actually paid; the range within which classificatory kinship is recognized; the generation depth of a lineage; the extent of observance of a legal or moral rule; and many similar data of social relations require investigation in quantitative terms,[2] though we still lack the techniques for dealing with all of them in this way. On the other hand, the obligation to pay a bride-price in a fixed customary way; the social recognition of matrilineal descent; the belief in witchcraft; and so forth, are data which can only be dealt with by direct apprehension and qualitative description. Both the parts and the relations between them which we discriminate in any study of social structure have these two sides. No doubt as social anthropology develops, more and more of what can at present only be understood in qualitative terms will be broken down into parts and relations susceptible of quantitative analysis.

The qualitative aspect of social facts is what is commonly called culture. The concept 'structure' is, I think, most appropriately applied to those features of social events and organizations which are actually or ideally susceptible of quantitative description and analysis.[3] The constant elements most usually recognized in any social event by ethnographers are its cultural components; its structural aspect, being variable, is often overlooked. It should be emphasized that I am not suggesting a division of the facts of social life into two classes; I am referring to the data of observation. 'Culture' and 'structure' denote complementary ways of analysing the same facts. In the present stage of social anthropology all analysis

[1] Fortes, op. cit., ch. xii.

[2] I include in this geometrical or quasi-geometrical methods and concepts.

[3] This is much the same point as was made by G. Bateson, *Naven*, ch. iii.

of structure is necessarily hybrid, involving descriptions of culture as well as presentation of structure. The factors of space and time are of fundamental importance in this connexion. Structure is given to social happenings or organizations by space and time relations, if for no other reason; and these relations have magnitude.

METHODS

We can now consider the problem of the methods by which the 'norm' is established. The concept of a 'norm' needs more precise definition than Radcliffe-Brown gives to it. It may stand for what I have called the constant elements; or it may be equivalent to the statistician's mean or mode; or to the lawyer's precedent, or the moralist's ideal pattern. Whatever sense is given to the term, practice as well as logic proves that a 'norm' can seldom be satisfactorily established from a single instance.[1] Even events that are unique for most ethnographers, such as a ceremony in a cycle that takes a generation,[2] can only be satisfactorily studied by comparing their component activities, beliefs, arrangements, &c., with similar social elements occurring in other contexts in the life of the people. There is plenty of evidence to justify the assumption that the modes of behaviour and principles of organization current in a society are limited in number and variability. But though it is the common practice among ethnographers to arrive at the 'norms' by comparison of and induction from repeated instances, this is rarely if ever done in relation to explicit criteria of verification and validation.

Satisfactory as these methods may be in stable and homogeneous societies they lead to serious errors in societies of diversified structure. Institutions which in a stable and homogeneous society adhere together as closely interdependent variables tend to be mutually independent, so that a wider and less predictable range of combinations is possible for them in

[1] In theory, of course, a single case can be an adequate sample of a perfectly homogeneous population, and a great deal of ethnographic information is perfectly reliable even though it may be based on a single case or on the statements of one informant. The only check needed is on the truthfulness of the informant. Identification of the language family to which the speech of a given community belongs can be based on the speech of one truthful informant.

[2] e.g. the *Maki* rites of the Vao of Malekula. Cf. J. Layard, *Stone Men of Malekula*, London: Chatto & Windus (1942), chs. xi–xii.

different situations. Where in a stable and homogeneous society almost all social relations may be governed by one or two general principles, such as kinship, in a highly diversified society there will be a large number of such principles, none of them quite general. In these societies 'norms' cannot be discovered by inspection or haphazard comparison. More systematic methods are necessary, and that means the application of statistical concepts. This is taken for granted by students of European and American societies; and the value of statistical methods, of however elementary a nature, for the study of so-called simpler societies, has also been demonstrated by anthropologists,[1] but it is not generally accepted that they are essential for the study of social structure in all societies and that in fact they are nothing more than a refinement of the crude methods of comparison and induction commonly used. Statistical techniques are not essential and are perhaps even inappropriate in the study of social life from the cultural aspect.

The application of statistical concepts will show that the concept of 'structure' is most appropriately used for the kind of abstract or generalized description which Radcliffe-Brown calls 'structural form'. The concept 'form' is widely and somewhat indiscriminately used by ethnographers and social anthropologists. We speak of the form of the family or of marriage as being monogamous or polygamous.[2] Benedict[3] uses 'cultural forms' as the equivalent of 'patterns of culture'. The Wilsons[4] appear to regard *structure* and *form* as synonymous, structural form being contrasted with the cultural content of social relations. I myself[5] have described the Tallensi as having a society of segmentary form by contrast with societies having a pyramidal form of political structure. In general these uses of the term 'form' suggest that it might be restricted to refer to those characteristics of an arrangement of parts that distinguish it in its totality. Thus a subsistence economy based on fishing might be similar in form to one based on agriculture

[1] Cf. Raymond Firth, op. cit.; I. Schapera, *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, Lovedale: The Lovedale Press (1943).

[2] Cf. R. M. MacIver, *Society*, London: MacMillan (1937), p. 214: 'The family has no one original form in the sense of a specific primal type. . . .'

[3] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, London: Routledge (1935), ch. i, *passim*.

[4] G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1945), ch. iii.

[5] Fortes, op. cit., ch. xiii.

though there is a great difference between them in respect to their component parts.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF ASHANTI DOMESTIC ORGANIZATION

The importance of the methodological problems raised by Radcliffe-Brown can be illustrated by considering domestic organization in modern Ashanti.[2] I cannot here deal in detail with this subject, but I select one or two main problems for discussion.

In modern Ashanti, as elsewhere in Africa, social ties based on the recognition of genealogical connexions have a dual function in ordering social relations. On the one hand, matrilineal descent exclusively determines membership of the lineage. It is the localized, corporate group forming the basis of all political, jural, and ceremonial institutions. Membership of the matrilineage is *ipso facto* membership of a widely dispersed, exogamous clan.[3] Lineage and clan depend for their existence on continuity in time.

On the other hand, however, ties of kinship, marriage, and affinity regulate the structure of domestic and family groups, which have no permanent existence in time. Each domestic group comes into being, grows and expands, and finally dissolves. But the institutions it embodies, and the mode of organization it exhibits, are essential features of the social structure. Domestic organization has two aspects. Its form derives from a paradigm or cultural 'norm' sanctioned by law, religion, and moral values. Its structure is governed by internal changes as well as by changing relations, from year to year, with society at large.

Ashanti to-day is not a stable and homogeneous society. Occupational differentiation; stratification by income, education, and rank; geographical and social mobility; as well as

[1] As Firth argues, op. cit., p. 22.

[2] The data used in this paper are part of the results of the Ashanti Social Survey, 1945–6, a preliminary account of which is given in 'Ashanti Survey 1945–6', by Fortes, Steel, and Ady, *Geog. Journ.* cx. 4–6 (April 1948). Some of the statistical data cited are derived from census records collected in the field by Miss P. Ady, to whom I am also indebted for valuable suggestions for their analysis.

[3] The *loci classici* for Ashanti social organization are of course the splendid works of R. S. Rattray: *Ashanti* (1923); *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (1927); *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (1929), all Oxford: Clarendon Press. I shall, however, only cite Rattray if there is disagreement between my own field observations and his statements.

disparate values in religious belief, morality, law, and personal ideals, have produced a diversified and in parts unstable social system. One sign of this is that there *appears* to be no fixed norm of domestic grouping. The influence of processes of growth correlated with age, sex, social maturation, marriage, economic achievement, and so forth is marked in the structure of the domestic group. Thus the usual ethnographic method of describing domestic organization is not applicable.[1] Such 'blanket' terms as patrilocal and matrilocal are quite useless. As in our own society,[2] more rigorous methods of a statistical kind are necessary.

THE DATA USED

I shall use data from two rural areas in Ashanti, about thirty miles apart as the crow flies but not linked by modern roads. The social and cultural changes of the past thirty to forty years have led to variations, often of considerable extent, between one part of Ashanti and another. The two areas selected appear to include most of the variations observable in domestic organization outside the large towns and industrial centres.

The areas selected are the townships of Asokore and Agogo. Both places are the headquarters of subordinate chiefdoms of the Ashanti Confederacy. Such a chiefdom is under the authority of its own chief and his councillors, all locally elected. It consists of the capital township and a surrounding stretch of territory in which there are usually villages, hamlets, and scattered farms occupied by subjects of the chiefdom, very many of whom often have homes in the capital township as well.

The two chiefdoms are comparable in many respects. The economy of both is based on cocoa production, which reached

[1] It is of interest that Rattray, who gives very detailed, and as far as I have been able to ascertain, accurate information on kinship relations (in *Ashanti* and in *Ashanti Law and Constitution*), says almost nothing about domestic organization. In *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, p. 9, and in *Religion and Art*, p. 326, he implies that marriage and the family are patrilocal.

[2] And in other societies undergoing rapid social differentiation. Schapera and, following him, Ashton have shown that the conditions described above also apply among the Southern Bantu to-day. See I. Schapera, 'Social Structure of the Tswana Ward', *Bantu Studies*, ix. 3 (1935); and E. H. Ashton, 'The Social Structure of the Southern Sotho Ward', *Communications from the School of African Studies*, University of Cape Town, N.S., no. 15 (1946).

them about forty years ago; but Asokore is in an area of declining prosperity, whereas Agogo has maintained a higher standard of living. Missions and schools, modern commerce, British rule, and all the other agencies of Western influence have had about equal effect in both places. Between half and two-thirds of the people of both places claim to be Christians. A similar range of occupations and professions, varying from school-teachers and clerks at one extreme to immigrant sanitary labourers at the other, is found in both townships. One significant difference between them is in their geographical situations. Asokore lies in a thickly populated area twenty-five miles from Kumasi, the capital and largest modern city (pop. 70,000) of Ashanti, on an excellent motor road. Agogo is at the end of a second-class road eighteen miles from the mining centre of Konongo. Urban contacts and influences are therefore much stronger at Asokore than at Agogo.

More important are the differences between the two places in their political geography and recent history. Asokore township has a resident population of about 900. This is about a quarter of the population of the chiefdom, most of which is scattered among the outlying villages and hamlets. The population of Agogo township is just over 4,000, and this includes about two-thirds of the population of the chiefdom. As this suggests, Agogo is a more closely knit community than Asokore. Comparing the two places, the observer cannot help noticing that there is, at Agogo, a sense of unity and of corporate identity associated with pride in the achievements and antiquity of the chiefdom, which is missing at Asokore. Yet both townships are known to have been in existence for a long time, certainly not less than a century. Indeed genealogies are cited to show that the founding ancestors of the lineages occupying the townships at the present time came there some ten to twelve generations ago. This has a bearing on domestic organization. In a long-established township or village the maximal matrilineages which make up the community are clearly defined corporate groups, which until recently occupied distinct wards in the township. The most important political offices are vested in such lineages; and the most significant events in a person's life, marriage and death, both require the participation of the lineage acting as a corporate body.

The difference in internal cohesion between the two town-

ships has historical roots. Owing perhaps to its relative geographical isolation until recently, Agogo has escaped severe disturbance from outside for several generations. Asokore has been less fortunate. In 1870–1 Asokore was involved in a rebellion against the King of Ashanti. Its failure resulted in the dispersal of the people of the chiefdom. Some were sold into captivity, many fled across the frontiers into what is now the state of New Juaben, most of them scattered into the forests of the chiefdom. Some years later a number of the survivors returned to rebuild Asokore township. Thus to-day we find at Asokore only rump lineages, segments of maximal lineages whose members are scattered far and wide, whereas at Agogo we find that the majority of the members of any lineage have their permanent homes in the township.

THE DWELLING GROUP

The Ashanti live in rectangular houses clearly separated from one another. A dwelling-house (*fie*) is occupied by what I shall call a dwelling group. Ashanti domestic organization, nowadays, is very elastic. Not only do dwelling groups vary in composition at a given time, but their membership fluctuates from month to month as people move to and fro for farming or trade. Moreover, men and women who normally reside elsewhere pay frequent visits to the townships where their matrilineages are domiciled. They are then counted as full members of the matrilineage and domestic group. Citizenship is conferred by the fact of matrilineal descent, and an Ashanti always remains a subject of the chiefdom to which his matrilineage belongs. Indeed, women are obliged by traditional custom to return to their mothers' homes to bear their babies, and they generally do so still. To establish the norms regulating association in domestic groups it is important therefore to examine them at a time of the year when movement in and out of the townships is least. The data used were obtained at such a time. The records include a complete census of Asokore township and a census of one in four of the households of Agogo.

The most striking feature of Ashanti domestic life appears vividly in one of the common sights in any village or township. As night falls young boys and girls can be seen hurrying in all directions carrying large pots of cooked food. One can often

see food being carried out of a house and a few minutes later an almost equal amount of food being carried into it. The food is being taken by the children from the houses in which their mothers reside to those in which their fathers live. Thus one learns that husband and wife often belong to different domestic groups, the children perhaps sleeping in their mothers' houses and eating with their fathers. But inquiry shows that husband, wife, and children sometimes occupy the same dwelling. Frequently, however, the domestic group appears to consist of women only or of a miscellaneous assortment of men, women, and children.

Genealogical analysis shows that the norm is for the dwelling group to be a single kin group, that is, one in which the members are all connected with one another by kinship or marriage. Where more than one kin group occupies a dwelling this is due to parts of houses being let to non-relatives, a common practice in congested areas. At Agogo 90 per cent. of all dwelling-houses are occupied by single kin groups; at Asokore the proportion is 69 per cent., the remaining 31 per cent. of the houses having tenant families as well as the owners. This is one of many effects of the close urban contacts of Asokore.

The dwelling group does not, as a rule, have a common food-supply nor do its members pool their incomes for the common support. But the norm is for the dwelling group to consist of a single household in the social sense, that is, a group in which the rule holds that food and assistance are freely asked and given between members. In Ashanti every adult is expected to earn the major part of his or her livelihood, and this means that mutual aid occurs as an obligation of kinship, not as a part of domestic organization. It extends to kinsfolk outside the domestic unit, on the same terms as to those within it. Though the dwelling group is the most clear-cut domestic unit, Ashanti include other near kin, notably lineage kin, in their concept of the household. Hence the term *fie*, house, is used not only for the dwelling group but also for a segment of the maximal matrilineage.

GENERATION DEPTH

An important aspect of domestic organization is the normal duration of the unit. It is an index of the process of growth by which the physical and social replacement of one generation

by the next is assured and depends on the functions performed by the domestic unit in the rearing and education of children. In our society the domestic family seldom lasts more than one generation or, therefore, includes more than two successive generations. In both Agogo and Asokore, 45 per cent. of all households were of this kind; 55 per cent. included three or more generations, but only a small minority had more than three generations. No doubt this is influenced by a low rate of survival till old age. The net result, in any case, is that the domestic group tends to last only as long as its members are bound to one another by direct, first-order[1] kinship ties. This is correlated with the fact that continuity in the social structure, so far as it depends on the recognition of genealogical connexions, is maintained by the lineage system.

THE HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Genealogical analysis shows that the position of household head (*fie panin*) is the key to the most important features of domestic structure. Both men and women occupy this position, and Ashanti maintain that there is complete equality between them in this respect. They say also that the head of a dwelling group is normally the most senior by age, generation, or status of the members. This follows from the rule that seniority carries authority and commands respect. But it is also a basic rule in Ashanti social and political organization that seniority alone does not automatically confer positions of authority. A household head must have the necessary personal qualities to command the respect and adherence of the group and, in particular, he must have the means to maintain his station. A person of junior genealogical or legal status can also be a household head. Much depends on how the position is acquired; and the main factor in this is possession of the dwelling-house. This may be acquired by inheritance, bequest, or gift; but in very many cases it is the result of personal economic achievement.[2] An independent household is very often set up by the head's building or buying a dwelling-house. This may take place for occupational reasons, on marriage, or simply because the person has the

[1] That is, relationships of the order of parent and child or sibling and sibling. The statements made here are supported by statistical evidence which will be published elsewhere.

[2] Few dwelling-houses in townships like Agogo and Asokore are more than thirty years old.

money. Thus a young man may be *de facto* owner of the house, but his mother may live with him and be recognized as titular head. The head's position is primarily a status in relation to which co-operation, harmony, and cohesion are maintained in the group. He has no control over the other adult members in economic affairs, and can exercise rights over their persons or property only with the consent of the lineage segment concerned.

Examination of the field data shows that practice conforms to the ideal, the norm being for the household head to belong to the oldest generation in the group. In two-generation groups this is invariably the case; when three or more generations are represented in the domestic unit, we find that this rule holds for 91 per cent. of cases at Asokore and for 80 per cent. of the cases at Agogo; and it is of interest to note that there are no differences in this respect between male and female heads.

At Asokore 60 per cent. of all household heads are men, at Agogo only 53 per cent. This difference may be due to sampling variations, but it is also consistent with differences in household structure which will be discussed presently and which are correlated with differences in the total social structure of the two places.

The following table throws further light on the position of the household head.

TABLE 1. *Age Distribution of Household Heads, in Years*[1]

		20–4	*25–30*	*31–40*	*41–50*	*Over 51*	*Totals*
Male heads							
Asokore	No.	1	10	12	13	25	61
„	%	*2*	*16*	*20*	*21*	*41*	*100*
Male heads							
Agogo	No.	..	6	19	14	25	64
„	%	..	*9*	*30*	*22*	*39*	*100*
Female heads							
Asokore	No.	2	5	6	6	18	37
„	%	*5*	*14*	*16*	*16*	*49*	*100*
Female heads							
Agogo	No.	1	5	12	11	28	57
„	%	*2*	*9*	*21*	*19*	*49*	*100*

[1] Special care was taken to secure age estimates correct to within about three years.

Too much importance must not be attached to the detailed figures, as the samples are small. The broad picture, however, is clear. In both places just over 60 per cent. of the male heads and rather more than 65 per cent. of the female heads are over 41. By contrast it is almost impossible for a man or a woman to become a head before the age of 25. At Agogo, in fact, it is rare for this to be possible before the age of 30. At Asokore the position seems attainable at an earlier age than at Agogo.

The following table lends point to this conclusion.

TABLE 2. *Percentage of each Age-group in the Population who are Household Heads*

Age-group	*20–4*	*25–30*	*31–40*	*41–50*	*Over 51*	*Total*
Males						
Asokore . . .	5	40	41	65	93	50
Agogo	0	21	38	47	57	35
Females						
Asokore . . .	5	13	14	21	64	20
Agogo	2	10	20	19	42	19

From this table it appears that men have twice as much chance as women of becoming household heads. It seems also that Asokore men achieve the position more readily than Agogo men at all ages. The latter are content to remain members of older relatives' households to a greater measure and for longer periods than the former. Other evidence confirms this and indicates that it is due to the greater strength of lineage ties at Agogo than at Asokore. There is little difference among the women of the two places except in the oldest age-group. It seems that four out of five women remain dependent members of households for most of their lives and that they only become free to set up their own households after they have passed the child-bearing years. These figures give a measure of the influence of differences in social and economic opportunities associated with sex. They also show that a factor of growth, correlated with age, influences domestic structure.

HEADSHIP AND SOCIAL MATURATION

The processes symbolized by the correlation of headship of households with sex and age cannot be discovered by statistical means. They are processes of social maturation in the individual

taking place in relation to the changing structure of the domestic unit. Some of the variables involved have general incidence, others are very restricted. For example, Ashanti lay great stress on the economic circumstances which enable a person to set up an independent household. Indeed every Ashanti, man or woman, aspires to have his or her own house. But it is only in periods of exceptional prosperity that a man can achieve the means for this before middle age. Though women in theory have the same economic opportunities and legal status as men, in practice their freedom is less. Thus their civic status is, in fact, subject to limitations from which men are free. Except for queen mothers, women cannot hold political office. Women have the right to express their views freely in lineage affairs; but they cannot be elected to the headship of a lineage.[1] Women occasionally become wealthy and many own more property than their menfolk; but in general the responsibilities of motherhood while the children are young are a handicap to economic achievement. So it is more common for a woman to become the head of a household as a result of her son's building a house for her than by her own efforts. In fact, as will be clearer presently, a woman becomes head of a household primarily in virtue of maternal kinship ties. It is rare for a woman without offspring to be able to gather a household around her.

Among many motives influencing men to set up their own household are Ashanti ideas of dignity. A young man does not mind residing with an older brother or his father or his mother's brother. A man of middle age would regard this as unbecoming. Of course no man of means would be content to live as a dependent member of a brother's or mother's brother's household. He would be expected to take responsibility for young members of his mother's lineage segment, and in particular, to have a house where some or all could live. One of the strongest motives is the desire, among both men and women, for domestic independence of the effective minimal lineage consisting of the children and daughters' children of one woman (as is apparent from Table 7*a*).

[1] Women are barred from holding political office on account of the menstrual taboos. Menstruant women are forbidden contact with sacred objects; and political office, like headship of the lineage, is connected with the ancestral stools and involves religious duties on occasions such as the Adae ceremonies. See Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, ch. vii.

For both men and women marriage is a turning-point in social maturation. In Ashanti only men and women suffering from serious physical or mental infirmity remain unmarried. The mean age of first marriage is between 25 and 30 for men and between 15 and 20 for women. Until marriage both men and women are regarded as not fully adult and accept their position of dependence on senior relatives. After marriage the ideal is for a man to have his own home and to have his wife and children living with him. But this ideal is less often realized than Ashanti believe. Even though it is nowadays buttressed by Christian teaching, which has a wide influence, the ideal of the 'patrilocal' family as the normal domestic group has not wholly asserted itself. The bonds of matrilineal kinship work too strongly against it.

FORMS OF DOMESTIC UNIT

Genealogical data from Asokore and Agogo (and these are confirmed by data from other rural areas) show that three forms of domestic unit can apparently be distinguished[1] by inspection, as follows:

A. Households grouped around a husband and wife. In the simplest case this corresponds to the elementary family consisting of a man, his wife, and their children; but other kinsfolk may be included in the group.

B. Households grouped around an effective minimal matrilineage or part of it, such as a woman and her sister or daughters, or a man and his sister or sister's son.

C. Households made up of combinations of the previous types, e.g. a household consisting of a man and his wife and children as well as his sister's children.

In addition there are generally in every village a few miscellaneous dwelling groups consisting either of remnants of larger households or of an assortment of kinsfolk living together for convenience.

This classification follows the usual ethnographic practice. Family histories show that these three 'types' are not a result of culture contact but were certainly common fifty years ago. The

[1] The effect of polygyny is ignored in this analysis, as it is not a significant factor. Polygynists sometimes have one or more of their wives living with them in a 'patrilocal' household, though it is generally agreed that it is better for the wives to live apart in order to avoid jealousy and friction.

classification can be simplified if it is reformulated by reference to the focal position of the head in the structure of the domestic group. We see, then, that households with male heads can be: (*a*) 'patrilocal', that is, made up of a man and his dependants by marriage and paternity; or (*b*) 'avunculo-local', that is, consisting of a man and his dependants by matrilineal kinship; or (*c*) a mixture of the two. Similarly, households with female heads can be: (*a*) 'matrilocal', that is, made up of a woman and her dependants by marriage and motherhood; or (*b*) 'matrilineal', consisting of a woman and her dependants by matrilineal kinship; or (*c*) a combination of the two. This way of stating the facts has the merit of drawing attention to the factors that appear to underlie the variations in type. One factor is the attainment of headship of a household, another is marriage and parenthood, a third is matrilineal kinship; and it can be suggested that the type of domestic unit found in a particular case is a result of the balance struck between the obligations of marriage and parenthood on the one hand and those due to matrilineal kin on the other. But we can go farther if we resort to more detailed numerical analysis.

KINSHIP IN THE DOMESTIC UNIT

The problem is: How are the members of a household normally connected with the head of the group? By Ashanti law and custom, one's mother's home—that is, by definition, the place where one's matrilineage is domiciled—is one's true home. A person therefore has a moral, if not a legal, right to house-room in the house of any member of his matrilineage. This is associated with the corporate status of the lineage, and the closer the lineage tie the more precisely legal is this right. But Ashanti say, also, that a person can claim house-room in the house of a patrilateral kinsman and that it is morally unforgivable[1] to refuse him even though it is legally permissible to do so. While, however, lineage ties are recognized in relation to common ascendants up to ten or twelve generations back, patrilateral ties are rarely known or recognized (among commoners) in relation to ascendants more than four generations back.

[1] It would be an affront to the spirits of common patrilateral ancestors; and though Christian Ashanti would not put it this way they nevertheless accept the principle.

In theory, then, a dwelling group can include a wide range of kinsfolk. We find, in fact, that if the population we are dealing with is classified in accordance with their exact genealogical relationships with the heads of their respective households, they fall into the following numbers of groups:

Asokore males: 35 groups Agogo males: 42 groups
„ females: 30 „ „ females: 47 „

If these are rearranged according to native classificatory categories, they fall into ten groups. The range includes lineal kin from mother's mother to daughter's daughter's child of the household head, and a great variety of collateral kin. But many of the latter occur only once or twice in the combined sample of 1,676 (715 males and 961 females, exclusive of heads). In fact, about 90 per cent. of the members of households are close kin connected with the head by one (e.g. sister's son) or at most two (e.g. mother's sister's son) intermediate links.

The following table elucidates this argument. To simplify comparison the frequencies in each cell are given as approximate percentages of the total sample for each township.

TABLE 3. *Classification of Members of Households by Kinship with Head*

As. = *Asokore* (percentages of total sample of 711 = 324 males plus 387 females).
Ag. = *Agogo* („ „ „ „ „ 965 = 391 „ „ 574 „).

	Members living in households with								*Totals living with*			
	Male heads				*Female heads*							
	Lineage kin		*Non-lineage kin*		*Lineage kin*		*Non-lineage kin*		*Male heads*		*Female heads*	
	As.	*Ag.*	*As.*	*Ag.*	*As.*	*Ag.*	*As.*	*Ag.*	*As.*	*Ag.*	*As.*	*Ag.*
Male members	9	12	20	10	16	15	2	4	28	22	17	19
Female members	7	16	26	17	18	22	3	5	33	32	22	27
Totals . .	16	28	46	26	34	37	5	9	61	54	39	46

Non-lineage kin, in the above table, includes all members of households who are related to the head by marriage or paternity. Sons and daughters living with both parents in 'patrilocal' households, as well as their offspring, are included in this category. 'Lineage kin' includes all matrilineal kinsfolk.

It must be stressed again that too much importance must not be attached to the actual figures. The general picture is, however, clear, and it is significant that there is good agreement

between the two samples. We see that a substantially larger proportion of people of both sexes live in households under male heads than in households with female heads. This is consistent with the greater relative incidence of male heads in the population as well as with the more favourable and influential status of men in economic and legal matters. A point of special interest, though, is the very small difference in favour of male heads at Agogo by contrast with their large excess at Asokore. It seems that the balance of authority between the sexes in the domestic sphere is almost equal at Agogo, whereas men have the lead at Asokore. This is consistent with the greater strength of lineage solidarity at Agogo, to which attention was drawn earlier.

A striking feature, in both places, is the very small proportion of non-lineage kin living under the domestic jurisdiction of female heads. Genealogical analysis shows, in fact, that households under female heads are segments of a matrilineage (see Tables 7*a* and 7*b*). This is in keeping with Ashanti kinship and jural values. For a man to live in his wife's house is considered to be contemptible and only five cases, all the result of peculiar circumstances, occur in our total sample. But it is no disgrace for a man to live in his mother's or his uterine sister's house. Through the whole gamut of social relations in Ashanti there is no tie so fundamental and so strong as that of mother and child. Though it has the sanction of the whole of customary law, on account of the dominance of the principle of matrilineal descent, Ashanti think of it as an ultimate and irreducible moral and psychological fact which needs no sanctions.[1] A woman and her children constitute the indissoluble core of Ashanti social organization. A woman's primary responsibility is for her own children; her devotion to them outweighs everything else in life; and they, in turn, never question her position of privilege and respect.

An important structural principle springs from this. The members of the matricentral group, the mother as well as her children, seek to assert its autonomy wherever possible, and to maintain its unity as long as the social relations created within it survive. Full autonomy is reached when the mother, if she lives long enough, or one of the sons, or, less commonly, daughters, becomes head of a household. Inevitably, therefore,

[1] These ideas are graphically expressed in many Ashanti proverbs and maxims.

a household under a female head must be a matrilineage segment. It follows also that the majority of the non-lineage members of such a household must be, as analysis shows them to be, the children of brothers or sons of the head, whose wives are living with them (see Tables 6 and 7).

A matricentral household maintains its unity as long as the head survives, which may be till the third or at most fourth generation. When she dies her children may wish to separate into independent units. At Asokore this tendency is marked owing to the instability of the lineage organization and the opportunities for individual enterprise offered by the nearby city. At Agogo the social structure and the economic environment favour matrilineal solidarity, and the group often lasts as long as any of the original head's children survive. Thus we find relatively few cases of adult brothers and sisters residing together at Asokore, whereas it is quite common at Agogo, as can be seen from Table 4.

To sum up, the matricentral household is the farthest extension in time of the elementary matricentral cell of mother and children, its duration being to a large degree conditioned by the possibility of its members having direct contact with, and experience of dependence on the original head.

Households under male heads present a different picture. At Asokore they have more than twice as many non-lineage as lineage kin among the male members and nearly four times as many among the female members. At Agogo the two classes of kin are about equal, as might be expected from what we know of the greater strength of lineage ties there.

The following tables help to elucidate the picture.

These tables include males and females of all ages from infancy to old age. It is worth noting that the majority belong to the next succeeding (i.e. filial) generation after the heads (cf. also Tables 6 and 7). But what is most significant is the apparent contrast between Asokore and Agogo. The striking preponderance of sisters' uterine grandchildren, sisters' children, and mothers at Agogo as compared with Asokore testifies to the strength of the matricentral unit over a long stretch of time. This appears also from the figures which show that in both places collateral kin beyond the range of the lineage sprung from the head's own mother are rarer at Asokore than at Agogo.

The key relationships in the household under male heads

TABLE 4. *Classification of Members of Households with Male Heads (excluding Heads)*

A. MALE MEMBERS

	Asokore		*Agogo*	
	Number	*Per cent.*	*Number*	*Per cent.*
I. *Lineage kin*				
Full brothers	6	3	15	7
Full sisters' sons	38	19	56	27
Classificatory sisters' sons	3	1·5	..	.. (*a*)
Sisters' daughters' sons	7	3·5	30	14
Other matrilineal kin	9	4·5	16	8 (*b*)
Total I	63	31·5	117	56
II. *Non-lineage kin*				
Own sons	94	47	61	29
Daughters' sons	24	12	10	5
Other patrilateral kin	16	8	13	6
Miscellaneous kin	4	2	10	5
Total II	138	69	94	45
Total I and II	201	100	211	100

(*a*) Mainly mothers' sisters' daughters' sons.
(*b*) Includes a number of mothers' brothers.

B. FEMALE MEMBERS

	Asokore			*Agogo*		
	Number	*Per cent.*		*Number*	*Per cent.*	
I. *Lineage kin*						
Full sisters	14	9 (*c*)	6 (*d*)	24	9 (*c*)	8 (*d*)
Full sisters' daughters	26	16	11	71	26	23
Classificatory sisters' daughters	..	..	..	18	7	6
Sisters' daughters' daughters	1	1	0·4	15	6	5
Other matrilineal kin	8	5	3 (*f*)	7 38	3 14	2 (*e*) 12 (*f*)
Total I	49	31	20	173	65	56
II. *Non-lineage kin*						
Daughters	83	52	36	64	24	20
Daughters' daughters	23	15	10	17	6	5
Other patrilineal kin	3	2	1	15	6	5
Total II	109	69	47	96	36	30
III. *Spouses and affines*						
Wives	71		31	46		15
Wives' kin	5		2	..		..
Total III	76		33	46		15
Totals I II and III	234	100	100	315	100	100

(*c*) Percentages exclusive of wives and their kin.
(*d*) Percentages including wives and their kin.
(*e*) Mostly more distant than mothers' mothers' descendants.
(*f*) About half are mothers and mothers' sisters.

are obvious (see italicized figures). They are the relations of husband and wife, brother and sister, father and child, uncle and sister's child. Conjugal and paternal ties must tend to go together, as a woman living with her husband very likely has her young children with her. But a man may have his child in his household though its mother lives apart. This applies even more to his sister's child.

At Asokore there is preponderant stress, in these households, on the conjugal and parental relationships; at Agogo there is practically equal balance between them and the tie with sisters and their children. But in both places (as throughout Ashanti) the structure of the household under a male head is the resultant of the balance struck between these two classes of social bonds.

FORM AND STRUCTURE

One conclusion is obvious. We are dealing not with two 'types' or 'forms' of domestic organization but with variations of a single 'form' arising out of quantitative differences in the relations between the parts that make up the structure. We can imagine a scale varying from perfect 'patrilocality' at one end to perfect 'avunculo-locality' at the other. The normal or modal Agogo household would come about half-way between the extremes, and the modal Asokore household about half-way between the centre and the 'patrilocal' end. Individual households are scattered all along the scale; and over a stretch of time a particular household may change its position through the loss of some kinsfolk and the accession of others. In simpler terms, the norm for Asokore is that when a man is head of a household he has his wife and children living with him even if this means excluding his maternal kin, whereas at Agogo he compromises so that neither side is favoured at the expense of the other.

The dynamics of this process can be understood in terms of Ashanti kinship values. As in other matrilineal societies there is a polar relationship between the ties of matrilineal kinship and those of marriage and parenthood. This is manifested in Ashanti legal and religious institutions as well as in emotional attitudes and individual prejudices. Ashanti discuss the subject interminably, stressing especially the inevitability of conflicting loyalties. For a woman the conflict turns on the difficulties of reconciling attachment to her mother with duty to her husband.

A man feels it most in relation to his own children and his sister's children. For both it is epitomized in the contrast between the mutual trust and loyalty of brother and sister and the notorious hazards of marriage.

Matrilineal descent has a compelling influence on conduct, because it is the basis of the lineage and therefore determines political allegiance, rights of succession and inheritance, the regulation and validation of marriage, and corporate support in such crises as death and, nowadays, economic distress. A man is legally obliged to consider the interests of his sister's children because he is their legal guardian and they are his potential heirs. He is morally impelled to care for them because they ensure the continuation of the lineage segment sprung from his mother. But exceptional importance is also attached to paternity—though patriliny is not legally recognized—in law, in religion, and in personal relations. It is considered to be a father's duty to bring up and equip his children for life. His love for them and pride in them are often stronger than his legally enjoined responsibility for his sister's children. Ashanti say that the traditional compromise is for a man to have his children living with him till adolescence and then to let them go to their mother's brother. They describe cross-cousin marriage as a device by which men try to unite their love of their children with their loyalty to their maternal kin. These norms and attitudes have their counterparts in the norms of filial duty (e.g. children have to provide their father's coffin), respect, and affection, the spontaneity of which is often contrasted with the obligatory duty and respect towards the uncle. Christianity and modern changes have aggravated but not created these tensions.[1] It is of great significance that there is not a single case, in either township, of a man and his wife's brother sharing a dwelling. This structural arrangement prevents intolerable conflicts of loyalties. In the domestic environment a child is never confronted with both men of the parental generation who have authority over him.

THE TIME FACTOR: WIVES

I have emphasized that Ashanti domestic structure changes over time in a manner analogous to growth. Does this influence

[1] As Ashanti themselves point out, and as can be seen from Rattray's penetrating description in *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, chs. i–vii.

the kind of compromise reflected in domestic organization at a particular time? It may be, for instance, that while her children are young a woman prefers to reside with her husband, but that when they grow up she prefers her own matricentral household. The residence of wives is a key issue in this. If none of them resides with her husband there can be no 'patrilocal' household. Since social maturation is correlated with age, an analysis of the connexion between age and residence of wives may throw light on the problem. This is done in the following table:

TABLE 5. *Age, Residence, and Marital Status of Women*

Age-group (years)		*Married*				*Not married (including widows and divorced women)*		*Totals*	
		Living with husband		*Not living with husband (a)*					
		As.	*Ag.*	*As.*	*Ag.*	*As.*	*Ag.*	*As.*	*Ag.*
16–20:	No.	6	8	14	30	32	23	52	61
	%	*12*	*13*	*27*	*49*	*61*	*38*	*100*	*100*
21–5:	No.	20	10	13	39	11	15	44	64
	%	*45*	*16*	*30*	*61*	*25*	*23*	*100*	*100*
26–30:	No.	18 (56)	6 (30)	15 (45)	33 (103)	5 (26)	12 (42)	38	51
	%	*47* (*44*)	*12* (*17*)	*40* (*36*)	*65* (*59*)	*13* (*20*)	*22* (*24*)	*100*	*100*
31–40:	No.	18	14	17	31	10	15	45	60
	%	*40*	*23*	*38*	*52*	*22*	*25*	*100*	*100*
41–50:	No.	9	15	11	19	9	23	29	57
	%	*31* (18)	*26* (22)	*38* (15)	*33* (35)	*31* (25)	*40* (66)	*100*	*100*
Over 50:	No.	9	7	4	16	16	43	28	66
	%	*32* (*31*)	*11* (*19*)	*14* (*26*)	*24* (*28*)	*57* (*44*)	*65* (*53*)	*100*	*100*
Totals . .		80	60	74	168	83	131	236	359

As. = Asokore. Ag. = Agogo.
(*a*) The majority living with close maternal kin.

Sampling and other errors make it necessary to treat the specific frequencies with reserve. Nevertheless the general trend brings out clearly the effect of social maturation. During the first two or three years of wifehood the great majority of young wives continue to reside with their own kin. Young and inexperienced, they cling to their mothers. As they advance in maturity the pull of conjugal ties increases and reaches its maximum at the peak of the child-bearing years, in the thirties. By this

time they have perhaps three children, for whom it is an advantage to be under their father's care. Finally, when their child-bearing years are over and their children are grown up, the desire to establish their own households becomes strong in many women, the more so if they are widowed or divorced.

But it must be remembered that attachment to the maternal home, the pull of conjugal ties, and the desire for independence are all active throughout a woman's and indeed a man's life. Local norms arising out of the total social structure of the community are important. The bias at Asokore is in favour of conjugal ties, but so strong are the ties of matrilineal kinship that nearly half of all the married women, even at the peak of the child-bearing years, prefer to live with their own kin. At Agogo, in keeping with what we have already learnt, the pull of matrilineal kinship is three times as strong as that of marriage, at the peak of child-bearing. Indeed, the norm at Agogo is so markedly against a wife's living with her husband that special circumstances must be looked for to explain the exceptions. Cross-cousin marriage is one such factor. Among 41 Agogo wives living with their husbands, 17, or nearly half, were found to be their husbands' cross-cousins. These data support the Ashanti rationalization of cross-cousin marriage. Investigation also shows that nearly half of the Asokore women who live separately from their husbands reside with their mothers, and if those who live with both parents are added the proportion comes to 65 per cent. The corresponding figures for Agogo are 35 and 43 per cent., a further 32 per cent. living with collateral lineage kin, which is rare at Asokore. At Asokore, as ethnographic inquiry confirms, it appears that it is specifically the attachment of a woman to her mother rather than, as at Agogo, more inclusive lineage solidarity, that deters her from residing with her husband.

THE TIME FACTOR: CHILDREN

From the foregoing analysis it appears that the possession and the ages of children are also significant factors in domestic structure. This problem is examined in the tables on pp. 79–80, which show the age-distribution of all members of households who stand in a filial relationship to the head. They include 98 per cent. of all children under 15 in the two samples.

TABLE 6a. *Age and Relationship to Head of Filial Members of Households under Male Heads*

	A. *Patrilateral kin*						B. *Matrilineal kin*									
			Brothers' and sons' (b)		*Daughters'*		*Sisters' (c)*		*Sisters' daughters'*		*Other matrilineal kin*		*Total*		*Total*	
Age-group	*Sons (a)*	*Daughters (a)*	*S*	*D*	*S*	*D*	*S*	*D*	*S*	*D*	*M*	*F*	*A*	*B*	*M*	*F*
Asokore																
Under 15	73	62	7	0	18	22	26	13	7	1	4	3	182	54	135	101
16–25	17	16	5	2	6	0	11	7	0	0	2	1	46	21	41	26
26–40	4	5	3	1	0	1	3	4	0	0	2	2	14	11	12	13
Over 40	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	2	1	6	3	4
Total As.	94	83	16	3	24	23	41	26	7	1	9	8	243	92	191	144
Agogo																
Under 15	43	42	5	21	7	14	27	36	30	30	7	4	123	134	119	138
16–25	12	14	6	2	3	3	13	19	0	2	3	0	40	37	37	40
26–40	6	6	1	1	0	0	15	15	0	1	4	3	14	38	26	26
Over 40	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	3	4	4	3
Total Ag.	61	64	13	15	10	17	56	71	30	33	16	7	180	213	186	207

(*a*) Approximately 80 per cent. at Asokore and 70 per cent. at Agogo living with both parents.
(*b*) Including a few classificatory kin in these classes.
(*c*) Including a few classificatory sisters' sons.
As. = Asokore. Ag. = Agogo. S. = Sons. D. = Daughters. M. = Males. F. = Females.

TABLE 6b. *Proportions of Own Children and Sisters' Children living in Households of Male Heads*

ASOKORE

Age-group (years)	*Sons*	*Daughters*	*Sisters' sons*	*Sisters' daughters*	*Other males*	*Other females*	*Total*	
							Males	*Females*
Under 15:								
No.	73	62	26	13	36	26	135	101
%	*54*	*62*	*19*	*13*	*27*	*25*	*100*	*100*
Over 15:								
No.	21	21	15	13	20	9	56	43
%	*38*	*50*	*27*	*30*	*35*	*20*	*100*	*100*

AGOGO

Under 15:								
No.	43	42	27	36	49	60	119	138
%	*36*	*30*	*23*	*26*	*41*	*44*	*100*	*100*
Over 15:								
No.	18	22	29	35	20	12	67	69
%	*27*	*32*	*43*	*57*	*30*	*11*	*100*	*100*

% shows the percentage of sons, sisters' sons, and other males in relation to all males of the age-group, and the same for females of each class. Thus at Asokore sons comprise 54 per cent. of all males under 15 and 38 per cent. of all males over 15; daughters are 62 per cent. of all females under 15 and 50 per cent. of all females over 15.

TABLE 7a. *Relationship to Head of Filial Members living under Female Heads*

Age-group (years)	A. Patrilateral kin		B. Matrilineal kin								Totals		Totals	
	Brothers' and sons'		Sons (a)	Daughters (a)	Sisters'		Daughters' and sisters' daughters'		Other matrilineal kin					
	S	D			S	D	S	D	M	F	A	B	M	F
Asokore														
Under 15 . .	7	5	32	28	1	2	45	41	0	0	12	149	85	76
16–25 . . .	2	3	10	21	1	1	8	13	0	0	5	54	21	38
26–40 . . .	0	0	9	15	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	28	9	19
Over 40 . .	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	4
Total As. .	9	8	52	68	2	3	53	58	0	0	17	236	116	137
Agogo														
Under 15 . .	5	10	36	35	13	10	59	75	2	1	15	231	115	131
16–25 . . .	1	5	14	34	1	2	7	11	1	7	6	77	24	59
26–40 . . .	0	2	8	24	3	2	0	4	6	5	2	52	17	37
Over 40 . .	0	0	4	8	0	0	0	0	4	5	0	21	8	13
Total Ag. .	6	17	62	101	17	14	66	90	13	18	23	381	164	240

(a) Approximately 85 per cent. at both places living with mother only, father living separately.
As. = Asokore. Ag. = Agogo. *S.* = Sons. *D.* = Daughters.

TABLE 7b. *Proportions of Own Children living in Households of Female Heads*

ASOKORE

Age-group (years)	Sons	Daughters	Other males	Other females	Total	
					Males	Females
Under 15: No.	32	28	53	48	85	76
%	*38*	*37*	*62*	*63*	*100*	*100*
Over 15: No.	20	40	11	21	31	61
%	*65*	*66*	*35*	*34*	*100*	*100*

AGOGO

Under 15: No.	36	35	79	96	115	131
%	*31*	*27*	*69*	*73*	*100*	*100*
Over 15: No.	26	66	23	43	49	109
%	*53*	*60*	*47*	*40*	*100*	*100*

In both Agogo and Asokore between 65 and 70 per cent. of the filial members of households under male heads are children under 15. For households under female heads the proportions are: 73 per cent. of the males and 55 per cent. of the females at Asokore; 70 per cent. of the males and 55 per cent. of the females at Agogo. Clearly the local bias in domestic structure does not affect the rule that the majority of dependent members of a household are pre-adolescent children.

In households under male heads, moreover, it is the relationship to the head that counts and sex is not significant. In households under female heads, on the other hand, female dependants tend to stay on in adulthood to the same extent as in childhood. This is in keeping with what we have already learnt of the cohesion of the matricentral unit through time. The household under a male head disperses gradually as the children grow up.

The crucial question is the respective place of own children and matrilineal dependants in household structure at different stages of social maturation. As these two classes of kin are merged into one in households under female heads the responsibility of the head is not divided between the potentially rival claims of own children and sister's children. A woman's brothers' or sons' children hardly come into the picture, as she has no jural status in relation to them. Hence a household under a woman head consists almost entirely of her matrilineal kin. As she is generally elderly (cf. Table 1) the majority of her adult filial dependants must be her own children, as Tables 7*a* and 7*b* show, while those under 15 are bound to consist mainly of her (and her sisters') uterine grandchildren. These tables confirm the view that an adult will only stay in a household under a female head if she is his or her own mother or, less commonly, mother's sister; and a man will generally try to establish his own household rather than stay on as a dependant in a woman's household. Hence we find that only 1 in 10 of the male dependants in households with female heads is over 25 at Asokore, the corresponding figure for Agogo being about 1 in 7. Thus in general terms the norm is that the structure of a woman's household is based primarily on her children, especially her daughters, and it is very little affected by their social maturation. This norm, moreover, holds independently

of the bias arising from the relative weight of conjugal ties and matrilineal ties by local standards. Conjugal ties are almost wholly excluded.

Households under male heads appear to present a different emphasis. Patrilateral dependants are as significant as matrilineal dependants, in fact more so at Asokore. But the important point is that these patrilateral adherents consist almost entirely of the children of the head. Their presence in the household is, however, markedly influenced by factors that are marginal in the structure of women's households; firstly, by the local bias in regard to conjugal and paternal ties; secondly, by the factor of social maturation; and thirdly, by the divided jural role of the head as father and uncle.

The local bias comes out in the contrast between the figures for Asokore and for Agogo. In keeping with our previous conclusions it is clear that a man's household at Asokore is much more likely to be based on his own than on his sisters' children, whereas at Agogo the chances of its being based on own children and on sisters' children are about equal. The decisive element, however, is not the desire of a man to have his children with him, though this is very influential. It is the fact of his wife's residing with him. This can be inferred from the observation that the great majority of children who live with their father do so because their mothers are living there. This inference is strengthened by the large proportion of sons and daughters in the under-15 age-group at Asokore where, as we know, the incidence of wives living with their husbands is very high (Table 4). The basic rule is that pre-adolescent children reside where their mothers live. The majority of pre-adolescent sisters' children also live under their mothers' immediate care. It is significant that a large proportion of the 16–25-year-old girls in this sample are daughters of the household heads, and the evidence previously brought forward shows that young women of this age stay either with their mothers or with their husbands. Thus the rule just stated works in favour of the 'patrilocal' household where conjugal ties are stressed and in favour of the matrilineal household where matrilineal ties are stressed.

But perhaps the most interesting figures in these tables are those showing the proportions of sons and daughters to sisters' sons and daughters. There is a substantial drop in both places

in the proportion of sons and daughters residing with their fathers after adolescence, and an increase—by nearly 100 per cent. at Agogo—in that of sisters' sons and daughters. The Ashanti generalization that children stay with their fathers till adolescence and then move to their mothers' brothers seems to be borne out. But account must also be taken of the desire of men to establish their own households. Sons are under greater pressure to do this than sisters' sons, since they have no rights of inheritance in their fathers' houses, whereas the latter have in their uncles' houses. The proportion of the former in the households of male heads therefore declines more rapidly than the proportion of the latter after adolescence, as can be seen from the tables. This applies to daughters and sisters' daughters also. A married woman whose mother is dead has no inducement to stay on in her father's house where her children have no legal rights, but she may well do so in her uncle's house where she and her children have a legal right to use and inherit house-room and to corporate support in their affairs.

CONCLUSION

I have endeavoured to show in this essay that elementary statistical analysis is indispensable for the elucidation of certain problems of social structure that arise in a society which is in process of becoming socially diversified. The futility of blanket-terms like 'patrilocality' and 'matrilocality' in this context is obvious. The use of numerical data has enabled us to see that Ashanti domestic organization is the result of the interaction of a number of fairly precisely defined factors operating both at a given time and over a stretch of time. Granted the dominance of the rule of matrilineal descent and the recognition of paternity in Ashanti law and values, the sex of the household head is the factor of first importance. It determines the main possibilities of the arrangement of kinsfolk in the domestic unit in relation to the polar values of 'matricentral' and 'patricentral' grouping. The other factors are the tendency to seek a compromise between the opposed ties of marriage and parenthood on the one hand and those of matrilineal kinship on the other; and the ideal that every mature person, especially a man, should have his own household. How these factors interact depends, among other things, on local social conditions and

historical circumstances. The domestic arrangements I have described are only possible in the long-established, relatively stable capital townships of chiefdoms, where both spouses in every marriage are equally at home. In new villages the ordinary patrilocal household is more common.

This investigation arose out of a consideration of some of Radcliffe-Brown's most recent views on the nature of social structure; that it leads to conclusions not altogether in agreement with his generalizations is a tribute to their significance. Our investigation shows that elementary statistical procedures reduce apparently discrete 'types' or 'forms' of domestic organization in Ashanti to the differential effects of identical principles in varying local, social contexts. This makes an assessment of the factors underlying the 'norms' possible; and it also enables us to relate the 'norms' to one another and to the apparent 'types' of domestic organization by taking into account the effect of time as an index of growth. 'Structure' thus appears as an arrangement of parts brought about by the operation, through a period of time, of principles of social organization which have general validity in a particular society.

MEYER FORTES

NUER RULES OF EXOGAMY AND INCEST[1]

THE Nuer word *rual* means both incest and the misfortune which it causes. Syphilis and certain forms of yaws are believed to be especially a consequence of incest, though retribution may come in any form, from wild beasts, a spear, drowning, sickness, &c. These misfortunes can sometimes be avoided by sacrifice. On the other hand, they may fall not only on the partners to the sin (*dwer*) but also on their closest relatives, so that a man who commits incest may render himself responsible for homicide as well.

RULES OF EXOGAMY

When it is forbidden to a man to have relations with a woman he may not, of course, marry her, and it will be simpler to begin this account by stating the rules of exogamy. Marriage is not permitted between clansfolk, close cognates, close natural kinsfolk, close kinsfolk by adoption, close affines, and persons who stand to one another as fathers and daughters in the age-set system.

A man may not marry a clanswoman and *a fortiori* a woman of his lineage. Agnatic kinship is recognized between some clans but it does not constitute a bar to intermarriage. The relationship is considered to be very distant and, in any case, the ancestor of the fraternal clans is believed to have cut an ox in twain to permit intermarriage between the descendants of his sons. Nuer accept the hypothesis that maximal lineages of the larger clans might one day split apart and marriage be allowed between them, but 'at present they are too close'. They say *Cike diel*, 'They have not yet reached ten generations (from their founder)'. They perceive that the limits of clan exogamy have been arbitrarily fixed and are not unalterable.

A man may not marry any close cognate. Nuer consider that if relationship can be traced between a man and a woman through either father or mother, however many female links there may be, up to six generations (*kath*), though the number of generations is not absolutely fixed, marriage should not take

[1] A preliminary account of this subject was given in a lecture delivered to the Royal Anthropological Institute on 20 November 1934 (summary in *Man*, xxxv (1935), 7).

place between them. An ox of the *ma jok thiang* colour is believed to have been cut in two in ancient days to permit intermarriage between persons who are descended from a common ancestor beyond that point, so long as they are not agnates. Nuer explain that a man who is related to a woman as far back as six generations might still claim a small gift at her marriage, a clear indication that they cannot marry. If a proposed union is a borderline case a gourd may be ritually broken in half to end kinship. They then say *Bakena mar*, 'We break kinship', and *Ba bak ne kir*, 'It (kinship) is broken with a gourd.' It should be noted, however, that a man cannot marry the daughter of a woman of his own maximal lineage even though the lines of himself and the mother converge at a point more than six generations back. Some clans permit marriage to the daughter of a woman of a collateral maximal lineage of the clan. Stated in a slightly different way, a man or woman may marry into his, or her, mother's clan but not into her maximal lineage. Other clans do not allow a man to marry into his mother's clan in any circumstances.

When, as often happens among the Nuer, the physiological father, the *genitor*, is a different man from the sociological father, the *pater*, his sons will not marry into his minimal lineage because the physiological connexion is socially recognized by the payment to the natural father of a cow of the bridewealth of his natural daughters. They may, however, marry women of a collateral lineage even where this would not have been allowed had their father been their *pater*. Close natural cognation of any kind is a bar to marriage. Thus I was told that a man would not marry the daughter of his *nar laka*, the natural son of his maternal grandfather.

The adoption of a Dinka boy into a Nuer minimal lineage—an event which very frequently takes place—prevents him from marrying into that lineage, and he would normally not be allowed to marry into a collateral minimal lineage of the same minor lineage.[1] Some of my informants were of the opinion that he ought not to marry into the clan at all, but marriages of adopted Dinka into collateral major, and even minor, lineages undoubtedly take place sometimes. When this happens it is permitted because Nuer hold of adoption that 'It stops there (in

[1] An instance of a marriage of this kind is given in 'The Nuer: Tribe and Clan', *Sudan Notes and Records*, xvii (1934), p. 15.

the joint family) and remains in their lineage (minimal), it would not jump over their fire-place (joint family) to a collateral lineage'; but to avoid the appearance of a breach of exogamy the spear-name *mut jangemo*, spear of this Dinka, is called out in the invocation of the ghosts on the day of the adopted Dinka's wedding in addition to the clan spear-name which becomes his by adoption. By this means the spear-names of the bride and bridegroom, which are the same, are distinguished. A man and woman with the same spear-name cannot marry, because this is evidence of common clanship. Also when, as it sometimes happens, a captured Dinka boy is not adopted into his captor's lineage, men of this lineage cannot marry his daughter because some of the cattle of her bridewealth are due to them, since the Dinka will have married with their cattle. The sons of the captor count as paternal uncles in the distribution of her bridewealth, and other members of the lineage may claim some part of it. Captured Dinka girls are not adopted into Nuer lineages and their captors can marry them, though they rarely do so. If the captor of a girl intends to marry her or to let one of his sons marry her he passes a spear-shaft between her legs and then hands her over to another man to bring up outside his village 'because if she were to remain in his homestead she would become his daughter'. Generally a captured girl is brought up a member of her captor's household and is regarded as his daughter. He rubs ashes on the back of a sheep and tells his ancestral ghosts that the girl is 'our daughter and our sister'. Nuer say: 'Thus she is taken into the household (*gol*) and becomes a member of the household.' They also say: 'She will become our daughter and we will receive her bridewealth-cattle.' The cattle of her bridewealth give her kinship with the persons among whom it is distributed as does also her right to receive in return the cows of the paternal aunt on the marriage of the daughters of the sons of her captor and foster-father. Marriage is therefore forbidden between her descendants and the descendants of these kinsmen in virtue of bridewealth, for several generations. She herself can be married to a clansman of her captor and foster-father so long as her husband does not belong to his minimal lineage, which is to say, so long as those who pay her bridewealth cannot also claim part of it, for those who can claim part of a girl's bridewealth are kin to her. Nuer state these rules in terms of cattle.

A man may not take his wife's sister or any near kinswoman of his wife as a second wife. A man may be on familiar terms with his wife's sister but sexual relations with her are incestuous and it is only permissible for him to marry her if his wife has died without having borne children.[1] It is said that were he to do so the children of the marriage would die. When I argued that there was no kinship between a man and his wife's sister Nuer said that this was not true. 'What about the child?' they asked. They regard a man and his wife's sister as related through the child of the wife—for a woman is only fully married when she has a child and comes to live with her husband's people as their 'kinswoman', as they say, since her child is their child. Her sister is therefore also a kind of kinswoman since she is also the mother of their child. Your wife's sister being your child's maternal aunt is your sister (as we say, sister-in-law). Nuer also define this relationship in terms of cattle. When your daughter is married her mother's sister receives a cow of her bridewealth, and Nuer hold that she cannot both receive this cow and be your wife at the same time, especially as the cow is regarded as part of the bridewealth still owing from your marriage to your wife. Also, when your wife's sister's daughter marries, your wife will receive a cow, and Nuer feel that there is something wrong about this cow coming to her if her sister is also her co-wife. In certain circumstances a woman may claim cattle on her sister's marriage, and in this case the man who pays the cattle would also be the receiver of them were a man to marry his wife's sister—a situation the Nuer regard as impossible. Hence Nuer say that a man may not marry his wife's sister either 'on account of her (the wife's) children' or 'on account of the cattle', which are different ways of saying that you cannot marry your child's maternal aunt. There is a further reason which would prevent a man from marrying his wife's sister while his wife is living, for, as will be explained later, a man may not have sexual relations with two closely related women at the same time. It follows that two brothers ought not to marry sisters or close cousins: 'That would be bad because if your brother died you could not take his wife.'

A man may not marry the daughter of an age-mate, a member

[1] A single case of marriage to two sisters at the same time was recorded. A well-known magician on the Sobat river defied the prohibition. When, however, one of his daughters fell sick with syphilis, or yaws, he gave up the second sister.

of his age-set, 'because she is his daughter'. The blood age-mates have shed together into the ground at their initiation gives them a kind of kinship. In certain circumstances an age-mate may claim a cow, the *yang rica*, of the bridewealth of the daughter of one of his mates, and a man may not be in the position of paying bridewealth and being able to claim it. Nuer point out also that were a man to marry the daughter of an age-mate her parents would become his parents-in-law and the respect he would have to show them would be incompatible with the familiarity with which he should treat age-mates and their wives and the liberties he may take with them. He could not, for instance, eat and drink in their home, an abstention in glaring contradiction to the behaviour expected of age-mates. The prohibition on marriage with the daughter of an age-mate imposes no inconvenience on Nuer, for there would always be a great difference in age between the man and woman, and this is, in any case, an obstacle to marriage rarely surmounted in Nuerland. Strictly speaking, a breach of this prohibition is not *rual* but Nuer say that it is 'like *rual*'. The prohibition is said to have been ordained by God and it is believed that the guardian spirit of the age-set (*kwoth ricdien*) will avenge a breach of it.

It is said that in the past a man would not have been allowed to marry the daughters of his father's age-mates, for they are his sisters. It is still not permissible for such a marriage to take place if both the fathers are alive, since this would mean that the two age-mates would enter into a relationship characterized by mutual reserve and in conflict with the egalitarian status of age-mates towards one another. Thus Nuer may be heard to say of such a set as the Wangdel, 'The Karamni marry their daughters, we the Piluali do not', meaning that the Karamni, who belong to the set next junior to the Wangdel, would not be their sons, whereas the Piluali, who belong to the next set but one, would be mostly their sons. When one of the fathers is dead marriage can take place but in this case a cow, or more likely a sheep or goat, must be given by each family to the other. This ritual exchange is in payment to the *ric*, the age-set, of the fathers to avoid evil consequences, the animal being called 'the cow of compensation (or atonement) of the age-set'. There is no clash between patterns of behaviour when one of the fathers is dead, because the attitudes towards a member of a father's age-set and towards a father-in-law are both of respect.

For completeness it must be mentioned that a leopard-skin chief may not marry into the family of another leopard-skin chief, even though they are unrelated. It is said 'Their blood is still in the earth and in the leopard-skin' and as they all walk on the earth and wear the leopard-skin they have a kind of blood relationship. This rule can be related to that which prevents a leopard-skin chief from performing his usual ritual functions in cases of homicide if the parties to such a case both belong to families of leopard-skin chiefs. It has no great significance for the present discussion, because leopard-skin chiefs who live near enough to one another to marry into each other's families are likely to belong to the same clan.

The exogamous rules I have recorded above can be generalized by saying, as the Nuer do, that a man may not marry a woman who is *mar*, kin, to him. In defining exogamy kinship is traced farther in some directions than in others and is of different kinds: the clan kinship of the *mut*, the common spear; the kinship of *buth*, of collateral lineage and of adoption; uterine kinship; kinship through the *genitor*; the kinship of cognation, *mar* in the usual sense of the word; kinship which the birth of a child creates between husband and wife; the kinship acknowledged by acceptance of bridewealth; and the kinship by analogy of the *ric*, the age-set, and the *twac*, the leopard-skin.

In this essay I am stating the rules of exogamy, and it is sufficient to say that in borderline cases they allow of some latitude in interpretation without going into further detail than is required to record the grounds on which latitude is sometimes allowed. Cases arise in which there is disagreement whether or not the genealogical distance between a suitor and the girl whom he wishes to marry is wide enough to permit marriage. If it is permitted a beast will generally be sacrificed to cut what kinship there may be held still to be between them. In doubtful cases it may be taken into consideration that some of the links between the pair are those of adoption or of ghost-parentage and not of consanguinity. Also, if there is some doubt about the correctness of a union it is sometimes held to be less questionable if the bride and bridegroom do not belong to the same residential groups. Exceptions to the general principles of exogamy do not invalidate them, for the rules are acknowledged even in the breach of them. Thus I have known of a peculiar marriage into the clan in which, on the day of the wedding, tribute was

paid to the prohibition on intra-clan marriage by omitting the traditional calling out of the spear-names of bride and bridegroom at the invocation of the ghosts.[1]

INCEST

It is not incestuous for a man to have relations with the daughters of men of his father's age-set and he would not hesitate to make love to them. In all other cases where it is forbidden for a man to marry a woman standing in a certain relationship to him it is also forbidden to him to be intimate with her, though the prohibition has not always the same force or extension. Before discussing the different degrees of seriousness with which Nuer view breaches of the various rules I will mention the other relationships which carry the incest taboo besides those already recorded which exclude marriage either absolutely or contingently.

Nuer consider it to be *rual* for a man to have relations with the wives of any close living kinsmen, except, as is explained later, the wives of some patrilineal kinsmen. The worst incest of this kind is with the wives of the father (even if he is a ghost-father), uterine brother, son, and maternal uncle. It is considered almost as bad as relations with a sister and entails the same consequences. Relations with the mother's co-wife (father's wife) are thought to be unusually shocking because the father has relations with her and afterwards with the mother, carrying the son's contact with the co-wife to the mother. It is also *rual* to have relations with the wives of the sons of the maternal uncle and of the paternal and maternal aunts. Relations with the wives of affines, such as a second wife of the sister's husband, are also regarded as incestuous. It is only congress with wives of the paternal uncles, paternal half-brothers, and paternal cousins, which are spoken of without opprobrium. The worst that is said about congress with the wives of these kinsmen is that it is a *rual ma tot*, a slight incest, which will not injure the partners to it. It might harm the women's babies, but it is thought that even this penalty can be

[1] The husband was the son of a man of the Gaatnaca clan but had been begotten in ghost-marriage by his *pater*'s sister's son, a man of the Gaatgankir clan. The wife's *pater* was a woman of the Gaatnaca clan (of a different lineage). She had married a 'wife' to raise up children to herself by an unrelated man. In spite of there being no consanguinity between husband and wife the marriage could not have taken place had the wife's *pater* been a man. As it was, it was subjected to criticism.

avoided easily and without expense by cutting in twain, in the place of an animal sacrifice, a *kwol*, a wild, yellow, tomato-like fruit found in abundance near habitations. It is only if the paternal uncle is the father's uterine brother or if his family forms a common household with that of the father that relations with his wife are regarded in a more serious light. They may bring on the offenders serious misfortunes.

The uterine brother is a brother *kwi man*, on the mother's side, and relations with his wife reflect the disgust Nuer feel at any association of sex with the mother. They regard relations with wives of relatives of the mother's side with distaste 'because of the mother'. The uterine paternal uncle partakes in a lesser degree of the same maternal associations because he is a son of the father's mother. But the paternal half-uncles, the paternal half-brothers, and the paternal cousins are 'bulls', and *Tut thilke rual*, 'There is no incest among bulls.' If they live in different villages from that of the adulterer some compensation in cattle might be exacted, but if they live in the same village it will not be asked for: 'There would be no compensation, for they are of the same community (*cieng*).' Nuer say, however, that adultery with the wife of a paternal half-uncle is wrong 'because of the father', which means because the half-uncle should be treated on the pattern of the father. To have relations with his wife is not incestuous, but shows lack of respect. Relations with the wives of paternal half-brothers and paternal cousins are not subject to the same restraint. It is not *rual* to have relations with the wife of an age-mate, but it is regarded as a grave breach of confidence, for a man will trust his wife to the honour of an age-mate, and it is believed that the guardian-spirit of the age-set will punish the offender.

It is forbidden on incestuous grounds to have relations with the wives of kinsmen, other than those mentioned, but only during their lifetime, when they are themselves cohabiting with their wives. It is permissible, indeed to some extent obligatory, to take the place of the husbands in leviratic marriage. It is usual for a widow to cohabit with her dead husband's brother, for preference with his uterine brother. Sometimes the son takes her and occasionally the sister's son. If a man thus cohabits with his father's, uterine brother's, or maternal uncle's widow, he first breaks off the physical relationship between the widow and her late spouse by sacrificing a sheep. Nuer says: 'He

divides them with a sheep.' The widow and the man who is taking his kinsman's place squat inside a hut and the *gwan buthni* of the dead husband's (in the case of the maternal uncle's widow, of the maternal uncle's) lineage, the man who performs sacrifices for the lineage, squats outside. They hold between them a sheep stretched across the threshold and it is there cut in twain. The top half is eaten by the kinsmen of the man who is taking the widow, though he does not himself partake of its flesh, and the bottom half by the women of the household. The hide on which the widow and her dead husband slept is also cut in half and the skin of the sacrificed sheep may be sewn to another to provide a new sleeping-hide. 'The father (or brother, or maternal uncle) is removed', as the Nuer say, not so much, if at all, because there would be any danger of *rual* but in order to be rid of any evil the dead man might have had in his heart towards the man who is taking his wife, which might injure her or her children. A twin may not take his brother's widow, for twins are one person. If a living father or brother gives up a wife to his son or brother, as occasionally happens, a similar sacrifice has to be made, but here the notion of *rual* is more pronounced.

The prohibition on a man having relations with a kinsman's wife is part of a more general regulation which forbids, as *rual*, two close kinsmen to have relations with the same woman, though, here again, 'bulls' do not come, altogether or to some extent, under the ban. Likewise, two closely related women must not have relations with the same man. Nuer youths, who make love to maidens very freely, are careful to inquire of a girl, if they are uncertain of her affairs, whether she has a sweetheart among their close kinsmen. A man may, however, start an affair with a girl as soon as a kinsman has broken off relations with her. This rule, which refers to courtship and sweethearts rather than to casual intercourse, applies to father and son, uterine brothers, and to a lesser degree paternal half-brothers, and also in some degree to cousins, except to paternal parallel cousins, for they are 'bulls' and it does not matter if they share sweethearts. The prohibition is, however, only forcibly enunciated with regard to kinsfolk who form the same *dep*, dancing-line, which means kinsmen who are also members of the same village. Hence it is said that it is not very dangerous for a man and his mother's brother's son to make love to the same girl if

they are not members of the same local community. The most dangerous incest of this kind, the consequences of which 'split a man in two' with pain, is when father and son have relations with the same woman, for the father goes from the woman to the mother, thus bringing her into a sexual relationship with her son. It is also highly dangerous for a mother and daughter to have relations with the same man. In one village where I was living at the time relations of this kind were believed to have caused the death not only of the daughter but of her sister and half-sister as well. I knew of another case in which two sisters died after the same man had had relations with both of them. The man died shortly afterwards, and it was said that he had been summoned by the ghosts of the sisters.

There are, as we have seen, a very large number of relationships which carry the incest taboo and it is not surprising that there are frequent breaches of it. Indeed, Nuer discuss incest, except incest with the closest kin, without expressing horror or repugnance. It is a fact with which they are familiar and a subject on the surface of life, not a secret thing to be talked of with shame or embarrassment. Parents teach their sons at an early age the rules of sex: to avoid the wives of others and those who *teke mar*, have kinship. Not only must they refrain from making love to women who count as kin but they must avoid any licentious talk, to which the Nuer are much given, in their presence. The *nei ti gwa*, the unrelated people, they can joke with and make love to without fear of censure or retribution, so long as they are not wives to other men, for fornication with an unrelated girl, a *nya Nath*, as they say, is not regarded with disapprobation. The admonition of parents is enforced by the frequent discussions children hear about the exogamous permissibility of proposed marriages and by the sacrifices on account of incest they are bound to witness from time to time.

The incest taboo is not uniform in its force nor in the consequences its breach is believed to entail. Some incest is very bad and has very serious consequences. Other incest is not so bad, is even thought little of, and is not expected to bring about serious, or even any, consequences. The worst incest of all would be with the mother, and Nuer were astonished when I asked them if they had known of any cases of it: 'But that would be immediate death.' Incest with the uterine sister or the daughter are also terrible. I have heard of one case of each.

Incest with the paternal half-sister, whether daughter of *pater* or *genitor*, is bad but, so Nuer told me, occasionally occurs. Incest with cousins is not so bad and with paternal cousins not uncommon, 'For one man knows kinship and another man does not know kinship, that is a man whose heart was made differently.' Generally speaking, the farther the man and woman are from one another genealogically the less seriously incest between them is regarded, especially if they live in different districts, and the taboo is less stringent and has a narrower range for natural kinsmen than for social kinsmen. I was told, for instance, that a man might make love to the daughter of the natural son of his maternal grandfather (*nya nar laka*). Incest with kinswomen on the paternal side is not thought so bad as incest with kinswomen on the maternal side. It is worse with the uterine sister than with the paternal half-sister and it is worse with a mother's brother's daughter than with a father's brother's daughter and with a mother's sister's daughter than with a father's sister's daughter. In all categories of incest it is considered much worse with a near kinswoman than a distant one and with a kinswoman in the restricted than in the classificatory sense. Relations with distant clanswomen and cognates are of frequent occurrence. They are with persons who are on the frontiers of exogamy and carry no moral stigma or much fear of consequences. Nuer, in the usual idiom of their culture, often condemn incest with kinsfolk by reference to bridewealth: 'Would you have relations with the daughter of your father's sister? Do you not receive cattle on her marriage?' 'What! Do you not want the cattle of your daughter's marriage and would you not die of *rual*?' And so forth. Incest with the wives of kinsmen also occurs, though I have little means of judging its frequency. I recorded two cases of incest with wives of maternal uncles. In the one the offender died of *rual* while in the other the uncle, who was a rich man with several wives, sacrificed an ox and afterwards relinquished the wife in favour of his sister's son: 'It was like making a gift to his sister's son.' I have also recorded cases of incest with another wife of the sister's husband. These cases come to light because the man or woman falls violently sick and to avoid death confesses what he or she has done and asks for an animal to be sacrificed in atonement. Incest with wives of paternal cousins and of other clansmen is undoubtedly common. As with incest with kinswomen, incest

with wives of kinsmen is regarded in a more or less serious light according to the kinship distance separating the two men; likewise with relations between a woman and two kinsmen or between a man and two kinswomen. Thus in a village in Lou country where I was living it was common knowledge that a man called Lum was having an affair with a woman who was described to me as his wife's sister, and when I expressed astonishment that he should dare to continue it I was told, 'It may be all right, she is only his wife's *nyagwanlen* (father's brother's daughter).' It remained to be seen whether there would be consequences or not. I was also told that even had the girl been his wife's *nyagwan* (paternal half-sister) nothing might happen, though the relations would without doubt be *rual*, and that the consequences would only be both certain and disastrous had she been his wife's *nyiman pany*, her true (uterine) sister.

To avoid the consequences of incest Nuer make sacrifices, and the weight they attach to the breach of the taboo may be estimated by the value of the thing they sacrifice. For slight incest, as with a distant clanswoman or the wife of a paternal cousin, they consider it sufficient to sacrifice one of the yellow fruits I have spoken of earlier or one of the pendulous fruits of the sausage tree. When a yellow fruit is sacrificed it is cut in two and the left half, 'the bad half', is thrown away, while the contents of the right half, 'the good half', are drunk by the partners to the sin as an infusion. They may get a magician to do this for them or they may do it for themselves. When incest has taken place with the wife of a kinsman who is not a 'bull' and is in Nuer reckoning a close kinsman, the wife's sleeping-skin is cut in two. This, of course, would only be done if one of the pair were sick enough to be more frightened of death than of the husband, for unlike the cutting of the fruits the rite cannot be performed secretly. In cases of incest with a close kinswoman and in all cases of what the Nuer regard as really bad incest, *wal ruali*, an antidote some people are said to possess and make use of when committing a slight incest, is no protection and a vicarious sacrifice no remedy. A goat or a sheep, or in the most serious cases an ox, must be cut vertically in twain and a leopard-skin chief must perform the sacrifice. The guilty persons drink incest medicines infused in the gall of the sacrificed animal. It is believed that retribution follows swiftly on the heels of the offence, so that if sacrifice is to be of any avail it must be per-

formed at once. Nuer say that a sacrifice is unlikely to be efficacious when death is near and that it is little profit to make confession then.

The moral element in the retributive action which follows on a breach of the incest taboo is brought out by the fact that, except in cases of really bad incest, such as when a father and son have relations with the same woman, it is felt that no ill effects will follow an infraction if the incestuous pair were unaware that they were breaking it. It is common knowledge that children begin sexual play with kin and they are corrected if observed, but it is not thought that misfortune will follow, 'Because the children are ignorant of having done wrong'. I was told also that if two kinsmen have relations with the same girl unwittingly 'It is not *rual* because each was unaware that the other was making love to her', and again, that if a man has relations with a distant kinswoman, being ignorant of the kinship, 'This is not *rual* because he was unaware of the relationship between them.' Even in his own district a youth may not know the full range of his kinship, and if his father hears that he has taken a sweetheart who is distantly related to him he will tell him to break off the affair. Nuer were greatly amused when I asked them about incestuous relations among cattle and told me, perhaps not very seriously, that a cattle peg had in ancient days been cut in twain (*bak*) to make them innocuous.

If ignorance is regarded as an extenuating circumstance, the presence of children increases the danger. It is not thought that relations with a distant patrilineal cousin or with the wife of a father's brother in the classificatory sense will harm those who engage in them, but if the woman has children Nuer say: 'It (the *rual*) may leave you alone, but it will kill the children.' In the same way I was told in reference to the case, already cited, of Lum, who was having relations with his wife and his wife's paternal cousin at the same time: 'But she [the wife] has no child, so it is not *rual*.' If she had had a child the paternal cousin would have been the child's mother. In another case a man called Buk was having relations with a concubine in a neighbouring hamlet although his son, Bul, was married to the daughter of this concubine by another man. It was stressed by informants that Buk had not begotten a child by the concubine, for had he done so the child would have been *gat gwan*, father's son, to Bul, whose marriage, which had in any case not escaped

critical comment, might then have entailed risks. Even then Bul might have taken the risks, claiming that the child was *dieth laka*, born in concubinage, and therefore not a true brother if his *genitor* did not pay a fee to legitimatize him: 'Their spears [spear-names] are different: it is not real kinship.' In Jikany country I recorded the following case. A man died and his widow went to live with his brother. A third brother died and there was talk of the living brother taking his widow also; but he did not do so on the objection being raised that both widows belonged to the same clan and that he had already begotten a child by the first one. In another case, also in Jikany country, a man of the Gaajak tribal area begat a child by his brother's widow, a Gaatgankir clanswoman of the Gaajok tribal area. When he came to live in the Gaajok tribal area he began affairs with two girls but gave them up when he found that they belonged to the widow's clan, lest relations with them might injure his child. A man cannot take as a concubine a woman who has borne a child in concubinage to one of his close kinsmen.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

I now make some general observations, within the scope of this essay, on Nuer exogamy and incest, or about the Nuer concept of *rual*. Nuer say that marriage to persons standing in certain relationships is forbidden because it would be *rual*, incestuous. Speaking sociologically, I think we may reverse this statement and say that sexual relations with persons standing in these relationships are considered incestuous because it would be a breach of exogamy to marry them. I would hold that the incest taboo can only be understood in the light of the rules of exogamy and that these rules are to be explained by their function in the Nuer kinship system and in their whole social structure.

It is evident that the incest prohibition is not derived from notions of consanguinity only, or even to any extent, but from a social definition of kinship. There is no consanguinity between a man and his wife's sister, between an adopted Dinka boy and the daughter of his foster father's brother, between a man and the daughter of one of his age-mates, and, necessarily, between a ghost-son and the women of his clan. The Nuer incest prohibition is a prohibition of sexual relations within relationships of certain kinds, and I contend that it is to be regarded primarily

as a way of providing a moral norm, a reason, and a sanction for the exogamous regulations of their society and is therefore a product of their social structure.

It is true that extra-marital relations between clansfolk who do not belong to the same lineage do not occasion great concern, but I do not think that this invalidates the contention, for though they take place they are none the less *rual*, and the toleration of the breach of the taboo merely means, as it does in other cases in which a breach is tolerated, that the nearer we get to the point at which marriage is permitted the less stringent becomes the prohibition of sexual relations. It must also be remembered that agnation is recognized beyond the clan and between clans and that the Nuer themselves recognize that the limits of exogamy are arbitrarily fixed. That sexual relations with distant clanswomen are little condemned shows that we are dealing with a prohibition the strength of which is relative to the structural positions of the persons concerned, just as is the force of customary law among the Nuer, and that the prohibition of marriage is more fundamental and comprehensive than the prohibition of sex relations, which is secondary and, I would hold, derivative. That it is the rules of exogamy and not the rules of incest which are basic is further illustrated by the prohibition, at the present day a qualified prohibition, on marriage with the daughter of a father's age-mate, for sexual relations between men and women standing in this relationship to one another are entirely free from any stigma and if either father is dead marriage may take place.[1]

It is true also that Nuer call *rual* relations with women already married to kinsmen, and because they are married to kinsmen, and that they cannot be counted as possible mates to whom any rule of exogamy could apply. But it must be pointed out that Nuer bring wives of kinsmen within the field of kinship values, not only in that they address them by kinship terms, but also, and more significantly, by reference to their children, for according to Nuer ideas marriage is only a complete union when a child has been born of it. Mothers through their children become kinsfolk and are thus brought within the circuit of the incest

[1] Although Nuer declare 'You cannot make love to the daughter of an age-mate because you call her *nyada* ("my daughter")', the prohibition is not emphasized, since there would be little chance of a man obtaining the favour of a girl so much younger than himself in any other way than by marrying her with cattle, which is forbidden.

taboo not so much as wives of kinsmen but rather as mothers of kinsmen. 'It is like this. The girl is married with cattle. You get your wife and her father gets your cattle. The girl is now your kinswoman and not kin to her father's people.' Nuer say that your wife becomes your *gwan buthni*, which means that she can perform ritual on behalf of your lineage. One man described her position thus: 'Now she [your wife] is like your mother; she cooks for you and milks the cows and performs the other services which your mother once performed for your household. She is a real kinswoman. She is like your mother. She has been exchanged for cattle and brought to agnatic kinship with another household (*caa nang buthni gol dodien*).'

In view of the importance attached to children by Nuer in determining what is incest, or the degree of it, it may readily be understood why sexual relations with the wives of half-brothers, paternal uncles, and patrilineal cousins of every kind are regarded as being either incestuous peccadillos or not incestuous at all. The wife of a 'bull' is, in a general social sense, the wife of all the 'bulls', of the joint family and of the lineage. She is 'our wife' and 'the wife of our cattle'. Likewise her children are the children of the lineage, of the agnatic group and of its cattle. Hence sexual relations with the wives of these agnates, if not approved, are condoned, for they are the wives of all. Hence also, whereas relations with, for example, the wife of the maternal uncle means relations with the *cek nara*, the maternal uncle's wife, and the mother of *gat nara*, the maternal uncle's child, relations with the wife of the father's brother's son are with *cekdan*, our wife, and the mother of *gatdan*, our child. The presence of a child does not alter the status of the persons concerned in the second case as it does in the first, for the wife is the wife of the lineage and the child is the child of the adulterer. When a man dies, therefore, there is no question of the widow being remarried to one of his brothers, for the brothers already count as her husbands. The dead man's lineage have a right to inherit his wife because she is their wife, the wife of their cattle.

I think that we should try to interpret in much the same way the feeling that it is wrong for two kinsmen to court the same girl, unless they are members of the same lineage. Patrilineal kin can share the same girl because they have a lineage identity, whereas the courting of the same girl by a man and his maternal

aunt's son makes for confusion within the kinship system, which is a system of personal relations of a different kind to lineage relations. Two sisters are potentially members of different lineages, those of their future husbands, which they join and to which they bear children. The position of the uterine brother is peculiar, because full brothers are not just 'bulls' to one another, members of the same lineage: they are maternal kinsmen as well as paternal kinsmen, and sexual relations with each other's wives seem to the Nuer to involve in some way the mother, an idea which is repugnant to them.

These interpretations may be unacceptable to the reader. If so, he can disregard them without rejecting the main conclusion from which they are inferred. It is clear that the rules of exogamy, by differentiating between persons in Nuer society, indicate kinship status and are one of the most effective means of doing this and thereby of maintaining the kinship system, which is based on the distinctions between the various categories of relationships. The rules of exogamy prevent confusion between one relationship and another and the contradiction such confusion would cause between the patterns of behaviour in which the relationships are expressed. This conclusion is contained in the statements, some of them recorded in this essay, of Nuer themselves, who see that it is undesirable to obliterate or confuse the boundaries between kinship categories. Were marriage with the wife's sister permitted, to the child of it the mother's sister would also be the father's wife; were a man to marry the daughter of an age-mate his age-mate would also be his father-in-law. But if the wife has died childless marriage with her sister is permitted because the relationship of a man to his child's mother's sister is no longer at issue, and if one of two age-mates is dead the son of one may marry the daughter of the other because the fathers can no longer be brought into a relationship of affinity. This explanation of exogamous rules holds not only for the Nuer but, as Professor Radcliffe-Brown has taught for very many years, for all societies.

The consistency between the Nuer rules of exogamy and the payment of bridewealth and its distribution, the ritual of marriage, and the laws of marriage and descent cannot be discussed here. I can only say that the payment, the ritual, and the laws could hardly exist in the form in which they do exist were it not for the coexistence of the rules of exogamy I have

recorded in this essay.[1] Nor can I discuss at the length required the political implications of Nuer exogamous rules. I have devoted a few pages in *The Nuer*[2] to this aspect of them, the argument of which may be presented here in a few sentences. The Nuer political structure was treated in that book as a system of relations between territorial groups which express both their autonomy and their participation in the system in terms of lineage and clan affiliations. The local groups are organized into a common tribal structure through the association of clans with tribes, and the various lineages of these dominant clans in each tribe with the various sections and sub-sections of the tribe. Political structure is conceptualized in lineage structure. To play this part lineages must be both unique groups and at the same time be identified with local communities within which they function politically. Were they to lose entirely their uniqueness as descent groups the lineage structure in which the local communities see themselves as parts of a tribal organization would collapse. Were they not to merge in the network of kinship relations of which each local community is composed they would lack that corporateness which identification with residential groups gives them and be an abstraction, since they are not corporate groups in their own right. A man acts sometimes as a lineage member, cutting himself off from the community of which he is part, but in ordinary social life he acts as a member of this community without reference to his exclusive lineage affiliation. In some situations values of descent determine his conduct but in most situations it is determined by kinship values or by those community values which are an expression on a political plane of a sentiment created by a network of personal relations within the kinship system. This separation of the lineage from community life and its merging into it again is very largely brought about by the rules of exogamy which exclude marriage within the clan, thus giving that group distinctness, while compelling its lineages, by marrying outside the clan, to become multiple links in the network of kinship relations the strands of which form the texture of community life. Every Nuer local community thus becomes a

[1] Information on these subjects will be found in my papers: 'Nuer Bridewealth', *Africa*, xvi. 4 (1946); 'Nuer Marriage Ceremonies', ibid. xviii. 1 (1948); and *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 11 (1945).

[2] *The Nuer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1940), pp. 225–8.

community of kindred every member of which regulates his behaviour to every other member in accordance with a variety of kinship patterns and can predict their behaviour to himself in conformity with the same norms.

When a local community becomes in this way a network of kinship ties it is necessary, so varied and extensive are the relationships which come under the exogamous ban, to marry outside it, so that not only is the social autonomy of lineage groups prevented by the rules regulating marriage but also the social autonomy of residential groups. Kinship ties thus cross the gaps in political structure and unite members of opposed segments of it. Every political group of whatever size has a wider social setting outside its boundaries.

Local communities become therefore groups of people who, being all interrelated in one way or another, must marry into a different local community. This happens because the Nuer make any kind of cognatic relationship to several degrees a bar to marriage and, at least so it seems to me, it is a bar to marriage because of the fundamental agnatic principle running through Nuer society. In any Nuer residential group, of whatever size, there is a great variety of personal ties of a kinship order bringing its members into a texture of relationships, but the warp of the texture is the agnatic lineage and to it everyone attaches himself locally. If a man is not a member of the lineage with which he lives he makes himself a member of it by, in one way or another, treating a maternal link as though it was a paternal one. The lineage is thus in its corporate character a composite structure of cognatic branches and attachments in which the value of agnation is the integrating principle. The solidarity of a group of persons living together, and thereby the lineage structure which contains them, is maintained by emphasizing cognation in the rules of exogamy.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

THE TSWANA CONCEPTION OF INCEST

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS

IN contrast to most other Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa, the Tswana tribes of the Bechuanaland Protectorate have remarkably few marriage prohibitions. To-day, in all of them, a man may not marry any woman to whom he is related in the direct line of descent (his mother, daughter, &c.), his sister or half-sister, his parents' sisters, or his sisters' daughters. These prohibitions apply to genealogical, not classificatory, relationships; for instance, the father's sister (*rrakgadi*) may not be married, but the ban does not extend to the father's father's brother's daughter, although she also is termed *rrakgadi*. In addition, a man may not marry or cohabit with his mother-in-law, his step-daughter, or his daughter-in-law.

The prohibitions just listed are the only ones recognized nowadays in every Tswana tribe. Formerly, however, even they were not universal. The Ngwaketse and Rolong at one time permitted marriage with a half-sister, the Ngwaketse also permitted marriage with a half-sister's daughter and with a step-daughter, and the Kwena and Kgatla allowed a man to cohabit with his son's widow in order to raise seed to her dead husband. The Ngwaketse practices were specifically abolished by Chief Bathoen I (1889–1910); those of the other tribes seem to have been gradually discarded, owing mainly perhaps to the spread of Christianity and other Western influences.

There are certain other marriage prohibitions that are not universal. The Kwena, Ngwato, Tawana, Malete, and Tlôkwa permit marriage with any brother's daughter, whereas the Ngwaketse and Khurutshe say that a man may marry his half-brother's daughter, but not his full brother's, and the Rolong and Kgatla prohibit marriage with either. The Kwena and Ngwaketse permit marriage with a step-sister, which is prohibited in all the other tribes mentioned; the Ngwaketse, but no other tribe, nowadays prohibit the 'filial' levirate (cohabitation between a man and his father's junior widows); and cohabitation with a maternal uncle's widow is allowed by the Khurutshe, Kgatla, Malete, and Tlôkwa, but prohibited elsewhere.

Except for the women just mentioned, a man may marry or cohabit with any of his kin or affinal relatives. Kinship marriages are indeed strongly encouraged. Preference is expressed for cross-cousins, especially the mother's brother's daughter; but marriage with parallel cousins is also favoured, and, in fact, a father's brother's daughter is married far more often than a father's sister's daughter. In addition, both the levirate and the sororate are practised.[1]

This brief outline of what may be termed the recognized conventions about marital unions between relatives raises certain problems for discussion. Among others, for instance, we have to ask how far the conventions are actually reflected in practice: do people ever violate the prohibitions, and what happens then; how often, again, do people actually marry relatives, and do those marriages correspond at all to the types that informants characterized as desirable?

Such questions suggest a more general problem that is of great importance in sociological investigation. In studying the social structure of any community, we can usually obtain information fairly easily about the formal pattern. Any representative group of informants will be able to state what is the accepted norm for the topic under discussion. But people do not always behave as they should, and there is sometimes a marked difference between the accepted ideal and the general practice. The field-worker is usually aware of such differences; he may be told about them, or he may observe them himself. But apart from quoting some as illustrations, he often fails to realize their true significance. If we agree that by social structure we mean the relations between human beings, then the primary object of our study should be the relations that actually exist, and not the relations that are supposed to exist. The latter should be studied, but they are important mainly because they help us to determine how far practice corresponds to precept.

To ascertain what is 'general practice' is far more difficult than to ascertain what is the conventional norm. It means, in the end, that the field-worker must use some statistical approach.

[1] For a fuller discussion of marriage prohibitions and preferences, with statistical data about the relative frequency in practice of the latter, cf. my paper 'Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana', in the forthcoming publication *Kinship and Marriage in Africa* (ed. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown).

If he is studying a small community—say a Bushman hunting band, or a village of Melanesians—he may be able to get the relevant data about almost every person in the community. But when his field is a tribe with a population of more than 10,000, as among most of the Tswana, he must either use some method of sampling, or admit that the data he collects may be biased.

Thus, I have mentioned above the types of marital union between relatives that the Tswana prohibit or condemn, and also those that they recommend. The statements given reflect the local conception of what is desirable. In themselves they do not tell us if or to what extent people refrain from violating the prohibitions, or, on the other hand, marry as they should. The latter can usually be ascertained by collecting and analysing genealogies, but unless the genealogies cover the whole population or a thoroughly adequate sample, they cannot be regarded as fully representative. The study of violations is more difficult. If no sanction is applied to them, they will probably be practised openly, and some idea of their incidence can be gathered from genealogies or other sources of information. But when there is some form of penalty, as is usually the case, it is reasonable to assume that only some instances will come to light and be dealt with by the tribal authorities. For information about others we must rely largely upon village gossip, which can hardly be considered a reliable source for statistical purposes.

The remarks just made bear directly upon the following discussion of incest among the Tswana. When dealing with marriage regulations, I usually asked my informants if they knew of any instances where the rules had been broken. But unless a case had come to court, or was notorious for some other reason, the reply was either in the negative or too vague to be useful. Moreover, since my primary objective at the time was merely to ascertain the tribal law relating to such cases, I seldom inquired as fully as I might have done into the details of each case described to me; I made no attempt to interview such of the people involved as were still alive and available, nor did I investigate thoroughly why the Tswana regard certain forms of sexual union as incestuous (*botlhodi*). These are defects that I cannot now remedy, but it should at least be apparent that I am aware of them.

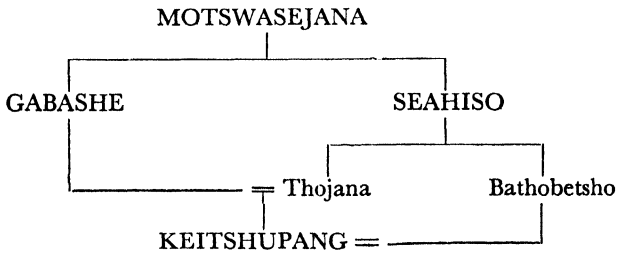
BIOLOGICAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF INCEST

Before discussing the incidence and treatment of incest, we have to determine which forms of sexual relationship the Tswana consider incestuous. Superficially the answer seems easy. We have seen that marriage is prohibited between people who are related in certain ways; we might therefore feel justified in concluding that violation of those prohibitions would be held to constitute incest. But this is not always true. Firstly, a man is sometimes allowed to 'raise seed' with a woman whom he may not marry independently; that is, he may in certain circumstances cohabit with her, but he cannot claim as his own the children that she bears. Thus, in every tribe except the Ngwaketse (and formerly also among them), a man may practise the levirate with his father's junior widow, the children that he begets being regarded as his siblings; but he is never allowed to marry such a woman or claim legal paternity of her offspring by him. If we accept the common definition of incest as 'sex relations between kin between whom legal marriage is not permitted', then a union of the kind just described is incestuous. But that is certainly not how the Tswana regard it. We must say instead that in such cases sexual relationship between the people concerned is considered incestuous in certain circumstances only. An analogous situation is found in modern South African law, which prohibits a man from marrying his brother's divorced wife, but allows him to marry his brother's widow. Here, as in the Tswana case just cited, it is obviously the social relationship that matters, and when that relationship changes the prohibition is withdrawn, even although the same two people are still involved.

Another complication arises from the fact that many forms of kinship marriage are permitted and even encouraged, and it is by no means uncommon for two family groups to intermarry through several generations. The result is that a woman may be related to a man through both his father and his mother. In such cases the tendency is to stress the patrilineal relationship. Hence, even if a woman falls within the prohibited degrees on the maternal side, the man may still marry her if on the paternal side the relationship is more remote.

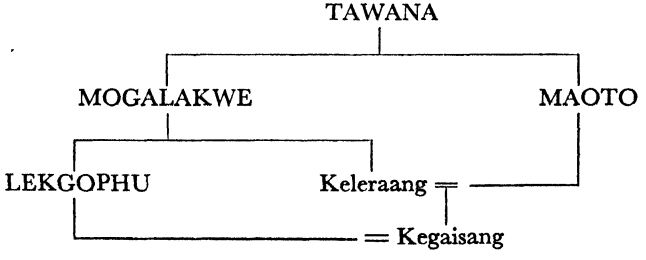
The following instance illustrates what has just been said. Among the Ngwaketse, Seahiso Motswasejana of Manare ward

had two daughters, Thojana and Bathobetsho, each by a different wife. Thojana was married to her paternal uncle Gabashe, Seahiso's (junior) half-brother. They had a son named Keitshupang, who in due course married Bathobetsho.



On the maternal side, Bathobetsho was Keitshupang's aunt, and therefore a prohibited relative. But when I put this point to the people from whom I was collecting the genealogy (including Keitshupang's brother), they indignantly denied that the marriage was incestuous: according to their mode of reckoning kinship, they said, Bathobetsho was primarily Keitshupang's paternal ortho-cousin (father's brother's daughter), the relationship through the mother being considered less important.

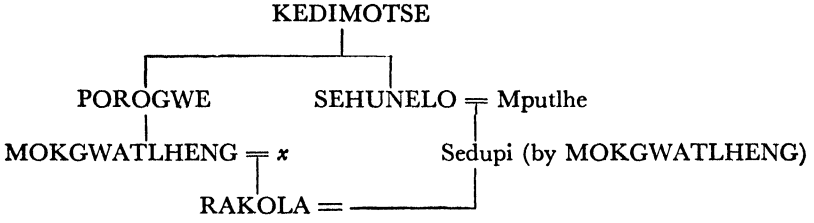
A similar instance may be quoted from the Tawana. Mogalakwe, son of Chief Tawana (*c.* 1795–1820), had a daughter named Keleraang, who was married by his full brother Maoto. One child of the marriage was a daughter, Kegaisang, who was subsequently married by Mogalakwe's son Lekgophu (half-brother of Keleraang). This marriage was not considered a violation of the rule prohibiting marriage with the sister's daughter, since, through her father, Kegaisang was also Lekgophu's paternal ortho-cousin.



In considering relationship, moreover, the Tswana generally stress the legal rather than the biological aspect. We have already noted, for instance, that children begotten by a 'seed

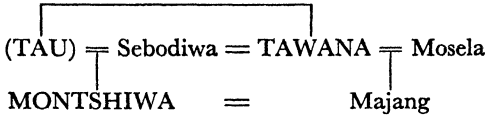
raiser' (under the levirate) are held to be not his own, but those of their mother's late husband. It therefore sometimes happens that a man will marry a woman who is biologically, but not legally, related to him within the forbidden degrees.

Thus, among the Malete, Mokgwatlheng Porogwe by his first marriage had a son Rakola. Under the levirate, Mokgwatlheng cohabited with Mputlhe, widow of his father's younger brother Sehunelo. The union resulted in a daughter, Sedupi, whom Mokgwatlheng afterwards married to Rakola.



Rakola and Sedupi were both begotten by Mokgwatlheng; biologically, therefore, they were half-siblings. Legally, however, Sedupi was held to be the daughter of Sehunelo (her mother's late husband); and since this meant that she ranked as Rakola's father's father's brother's daughter, the marriage between them was not considered incestuous.

Among the Rolong, again, Chief Tawana (*c.* 1805–49) married Sebodiwa Phetlhu 'in the name' of his elder brother Tau (who had died unmarried in early youth). By her Tawana begot Montshiwa and several others, who were regarded as the children of Tau. Montshiwa afterwards married Majang, who was the daughter of Tawana by one of the latter's own wives.



Biologically, Montshiwa and Majang were half-siblings, children of the same father; legally, however, she was his father's brother's daughter, and not his sister, so that the marriage was lawful.

However, the biological relationship is not necessarily always superseded or suppressed by the social relationship. Thus, the marriage just described, although legally correct, is considered by the Rolong to have bordered on incest, and they

do not like to talk about it openly, lest they be accused of insulting the royal family. There are even instances in which the biological relationship is allowed to predominate. This is best illustrated by the objections raised in some tribes to marriage with a brother's daughter. My Kgatla informants said merely that such marriages are prohibited because a brother's daughter is equivalent to one's own. The Rolong gave the same explanation, but with the following addition. They said that formerly a man might commit adultery with his brother's wife during her husband's absence, or, if she were a widow, he would cohabit with her as seed-raiser. In either event a daughter born to her might be the man's own child—by blood although not in law—so that it would be incestuous for him to marry the girl. Similarly, in those tribes where a man may cohabit with his maternal uncle's widow, informants said that he would not afterwards be allowed to marry the woman's daughters, since, although legally his cross-cousins, they would actually be his own children. It is specifically because this form of levirate is held to be incompatible with cross-cousin marriage that Chief Tawana is said to have abolished it amongst the Rolong.

The importance attached to biological relationship in these instances must, nevertheless, be regarded as exceptional. Some Tswana tribes do permit marriage with a brother's daughter, and apparently they do not consider it an objection that she may possibly have been begotten by her husband. Nor is a man anywhere prohibited from cohabiting with his paternal uncle's widow, although marriage with a father's brother's daughter is as common as marriage with a mother's brother's daughter. Among the Kgatla, in fact, it was in the old days an accepted practice that unmarried youths should be allowed secret access to the young wives of their male relatives in the same ward. In particular, a boy's junior paternal uncle was expected to grant him the privilege, the children born of such a union being regarded as the uncle's. The practice, so far from being considered adulterous, was held to be highly commendable, especially when the husband was old and impotent. It seems evident that in such cases a man's paternal ortho-cousin might easily be his own daughter, but the marriage regulations do not seem to have been influenced thereby.

We feel justified, therefore, in concluding that the social relationship is more important than the biological relationship

in the Tswana definition of incest. This is shown in yet another way. The late Phuthegelo Selemogo, regarded by his own tribe during his lifetime as the outstanding authority on Kwena law and custom, told me that formerly there was no objection to a man's marrying a daughter borne by his wife to a recognized lover. Legally the girl would rank as the husband's daughter, but since they were not biologically related a marriage between them would not be considered incestuous. This statement I have been unable to confirm, and it is in direct conflict with the present law both of other Tswana and of the Kwena themselves. Not only is a man forbidden to marry any daughter borne by his wife during the subsistence of his own marriage; he may not even marry her daughter by a previous marriage. The absence of biological relationship does not affect the matter at all. The general Tswana attitude to such marriages was well illustrated at a discussion that I had in Maung (Tawana Reserve) with both Tawana and Herero informants (August 1940). The Herero professed to be shocked at the Tawana custom of marrying ortho-cousins as well as cross-cousins; the Tawana retorted that the Herero were far worse, since they allow marriage with a step-daughter.

THE PUBLIC REACTION TO INCEST

We come now to unions that the Tswana themselves regard as incestuous. As already mentioned, I have no information about their incidence in proportion to lawful marriages. My informants, however, maintained that incest was very rare. As some Kgatla women said, discussing incest with a sister:

'A man can never hide himself with his sister for sleeping together. Between those two people there is no wish at all for such a deed. It does not matter how long they are together, the wish can never occur; there is a shadow over them that makes them forget altogether about love when they are alone. You regard your sister just as you do your mother. Even if she leans against you, it is as if your brother were leaning against you; and even if she bends down and you see her thighs above her knees, they do not excite you. Nor has she any thought or fear that you may one day ravish her. It is God who made this so. Young children are not taught anything about it by us; it comes with them from their mother's breast.'

Another informant said: 'When a boy is with his sister, it is

as if he was with a suckling; he does not think of sleeping with her.' And in this connexion he quoted the saying, *Mpana motemekwana fa lapeng, ge a ka Go kgatlha, a O ka e kgetla?* 'A shaking branch in your courtyard, would you cut it down if it pleases you?'—i.e. you would no more sleep with your sister, however attractive she is, than you would cut down a tree inside your homestead (an act that is held to bring great misfortune).

Considering the small number of relatives with whom marriage or sexual intercourse is forbidden, we should perhaps be justified in expecting violation of the rules to be less common among the Tswana than among peoples with a wider range of prohibitions or practising group exogamy. The choice of a mate, after all, is not nearly so restricted as amongst those other peoples. Nevertheless, incest does occur, and we must now examine the public reaction to such cases.

In all the Tswana tribes incest is termed *botlhodi* or *setlhodi*, a word denoting 'something ominous; something very unusual, and regarded as predicting evil'.[1] The Kgatla and Tlôkwa, speaking about incest with a daughter, said that it would be as abnormal as if a person were to eat his own placenta (*go ija motlhana*), and could be accounted for only as a sickness. They said, too, that a person committing such an act would bring misfortune upon the people (*o tla fefa batho*) or, more specifically, would cause his relatives to die (*o tlholêla ba lesika la gagwê go swa*).

Incest is not the only form of *botlhodi*. There are many others, mostly unnatural actions of animals, such as a hen crowing like a cock or eating its own eggs, a mole appearing in the open at day-time, or a cow drinking its own urine. The term applies also to children cutting their upper teeth first, and, in some tribes, to the birth of twins. All such phenomena give rise to repulsion and dread.

In the old days it was held that the misfortune threatened by any form of *botlhodi* could be averted only by destroying the offending person or animal and thereby removing the source of pollution. 'Anything said to be *botlhodi* is dreaded and feared', said my informants, 'and if it is a living thing it must be killed as soon as found.' The Ngwato, for instance, used to kill one of twins, or a child cutting its upper teeth first; and even to-day

[1] J. T. Brown, *Secwana Dictionary* (1931), p. 36.

the latter is often specially 'doctored' to protect the other members of its family. And the Kgatla, as I observed on several occasions, still sometimes kill domestic animals behaving in a manner regarded as *botlhodi*.

How often sentence of death was carried out in cases of incest I cannot say. Cohabitation, under the levirate, with a father's junior widow is specifically sanctioned by the proverb, *Molala le mmaagwê ga a bolawe, o itsala monnawê*, 'The man who lies with his "mother" is not killed, he is begetting his [own] younger brother.' This certainly suggests that the old penalty for incest was sometimes, if not always, death. But the only actual instance of which I could learn occurred among the Kwena during the reign of Sechele I (*c.* 1835–91). A man of Difetlhamolelo ward had impregnated his paternal half-sister, and when the news became known the people wished to have them both killed. The man was duly thrown over the precipice at Molepolole that served as the 'execution rock' of sorcerers and other criminals. (This must therefore have been after 1864, the year in which the Kwena moved their capital to Molepolole.) Sechele, however, refused to kill the woman, because this would also mean the death of the child in her womb. The woman actually died in childbed, whereupon the chief triumphantly said that God had judged her. The child, a boy, survived and was brought up by his mother's people, and his own children are still living at Molepolole to-day.

Since the imposition of British rule (1885), Tswana chiefs have not been allowed to inflict the death penalty. The result usually has been that cases of incest, if taken up by the tribal authorities, are punished with either a thrashing or a fine. In fact, however, there is no generally recognized method of dealing with them; in 1938, for instance, the Ngwaketse chief Bathoen II said to me in this connexion, 'No cases of incest have ever come to my court, and I would not know what to do with them if they did.'

The following examples will illustrate more fully the attitude adopted in specific instances. I may add that they are also the only cases of incest known to have been dealt with by tribal authorities within fairly recent years.

1. Among the Kgatla, in 1929, a man unsuccessfully tried to violate his own daughter. She reported the matter to her ward-head, who in turn referred it to the chief. The man was

tried in the chief's court, and fined an ox. He was also warned that if he repeated the attempt he would be thrashed.

2. Among the Ngwato, in 1937, a girl named Tapologang accused her father Sejabotlang of having impregnated her. The case was tried in the chief's court, where the evidence was held to show that another man was responsible for her condition. 'Had it not been so,' said the chief in passing judgement, 'I would have sent the father to jail.'[1]

3. Among the Malete, Rampana Porogwe wished to marry Kebarebotse, daughter of Chief Mokgosi I (*c.* 1830–86). On the paternal side she was his father's father's brother's daughter, but she was also his mother's younger sister. His father (son of Mokgosi's younger brother Kedimotse) refused to allow the marriage. Rampana thereupon eloped with the girl to his cattle-post, where he cohabited with her. The couple were brought back and separated, but no other punishment was inflicted upon them. It will be noticed, incidentally, that in this particular instance the matrilineal relationship was held to be more important than the remoter patrilineal one.

4. Among the Rolong, about 1910, a man named Petrus Mokgojwa impregnated the daughter of his paternal half-sister. The matter was dealt with in the chief's court. Petrus was fined; the couple were also severely reprimanded, and told that had it not been for the imposition of British control they would have been killed. Both died shortly afterwards, and the case is nowadays quoted to illustrate the effects of breaking the incest taboo.

5. Johannes Bagwasi, a Mmanaana-Kgatla living among the Ngwaketse, died in 1934, leaving a wife and children. His younger brother refused to act as seed-raiser, saying that he wanted his own wife and not an older woman. Bagwasi, their father, thereupon himself began to cohabit with the widow, by whom he begot two children, who were held to belong to Johannes. In 1937 Bagwasi's own wife complained to the local village headman, saying that she was ashamed of what her husband was doing, and that he was also neglecting her. The headman replied that Bagwasi's cohabitation with his daughter-in-law was in conformity with Mmanaana-Kgatla custom. The wife then carried her protest to the chief. The

[1] *Monang* v. *Sejabotlang*, Chief's Tribunal (Serowe), Case no. K. 1/37 (23 September 1937).

Mmanaana-Kgatla present at the hearing contended that Bagwasi was justified in his action, and quoted eight similar instances known to them. The chief and other Ngwaketse replied that such a form of cohabitation was disgraceful and contrary to the usages of their own tribe. Bagwasi was therefore ordered to stop living with his daughter-in-law. He ignored the order, for which offence he was again tried by the chief in the following year and fined three head of cattle.

In 1941 Bagwasi's wife reported that he was still living with his daughter-in-law. The chief, after trying him, decided that all his property should be given to his wife, and that he should leave his own ward to settle somewhere else. The District Commissioner, on review, quashed the sentence, holding that it exceeded the judicial powers conferred on the chief. The case was then referred to the District Commissioner for trial *de novo*. He rejected, as contradictory, the native evidence on this form of cohabitation, but found that Bagwasi had committed incest under the provisions of the South African criminal law. Bagwasi was fined £25, and his daughter-in-law £5, with sentences of imprisonment in default. They appealed to the High Court. The judge dismissed the appeal: he accepted the contention of the Ngwaketse that they considered cohabitation with a daughter-in-law as incestuous, and ruled that Bagwasi, as a subject of the Ngwaketse chief, was bound to follow the tribal law, whatever the usages of his own people may have been.[1]

6. There was a similar case among the Ngwato in 1938, the parties concerned being not Ngwato proper, but Kalaka (a subject community of Shona origin). The eldest son (by the first wife) of one Makwati had died some time previously. Three years after the death, Makwati took a woman to be the 'wife' of this son and to bear children 'in his name'. The other sons refused to cohabit as seed-raisers with the woman, whereupon Makwati himself did so. After Makwati's death, the status of the woman and her children was questioned by the other heirs, since, if she was accepted as the wife of the first son, her children would rank as Makwati's main heirs. The chief, in giving judgment, referred to the seed-raising custom as pernicious, and, because he refused to recognize it as still legally

[1] Chief's Tribunal (Kanye), Case no. 20 of 1938; District Commissioner's Court, Ngwaketse District, criminal case no. 83 of 1942; High Court of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1 May 1942.

valid, he ruled that the woman should be regarded as Makwati's own junior wife, her children therefore being inferior in status to all the other heirs.[1] The possibility that Makwati might have been living incestuously with his 'daughter-in-law' was not mentioned; nor, apparently, was the matter ever raised during his lifetime.

In the five cases of what was considered incest (or attempted incest), the woman in two instances was the man's daughter; in the others she was respectively his sister's daughter, his maternal aunt, and his daughter-in-law. The sentence in three cases was a fine; in the fourth, the accusation was dismissed as unfounded; and in the fifth the couple were simply separated. But, it is important to note, all the cases cited had one feature in common: they were dealt with by the tribal authorities because a specific complaint had been lodged. I heard of other instances in which this procedure had not been followed, the result being that the matter was officially ignored.

1. Among the Ngwato, in 1935, I was told of a man named Rabaku, of Makolobywane ward, who had 'married' his full sister, begotten two children by her, and was still living together with her at the time of my visit. Both the chief and other informants told me that in the old days the couple would have been killed. But, although they were said to be detested as *botlhodi*, no action at all had been taken against them, despite the notoriety attaching to their action.

2. Among the Ngwaketse, Makuku Mongwaketse had married his paternal half-sister. He was still living with her when I last visited the tribe in 1943. This form of marriage had been permitted long ago, but is said to have been prohibited by Chief Bathoen I. The present chief knew of Makuku's marriage, and told me that he thought it was wrong. When asked why he had ignored it, he said that he could do nothing, because it had not given rise to any dispute that would bring it to his court. I then asked him and the other men who were present what they would do if the matter did come before them. Their answers varied. Some thought merely that the couple should be separated; others added that their father should be fined for having permitted the marriage. The most interesting suggestion of all was that the marriage should be dissolved, and the children given to their mother, so that Makuku would be able

[1] *Toitoi* v. *Osenyeng*, Chief's Tribunal (Serowe), Case no. K.132/M.33/1938.

to act as their maternal uncle (*malome*)—a relationship, as I have shown elsewhere, that is considered particularly important in Tswana society.[1]

3. My Kgatla informants stated that cases were known of cohabitation between men and their step-daughters, but that such cases were usually 'hushed up' and kept from court, because of the shame and humiliation that might be suffered by the relatives of the people concerned. For instance, Makaka (of Moganetsi ward) had 'entered the hut' of his paternal uncle's widow, and (in 1933) was cohabiting with both her and her daughter by her late husband. His conduct was notorious and generally condemned as *botlhodi*, but the other members of his ward, afraid of the publicity that would result from a trial, had refrained from lodging a complaint, and therefore no action had been taken against him.

4. The Tlôkwa, like most other tribes, regard cohabitation between a man and his daughter-in-law as incestuous. However, in 1943 the chief and other informants told me that instances were beginning to occur nowadays, not so much with a son's widow as with the wife of a living son who has been away at work for a long time. The ostensible motive is to ensure that the woman continues to bear children in her husband's family. The chief stated also that no action would be taken against the offenders unless they were officially reported to him. I failed to ask if any cases had in fact been reported and what was then done.

5. In 1901 the Kwena chief Sebele I, in a letter to the Assistant Commissioner at Gaberones, accused his wife Ikaeng of adultery with her half-brother Baruti. (Baruti was the son of Kgosidintsi by Setshwaro, of the second house, and Ikaeng was Kgosidintsi's daughter by Nteke, of the third house.) Sebele stated that Ikaeng had become pregnant by Baruti, and continued (his letter was written in English): 'Is it right to lie and share blankets together with your sister? No, not at all. If it is right in your custom, in ours it is not at all.' However, the matter does not seem to have been taken any farther, and I do not know what truth there was in the charge. It is, nevertheless, worth noting that Sebele, although personally affected,

[1] Cf. my *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, London: Oxford University Press (1938), pp. 189 f., and the paper, already cited, on 'Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana'.

did not venture to prosecute Baruti for either adultery or incest. At the time, however, Baruti was leader of the tribal opposition against Sebele (his father Kgosidintsi and Sebele's father Sechele I were brothers), and political considerations may have deterred the chief from taking more effective action.

Baruti subsequently also committed adultery with the wife of his uterine nephew Kealeboga (son of Sebele by Kgosidintsi's daughter Gorileng). Referring to this, Kealeboga wrote to the Assistant Commissioner in 1914: 'It is strictly prohibited in our custom for a wife to sleep with her husband's uncle.' But if by this he meant that Baruti had committed incest, he did not press the charge, although he was afterwards able to divorce his wife because of her adultery with Baruti.

CONCLUSION

The data presented above may be summarized as follows. The Tswana prohibit marriage or sexual intercourse between certain very close relatives only. In general, the prohibited degrees are confined to the first and second orders of kinship and affinity. More remote relatives are not affected, even if they are classed together with women to whom the incest prohibitions apply. Thus, a man may not cohabit with his sister, but he is encouraged to marry his father's brother's daughter, although the two women are called by the same kinship term, *kgaitsadi*, and are both regarded as 'sisters'. Moreover, a woman who falls within the prohibited degrees on the maternal side may nevertheless be married if on the paternal side the relationship is more remote. Occasionally biological relationship is taken into account, but, in general, it is superseded by the social or legal relationship, so that, for instance, people begotten by the same man may yet marry if one of them is the issue of a leviratic union and therefore not the legal sibling of the other.

Despite the small range of prohibitions, cases of incest do occur. They are regarded as 'unnatural' and ominous of evil, and informants maintain that in the old days the people concerned would have been killed. More recently, since the imposition of British rule, the tendency has been to punish them by a fine and to order their separation. From the instances cited, however, it is evident that incest is not nowadays treated by the Tswana as a crime that must be punished whenever it becomes known. One cannot argue that the introduction of European

rule is responsible. Tswana tribal courts still have considerable jurisdiction, in criminal cases as well as in civil; and, as we have seen, they do actually punish incest when a case comes before them. But the tribal authorities do not consider it their duty to initiate the prosecution, and the result is that notorious offenders are allowed to go unpunished because no one is sufficiently concerned to complain against them. Their conduct is condemned as *botlhodi*, but beyond that nothing is done. One is forced to conclude that among the Tswana incest is not the terrible crime that it is said to be in other primitive societies. The whole community is not polluted: it is only the couple themselves, and possibly their nearest relations who may be affected by breach of the taboo, and if none of the latter wish to complain it is not for others to intervene.

However, although cases of incest may not lead to action on the part of the tribal authorities, it is sometimes held that the union itself will prove disastrous to the parties concerned. Among the Rolong, for instance, Bathobatho Motshegare, a grandson of Chief Tawana, married his paternal half-sister Sita. The couple died without issue, an event that is still quoted to show the action of *botlhodi*. Similarly, among the Ngwaketse, I was told of a man named Setilo Mookodi, of Kgatleng ward, who had violated tribal law by cohabiting with his maternal uncle's widow; he was afterwards attacked by a series of misfortunes, held to be the consequence of his breaking the taboo.

There are certain other aspects of incest with which I have not dealt in this paper. We have noted, for instance, that although some marriage prohibitions are common to all the Tswana tribes, others have a local distribution, so that what some tribes consider incestuous relations are permitted elsewhere. These variations I am at present unable to explain; they do not seem to be related to other differences in the social systems of the tribes concerned, and, unless we assume them to have been the product of local historical development, the solution can only be found by a more extended comparative study of the Tswana group generally and of other Sotho-speaking peoples.[1]

In one instance at least, historical factors have certainly

[1] I have touched on these problems in the paper on 'Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana' to which reference has already been made.

produced the conditions that now prevail. In several tribes forms of marriage that were formerly permitted are nowadays considered incestuous. Among the Ngwaketse the change is ascribed to legislation by Chief Bathoen I (1889–1910), and there is contemporary documentary evidence to show that this is probably correct. Such evidence is not available for the other tribes, and further investigation is required into the factors directly responsible for the change. It is interesting also to find that in every instance the tendency has been to enlarge, and not to diminish, the range of prohibitions; this too is a matter for further investigation.

Other topics that need discussion in a more extended survey than I have been able to make here are the reasons why the Tswana consider certain forms of sexual relationship as incestuous, the motives that induce people to commit incest, the occurrence of the incest motif in myths and dreams, and the attitude of the Missions and the Government towards marriages that would be incestuous under Christian or civil law. I hope to deal with these in a forthcoming detailed study of Southern Bantu kinship systems.

I. SCHAPERA

THE HOPI AND THE LINEAGE PRINCIPLE

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

ONE of the most significant advances in the study of kinship systems in modern times has been Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's method of structural or sociological analysis, by which a limited number of structural principles have been isolated by comparative study of diverse systems and shown to underly a variety of social and cultural phenomena. In two recent Presidential Addresses[1] before the Royal Anthropological Institute Professor Radcliffe-Brown has summarized his conception of the study of social structure and illustrated the results which may be achieved in the field of kinship. He conceives the major task of social anthropology to be the study of social structure: the network of actually existing social relations between the members of a social group. The kinship system is an important part of the social structure; in analysing kinship systems as organized wholes he holds as a working hypothesis the view that there is a complex relation of interdependence between the various features of a particular system. By a comparison of diverse systems he has isolated such important structural principles as the solidarity of the sibling group, the distinction of generation, differentiation according to sex and age, and the solidarity and unity of the lineage group.[2]

In the most recent of these addresses, 'The Study of Kinship Systems', Professor Radcliffe-Brown has referred to my unpublished analysis of the social organization of the Hopi Indians[3]

[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure', and 'The Study of Kinship Systems', *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, lxx (1940), lxxi (1941).

[2] See, in addition to his previously cited papers, 'The Social Organization of Australian Tribes', *Oceania*, v. i (1930–1).

[3] This study, 'The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos with Special Reference to the Hopi Indians', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1933, was originally written as a doctoral thesis. Field work was carried out among the Hopi of Third Mesa under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology at Santa Fe, New Mexico, during the summer of 1932; a research assistantship provided by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago made it possible, under Professor Radcliffe-Brown's direction, to become acquainted with comparable data for Pueblo and other groups. The winter season of 1933–4 was spent among the Hopi, partly with Dr. Mischa Titiev, a co-worker of the summer of 1932, whose monograph, 'Old Oraibi', *Papers, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Harvard University, xxii (1944), has recently appeared. During the summer of 1940, my wife, Dorothy Eggan, and I began a

as exemplifying the principle of the unity of the lineage group. Since this study was made originally under his direction, and since publication of the results, which are part of a study of the *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*, has been delayed by various events including the war, I feel that it is appropriate to present a summary and interpretation of Hopi kinship in this volume.

The Hopi are one of the few groups of Indians in North America who maintain their social structure and culture in something approximating its aboriginal form; they offer, therefore, an excellent opportunity to study a Crow type of 'lineage' system of kinship in operation. Since they possess a majority of features associated with the classic Crow type, the Hopi may well become the type group for this important class of systems, thus furnishing a better basis for classification and comparison. Further, the differential influences of White and other contacts on various of the Hopi villages and the long archaeological and historical record offer an opportunity to study social and cultural change under relatively controlled conditions.[1]

THE HOPI KINSHIP SYSTEM

The Hopi Indians, the most western and isolated of the Pueblo groups of Arizona and New Mexico whose distinctive mode of life is so well known, live in villages on a series of mesas in north-eastern Arizona. Their territory is part of the arid and dissected Colorado Plateau, which here averages some 6,000 feet in height. The Hopi are dry farmers, depending directly or indirectly on rainfall; rain is scarce and variable, averaging only some 10 inches per year.[2] The need for water, vital for

study of social and cultural change among the Hopi villages which is still in process, under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago.

[1] See Titiev, op. cit., ch. vii, for a discussion of the relations between Hopi ethnology and Pueblo archaeology. I have in preparation an extended discussion of social and cultural change over a long period of time, utilizing the results of the archaeological excavations at Awatovi under the direction of Dr. J. O. Brew and the studies of Basin Shoshoni social organization made by Professor Julian Steward.

[2] For detailed discussions of the Hopi geographical environment and their external adjustment, see C. D. Forde, 'Hopi Agriculture and Land Ownership', *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, lxi (1931); and J. T. Hack, 'The Changing Physical Environment of the Hopi Indians of Arizona', *Papers, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Harvard University, xxxv. 1 (1942).

agriculture, profoundly influences the social and ceremonial life as well.

While a specifically Hopi culture cannot be identified beyond the beginning of Pueblo IV times (*c.* A.D. 1300), peoples with Pueblo cultures have been living in the region for a much longer period. At the time of Coronado's visit in 1540 there were some seven villages on four mesas, but after the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680 important changes took place in village location. In recent years population growth and internal dissension have led to further village-building, with the result that to-day there are some eleven villages with a total population of over 3,000.

Despite their geographical position Hopi culture is in no sense marginal. Their nearest Pueblo neighbours, the Zuni, are some 200 miles to the south-east, while the Navaho, recent comers to the Hopi region, now completely surround them. Because the Spaniards did not return in any force after the Rebellion, the Hopi lack certain political and religious institutions imposed on other Pueblos, though they have shared in the material benefits which the Spanish brought.[1]

Each major village is politically independent—the Hopi have acted together only on occasions when their welfare has been seriously threatened or under Government pressure. Their unity resides in their common language and culture: with the exception of the village of Hano[2] there are only slight dialectic differences from mesa to mesa and the social and cultural patterns encompass the entire tribe.

A preliminary examination reveals that each village is divided into a series of matrilineal, totemically named clans, which are linked or grouped into nameless but exogamous phratries. Each clan is composed of one or more matrilineal lineages, which, though nameless, are of great importance. The basic local organization is the extended family based on matrilocal residence and occupying the household of one or more rooms in

[1] For a general account see E. C. Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, Chicago: University of Chicago (1939).

[2] The village of Hano is composed of Tewa-speaking peoples from the Rio Grande region who migrated westward and settled on First Mesa after the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680. Their social organization has been briefly but excellently described by B. Freire-Marreco, 'Tewa Kinship Terms from the Pueblo of Hano, Arizona', *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xvi (1914), pp. 269–87. A comparison of her account with those for the Tewa of the Rio Grande and with the present account will show the profound reorientation of Hano social structure; for details see my forthcoming *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*.

common. In addition there are various associations, both societies and kiva groups, which are involved in the calendrical ceremonies.

The structure, social functions, and interrelationships of these groups can best be seen in the light of an analysis of the kinship system. For the Hopi the kinship system[1] is the most important element of their social structure; they have utilized it to define and determine social relations in most aspects of daily and ceremonial life.

The following chart (Fig. 1) illustrates the kinship system by means of a conventional genealogical diagram. The Hopi terminological system[2] is of the 'classificatory' type, with the father being classed with the father's brother and the mother with the mother's sister. But within each generation a wide variety of relatives is to be found. There are separate terms for grandfather and grandmother, but their siblings are classed in a variety of ways, some with the grandparents and others with the father, brother, or mother's brother. In the parental generation there are separate terms for the mother's brother and father's sister, but the former's wife is considered a 'female relative-in-law' whereas the latter's husband is classed with the grandfather. In ego's generation siblings are distinguished according to sex and age, except that a woman uses the same term for her younger siblings. Parallel cousins are treated as siblings, whereas cross-cousins are differentiated, the children of the father's sister being called 'father' and 'father's sister', while the children of the mother's brother are 'children' (male speaking) or 'grand-children' (female speaking). In the children's and grandchildren's generations further apparently anomalous usages appear. It is obvious that the kinship system is not organized on any principle of 'generation' and the descent pattern from the father's sister overrides generation, in a significant way. By utilizing this pattern of descent and arranging relatives in terms of a 'lineage diagram', the nature of the Hopi kinship structure becomes apparent: the native grouping is on

[1] For a detailed presentation see Eggan, 'Kinship System'; Titiev, op. cit., has used the social organization as the basis for his masterly analysis of the whole round of Hopi culture.

[2] While English terms are used for convenience, these terms must be understood with reference to their Hopi applications and meanings, which latter are determined by the reciprocal behaviour involved. Terms used in a classificatory sense are usually enclosed in quotation marks.

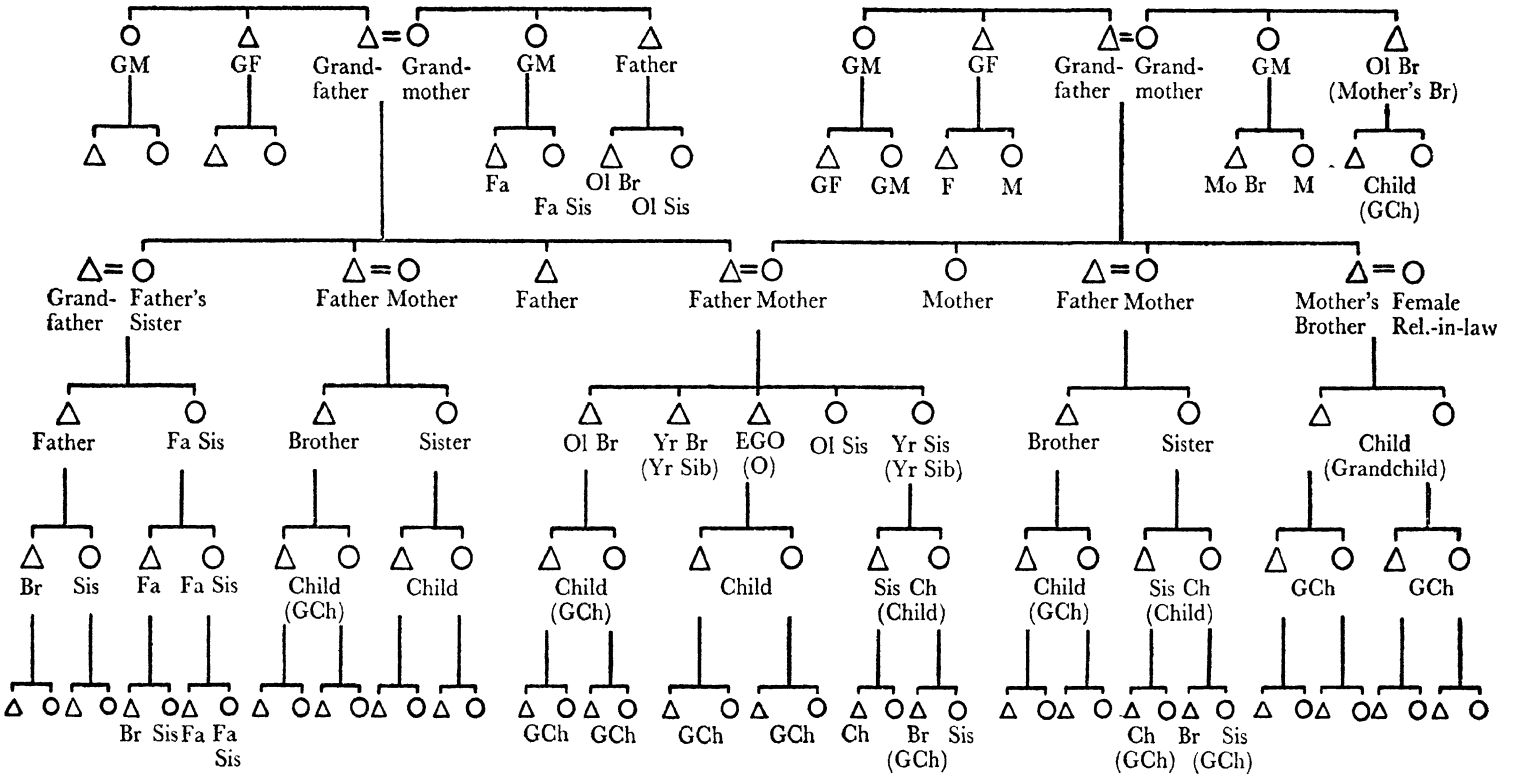


FIG. 1. The Hopi Kinship System as seen in a conventional diagram.

Ego = male. Where terms for female differ they are indicated in parentheses.

a 'vertical' or 'lineage', rather than on a 'horizontal' or 'generation' basis.

Figs. 2–5 outline the central core of the Hopi kinship structure. Since descent is matrilineal the position of a male in the lineage structure is different conceptually from that of a female. Within the lineage both differentiate relatives according to generation and, to a more limited extent, sex and age. A male is in a 'peripheral' position with regard to the lineage; he tends to classify the mother's mother's brother with the older brother; his sister's children are within the lineage but his own children are outside. A female is in the direct line of descent and her children are in the lineage, however, and she normally classifies the mother's mother's brother with the mother's brother. With regard to persons marrying into the lineage it tends to be considered as a unit by both men and women. All women marrying men of the lineage, regardless of generation, are classed as 'female relatives-in-law'; all men marrying women of ego's generation and below are classed together as 'male relatives-in-law'. Children of men of the lineage are classed as 'children' (male speaking) or 'grandchildren' (female speaking).

The father's matrilineal lineage, which becomes related through the marriage of ego's parents, is treated somewhat differently. In this lineage all the women are 'father's sisters' (or grandmothers) and all the men are 'fathers', regardless of generation or age. Further, any man marrying a woman of the father's lineage is a 'grandfather' and all wives of the 'fathers' are 'mothers'; any child of the men of the lineage is a 'brother' or 'sister.' These terms are used by both males and females.

In the mother's father's matrilineal lineage, which is related to ego's lineage through the marriage of the mother's parents, we find a parallel situation. All the women of this lineage are 'grandmothers' and all the men are 'grandfathers'; their spouses are likewise 'grandfather' or 'grandmother'. The father's father's matrilineal lineage, on the other hand, is not socially recognized, though the father's father is called 'grandfather' and his siblings are 'grandparents'.

The Hopi thus divide consanguineal relatives in terms of three lineages: the mother's (ego's), father's, and mothers' father's matrilineal lineages. In ego's own lineage we find a considerable differentiation of relatives, but with reference to individuals marrying into the lineage we note that they are classed together

in terminological usage. Generation distinctions are important only within one's own lineage; with reference to outsiders related by marriage the lineage is conceived as a unit. For a male ego there is some tendency to organize male lineage relationships in terms of alternate generations, but this tendency is not standardized in social usage at present. The father's and mother's father's lineages, on the other hand, are treated as units, both with regard to their members and with reference to persons marrying into the lineage. The lineage diagrams suggest that the father's and mother's lineages are related to ego's in conceptually similar ways; each is attached through marriage of a man to a woman of the lineage, either mother or mother's mother. The father's father's lineage, on the other hand, is a whole lineage farther removed, and is not recognized by the Hopi, though the father's father's sister's descendants are just as close genealogically as the mother's father's sister's children. In terms of these lineage patterns the anomalous patterns of the conventional genealogical charts and the differences in terminology between males and females are explicable and intelligible.

We have noted that these three lineages form the central core or nucleus of the kinship system and give the basic differentiation of relatives. They are not limited to the five generations diagrammed—in Hopi theory they are timeless, stretching back to the Emergence and continuing into the future. They also serve as units for the extension of the kinship structure, by which a Hopi becomes related, in one way or another, to almost everybody in his village, to many people in other villages, and even to members of other tribes.

The primary extension of kinship is to the clan. A person is considered to be related to everybody in his own clan, regardless of whether the clan consists of one lineage or several, and to the members of his father's and mother's father's clans. While a Hopi distinguishes between 'own relatives' and 'clan relatives', in Hopi theory a clan is composed of genealogically related individuals even though connexions between component lineages cannot be traced at present.[1]

Kinship is further extended to all members of the associated

[1] For reasons of kinship theory the analysis is here made from the standpoint of the lineage rather than of the clan. Titiev, op. cit., prefers an analysis in terms of the clan, but I believe the usefulness of the distinction can be demonstrated in comparative studies.

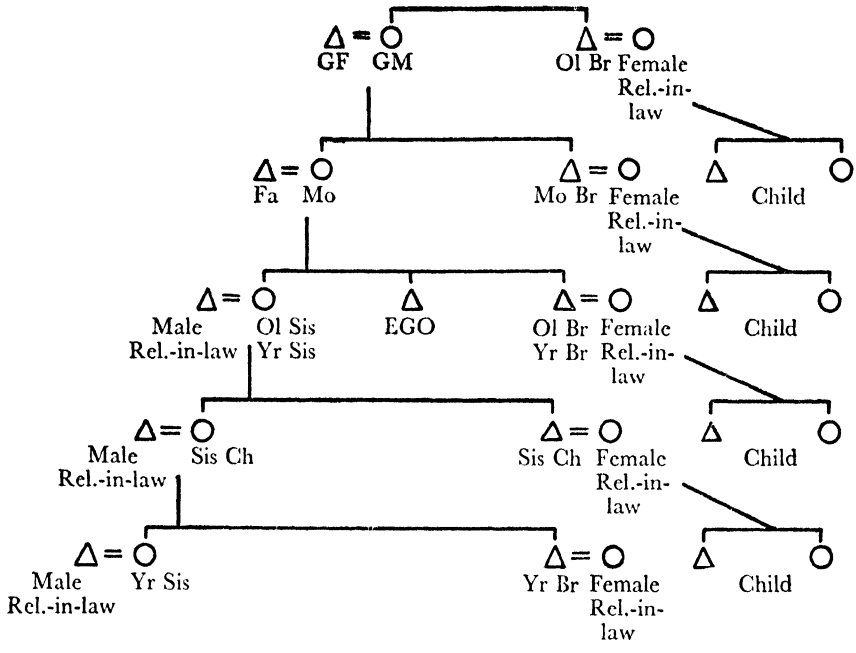


FIG. 2. The mother's matrilineal lineage.

Ego = male.

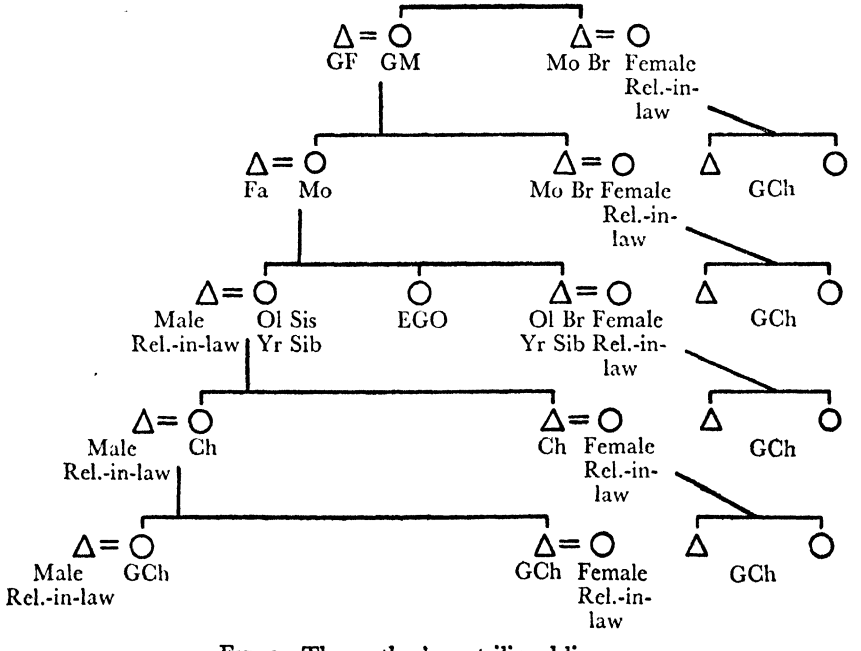


FIG. 3. The mother's matrilineal lineage.

Ego = female.

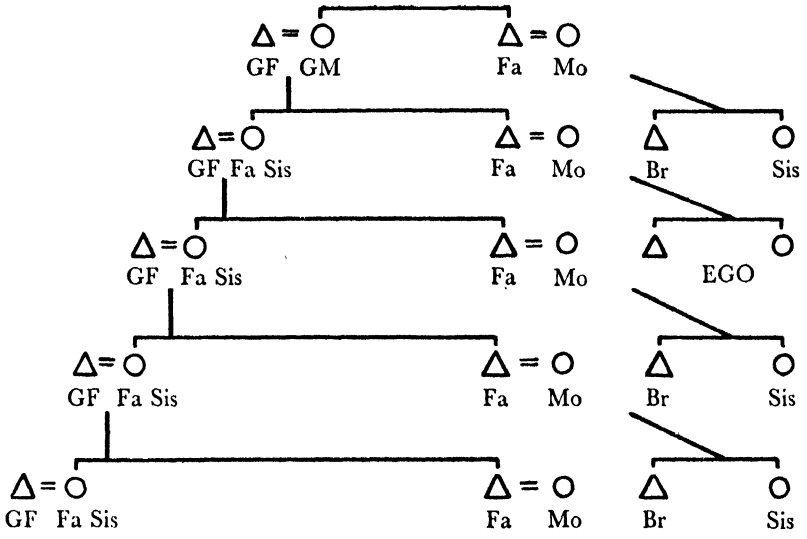


FIG. 4. The father's matrilineal lineage.
Ego = male or female.

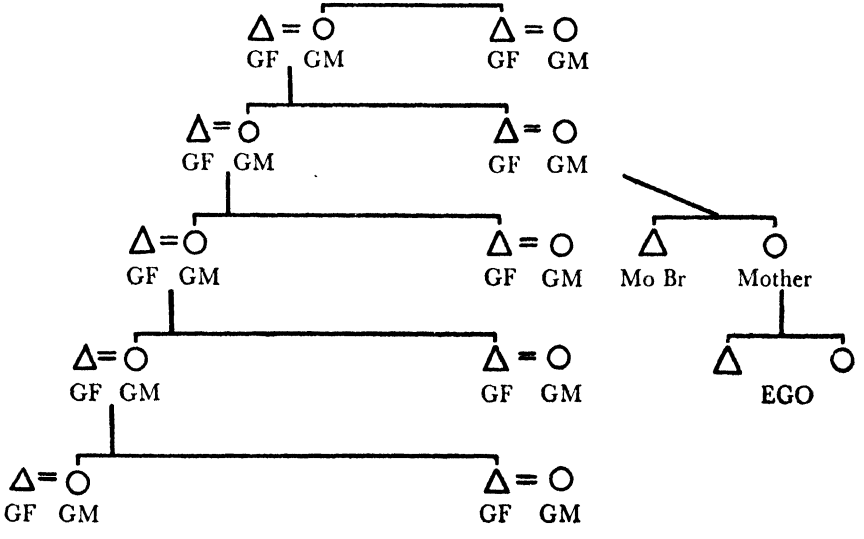


FIG. 5. The mother's father's matrilineal lineage.
Ego = male or female.

or linked clans which make up the Hopi phratry,[1] so that a person is related to his own, his father's, and his mother's father's phratries. The phratry groupings, in Hopi theory, consist of clans which met or shared in some experience during the period of 'clan wanderings' which preceded the final settlement in the Hopi region; as such they are 'partners' rather than genealogically related clans, and the extension of kinship is on a more strictly social basis. Since the same or similar clans and clan groupings exist in other Hopi villages, a Hopi at birth has a large number of relatives to whom he can trace no genealogical connexion, but who are socially recognized. Of these the relatives of his own and his father's clan and phratry are most important.

This is only the beginning of the social extension of kinship, however. A 'ceremonial father' is chosen by his parents outside of the circle of clan relatives to act as sponsor in various societies and groups, and the novice becomes related to his clan and phratry group. A doctor who cures an individual of serious illness may 'adopt' the latter into his clan and phratry. Kinship terms applicable to the father's clan are used in these cases.

Marriage results in the acquisition of an additional set of relatives, since a man should marry outside of his own, his father's, and his mother's father's clans and phratries, in theory at least. For his affinal relatives a man employs the same kinship terms which his wife uses for her household and lineage, and the wife similarly uses the terms her husband uses for his relatives. These relationships are felt as extending to the spouse's clan, but such extensions are not important. This terminological usage is non-reciprocal since the spouses are called 'male relative-in-law' and 'female relative-in-law', in return, a usage which is explicable in terms of the marriage situation and the obligations involved.

There are further extensions of kinship on a symbolic basis. The village chief is considered as a 'father' and is so addressed on ritual occasions. Priests may be referred to as 'fathers'; kinship terms are used on occasions of ritual smoking and initiations. There is an extension of kinship to the world of nature. The sun is called 'father', the earth and corn are

[1] E. C. Parsons, op. cit., for reasons which I cannot follow, prefers to call these groupings 'linked clans', but structurally they correspond to phratries despite their lack of a name. Compare Titiev's discussion of this problem, op. cit., ch. iv.

'mother', the spider is 'grandmother' to all the Hopi. The plant or animal species which serve as clan names are frequently called 'father', 'mother', or 'mother's brother' by the clans-people. Where similar clan names are used by other tribes, a relationship is felt.

These extensions of kinship, largely on the basis of the clan as the unit, result in any individual's having a large number of relatives. In certain cases there may be several ways of tracing relationship. Titiev has worked out the approximate order of closeness as follows: (1) immediate family, (2) mother's sisters and children, (3) others of household, (4) own clan, (5) father's household, (6) own phratry, (7) father's clan and phratry, (8) 'ceremonial father's' clan and phratry, and (9) 'doctor father's' clan and phratry. He points out that this order is confirmed by the incest regulations, marriage being forbidden within the first six groups, theoretically forbidden but tolerated within the seventh, and allowed within the last two.[1]

We have now outlined the formal kinship structure as it is reflected in terminological usage and have indicated the main mechanisms for extension. Of equal importance, for our purposes, is the domestic or household group into which a Hopi is born and in which he receives his primary orientation. The basic family unit is an extended family based on matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence. This group, which may consist of a woman and her husband, married daughters and their husbands, unmarried sons, and children of the daughters, normally occupies a set of adjoining rooms which it uses in common, and may be conveniently designated a 'household'. Even where increased numbers, conflicts between sisters, and modern conditions have led to further division, the conceptual unity of the household group remains.

The central core or axis of the household is composed of a line of women—a segment of a lineage. All the members of the segment, male and female, are born in the household and consider it their home, but only the women normally reside there after marriage. The men of the lineage leave at marriage to reside in the households of their wives, returning to their natal home on various ritual and ceremonial occasions, or in case of

[1] Titiev, op. cit., pp. 13–14. The problem of cross-cousin marriage has been considered by Titiev, 'The Problem of Cross-Cousin Marriage among the Hopi', *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xl (1938).

separation or divorce, which is frequent. Into the household in turn come other men through marriage, who take over the economic support of the household but have little to do with its ritual activities. If their marriages continue they gradually move from the status of relatives-in-law to that of fathers and grandfathers.

Thus the households, which from one point of view are merely a series of elementary families held together in the female line, achieve a more significant structure. We may view them as lines of women looking alternately to their brothers and to their husbands. On ritual occasions when men return to their natal household, the household group becomes a lineage, or a lineage segment; on ordinary occasions the household is composed of the same women plus their husbands and children. The household revolves about a central and continuing core of women; the men are peripheral with divided residences and loyalties.

There is no native term for the household nor is it considered an independent unit by the Hopi, since they think in terms of the clan. But the household is important in many contexts. In terms of the lineage diagrams we can see it overlapping the lineage groupings, uniting consanguineal and affinal kin in a domestic group. A Hopi born into such a household finds there representatives of practically all his important kin, and here he receives his basic orientation with regard to kinship, which serves as a pattern for later extension and elaboration. If his mother's sisters should live in separate households, their homes are equally his. Of great importance also is the father's natal household, the women of which play a special role in ego's life, as well as the households of other father's sisters, whether clan or ceremonial. Here are found other relatives who complete the kinship outline, except for the experience of marriage. A Hopi is thus linked to a set of households which parallel the lineages and clans to which he is related, but which provide a somewhat different and more concrete orientation. The interrelations between these two kinds of organizations provide one key to Hopi social structure and function.

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND USAGES

Having outlined the basic classification of relatives and the structural forms involved we might now briefly examine the social relations which make up the structure and the social

usages in which they are embodied and maintained. The basic relationships are those of the elementary family, but because of conditions of descent and residence certain other relationships of a more distant order come to have great importance among the Hopi. Since space does not permit a detailed treatment the reader may be referred to other sources for further information on the behaviour patterns between relatives.[1]

The relation of a father to his child is of a different order from the relation of a woman to her children. A child belongs to the mother's lineage and clan but is a 'child' of the father's clan; although both are recognized as kin the two parental groups are rather sharply differentiated in attitudes and behaviour, as well as residence. The father's obligations to his sons are primarily economic: he is mainly responsible for preparing them to make a living, and his position is something like that of an older comrade and teacher. There is affection but little in the way of punishment, and while a boy respects his father he does not ordinarily fear him. The Hopi normally make little distinction between the father and the father's brothers, although behaviour towards more distant 'fathers' may be attenuated. Those fathers who assist their sons are in turn assisted and supported in later life; where 'fathers' are younger than their 'sons' the pattern of behaviour may be reversed.

The mother–daughter relationship, in contrast, is an exceedingly close one, based on clan ties, common activities, and lifelong residence together. The mother is responsible for both the economic and ritual training of her daughters. A daughter's behaviour is reciprocally one of respect and obedience, and in most cases affection as well. The position of the mother's sister is practically identical with that of the mother, particularly when she resides in the same household.

Whereas the relations of a father to his daughter are limited in scope, the relations of a mother to her son are almost as close as to her daughter. Even after marriage he frequently seeks her advice. She plays an important role in the selection of his 'ceremonial father' and in the marriage ceremonies. Her home is always his home; here he keeps his personal property, here he brings guests, and here he returns in case of divorce.

The bond between husband and wife varies with time and

[1] See Eggan, 'Kinship System'; Titiev, 'Old Oraibi', ch. ii; and L. W. Simmons (ed.), *Sun Chief*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1942), for details.

circumstances but is seldom close, since their primary loyalties are to their own lineages. In Hopi theory the best lands are owned by clans and divided among the households, the women owning the houses and the crops. Husbands farm their wives' lands and contribute otherwise to the support of the household. Though marriage is monogamous, separation is easy and there is a high rate of divorce in all of the villages.[1] Where conflicts or crises arise the husband may be treated as an outsider by the household, in which case he usually returns to his own household until reconciliation or remarriage. The serious social consequences of easy separation are mitigated by the extended family structure of the household, since the wife and small children can fall back on the larger family for economic support.

The sibling bond is a very strong one in Hopi society, being based on common blood and residence, and on mutual aid. The strongest and most permanent tie is that between two sisters, next is the relationship between brothers. Brothers frequently co-operate in economic and ritual activities throughout life, despite their living in different households. While two brothers may marry two sisters, or marry into the same clan, this is not a definite rule. The sororate and the levirate are not practised.

The relationship of sisters to one another, and to their mother, is the foundation of the Hopi household group. This relationship, based on the closest ties of blood, residence, and occupation, lasts from birth to death. Their children are brought up and cared for together; they co-operate in all the household tasks. Though quarrels occur, sisters generally manage to get along together.

The brother–sister bond, though close, is modified by the prevailing division of labour and the rules of residence. There are no restrictions or avoidances in their behaviour. A brother helps support his sister's household when necessary; together they may co-operate in ceremonial activities or in 'ceremonial parenthood'. An older brother has much in common with a younger brother but less with a younger sister; an older sister, on the other hand, engages equally in the task of taking care of her younger brothers and sisters.[2] The bond between them is the

[1] Titiev, 'Old Oraibi', pp. 39–43, has a detailed discussion of divorce among the Hopi.

[2] This situation is consonant with the use of separate terms for 'younger brother'

basis for a portion of their relationships to each other's children, as well. With regard to marriage, however, there is little or no tendency to brother–sister exchange between households.

A mother's brother has important relations with his sister's children. As male head of his sister's lineage and household his position is one of authority and control; he is the chief disciplinarian and is both respected and obeyed. The mother's brother has primary responsibility for transmitting the ritual heritage of the lineage or clan; he usually selects the most capable nephew as his successor and trains him in the duties of whatever ceremonial position he may control. The nephew usually respects or fears his mother's brother, but may gradually develop an affection for him as he grows older.

The mother's mother's brother is likewise an important relative. While alive he is the ritual head of the household and may act as a teacher, but he seldom actively punishes his sister's daughter's children, leaving that task to his sister's son. The Hopi frequently class the mother's mother's brother with the older brother, rather than with the disciplining mother's brother.

The grandparent–grandchild relation is more varied but in general is one of affection and attachment. By reason of residence a mother's father is usually closer to his grandson, often instructing him in Hopi lore and activities. The father's father has a similar relationship, but being in a different household, has normally fewer opportunities. This grandfather enters into a joking relationship with his grandson, and may pour water on him or roll him in the snow. The father's sister's husband enters into a special joking relationship centred in the father's sister.

Grandmothers likewise treat their grandchildren with kindness and affection, though the mother's mother occupies a dominant position in the household and as such must be respected and obeyed. The father's mother is closer to her grandchildren and shows them more affection. As a woman of the father's lineage, she shares with the father's sisters an important joking relationship with her grandson. The grandparent–grandchild relationship is widely extended and includes relatives in several conceptual categories; the Hopi have ignored these differences and classed them together despite differences in behaviour.

and 'younger sister' when a man is speaking, whereas a woman uses only one term 'younger sibling', for both.

The relationship of a father's sister to her brother's children is one of the most interesting and important in Hopi life. At all life crises and on all ceremonial occasions the father's sisters play an important role. With the brother's son there is a very close relationship, with strong sexual overtones.[1] At the time of the boy's marriage, the father's sisters may 'find fault' with the bride, and all the women of the father's household and clan may descend on the boy's household and daub his female relatives with mud, as a means of showing how much they care for him.

This expression of jealousy takes a more direct form in the joking between a boy, his father's sisters, and their husbands. The latter, as 'grandfathers', may have rolled the boy in the snow on occasion. They may dispute over who can take care of the father's sister the better, and in some instances, at least, there are threats of castration on the part of the father's sister's husband.[2] A girl, on the other hand, will tease her mother's brother as to his relations with his father's sisters.

The father's sister's daughters, when unmarried, are not teased in this fashion; they choose their favourite mother's brother's sons as partners in Butterfly and other social dances. More distant father's sisters are also regarded with affection and may become sexual partners. The father's sister should probably be considered as a 'little grandmother'; her husband is called 'grandfather' and her brother's children are 'grandchildren'. The special term serves to segregate the women of the father's household and clan from the general group of genealogical grandparents.

The relations with relatives by marriage take a somewhat different and non-reciprocal form. Men marrying into a household share in the task of supporting it, and are judged on the basis of performance. If they get along well, there is a tendency for the wife's brothers to call them 'brother' rather than 'male relative-in-law'. Later, they become 'fathers' to the generation below. Two men married to women of the same household call one another 'partners'; they have similar tasks to perform in maintaining it.

The relations with 'female relatives-in-law' are somewhat different, though also non-reciprocal. Women marrying any

[1] Compare Titiev's discussion of cross-cousin marriage noted above.

[2] See Simmons, op. cit., pp. 39–40 for examples.

men of the lineage are called by the term, 'female relative-in-law'; in return they use the husband's terms for his household and clan. These 'female relatives-in-law' do not form a localized group but have important duties whenever a woman of the husband's clan is being married, and on other occasions.

The primary obligations of 'relatives-in-law' are to the household and lineage with which they are immediately associated, but these are frequently extended to the clan. The return obligations amount to relatively little beyond the marriage itself, nor is there any extension to the relatives of these in-laws. On a household or lineage basis, however, there is a better balance. The husband's household loses an economic worker but gains a 'female relative-in-law'; correlatively the wife's household gains economic support and furnishes a worker for marriage and other activities. On a village-wide basis households gain 'male relatives-in-law' and lose brothers, men being shifted around from household to household.

This summary of basic relationships and patterns of behaviour makes it possible to characterize further the kinship structure of the Hopi. That structure is remarkably uniform from village to village, and has reached a high degree of consistency in the interrelations of its parts. The structural pattern gives further evidence of the importance of lineage and household groupings. The primary superordinate relationships, involving authority and control, are not organized on the basis of the elementary family or the parental generation, but are confined to ego's own lineage and concentrated largely in the mother's generation. The line of women maintains authority over the activities of the household, but the primary authority and punishing power is concentrated in the mother's brother. The father and his sisters, on the other hand, are in quite a different relationship, despite their similarity in generation. Correlated with these superordinate relationships is the primary responsibility for transmitting the ritual and social heritage of the lineage and clan, the heritage of highest value in Hopi eyes.

Within the same lineage and generation are found the basic co-operative relationships—those characteristic between siblings. In Hopi theory one should always be able to depend on one's brothers and sisters for aid and support. The relationship between two sisters is perhaps the most fundamental, being the closest and most permanent in Hopi thinking. Brothers

maintain close co-operation also, despite responsibilities in marriage. Brothers and sisters, on the other hand, have somewhat different but complementary duties towards the household and lineage, and their relations are in large measure expressed in their duties towards each other's children. Age differences between siblings are of no great moment: knowledge is considered of greater value than age, generally speaking.

The sibling relationship is perhaps the most widely extended of any Hopi kinship relation. The position of the mother's sister as a second 'mother', often indistinguishable from the biological mother in Hopi thought, is a reflection of this relationship. Occasionally the mother's mother's mother is classed as an 'older sister', parallel with the classing of her brother as an 'older brother'. More significant is the extension of sibling relationships to all the members of one's clan and phratry who are of the same age or generation, and to all the children of men of the father's clan and phratry, including the clans and phratries of the 'ceremonial' and 'doctor fathers', regardless of age. These extensions make available a vast number of potential sibling relationships and provide a lateral integration between a number of separate lineages and clans.

The relations of a man to his father's lineage and household are of a different order. Here are more affectionate relations, involving economic and ceremonial obligations without superordination or direct co-operation. The father's sister–brother's son relation is the most elaborated, involving affection and esteem tinged with sexual behaviour,[1] along with ceremonial obligations which are repaid by salt-gathering trips and hunting activities. The father's relation to his children involves his economic activities on behalf of the household, activities which are reciprocated in later life by the son. These relationships are extended to all the men and women of the father's clan and phratry, and later to the 'ceremonial' and 'doctor father's' clans and phratries.

The grandparent–grandchild relationship is largely one of affection and comradeship without any particular obligations or exercise of authority, except for the mother's mother. This relationship is rather widely extended, both on a clan basis and

[1] Dorothy Eggan, 'The General Problem of Hopi Adjustment', *American Anthropologist*, N.S. XLV (1943), pp. 357–73, has offered a possible psychological interpretation of this situation in terms of the Oedipus complex.

to any very old person, suggesting that the Hopi look upon this relationship as a generalized one.

The relations between spouses are non-reciprocal, tenuous, and brittle, in contrast to the enduring relations between relatives by blood. Men marrying into a lineage and household offer economic support in exchange for sexual privileges and children; this relationship gradually becomes more co-operative as the husband acquires a greater stake in his wife's household. The wife, in turn, has certain obligations to her husband's lineage and clan.

This brief analysis of structural relationships in Hopi kinship illustrates the importance of the lineage in organizing and integrating the basic relationships within the group. Within the lineage associated with one's own household are the primary superordinate and co-operative relationships, which are basic to the transmission of the social heritage and the operations of daily life. Related to these are the affinal relationships, which help to maintain the household and lineage. The other related lineages and households share in a relation characterized by affection and interest, and involving many obligations which are later repaid, but with little or no superordination or direct co-operation.

Within the overlapping structures of the household and lineage the primary bonds and loyalties, in Hopi thinking, should lie with the lineage relatives; affines are not tolerated if they interfere with the integrity of the lineage. This is particularly true of women, who make up the core of both the lineage and household. Men, on the other hand, play a role in two households, their own and their wife's. Their major interests are normally much wider, going beyond these groups to the clan and associational structures, in which they play an important and significant role, in contrast to their position in the household.

Space does not permit the presentation of the details of the life cycle, in which the activities of lineage and household relatives may be seen during the period from birth to death.[1] Throughout this period we see the continuing importance of the mother's and father's lineages and households, with the addition of the 'ceremonial father's' lineage. On all ritual occasions the father's sisters, whether own or ceremonial, play an important role in

[1] See Eggan, 'Kinship System', and Titiev, 'Old Oraibi', for an account of the life cycle.

relation to ego and his lineage, and their efforts are repaid by the latter. The exchanges consequent upon initiations of various kinds furnish a goodly portion of the economic exchanges in Hopi society; from each lineage and household there is a constant inflow and outgo of food, clothing, and other wealth.

SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The kinship system may now be seen in larger perspective. The kinship system classifies relatives into groups on the one hand, and regulates their social behaviour on the other. Towards each class of kindred there is a definite relationship, expressed in terms of duties, obligations, and privileges, which serves to order social life with a minimum of conflict. Within each class of relatives there are degrees of 'closeness', and normally the intensity of the relationship varies with this social closeness.

The closest and most important set of relatives makes up the lineage group; within this group occur both the most varied obligations and ties and the greatest differentiation in terminology. The relation to the father's lineage and household is likewise important but socially simpler—the terminology is also less complex. This relationship serves as a pattern for the various ceremonial relationships which are possible in Hopi society. The relationship with the mother's father's lineage is still simpler in both behaviour and terminology. The extensions of kinship on the basis of marriage follow the pattern of one's own lineage and household.

While the elementary bilateral family can be isolated, the matrilineal lineage serves to organize these family relatives in a definite way, linking them together in a structure and giving them a continuity they lack by themselves. Such families stretch back into the past and prospectively forward into the future. The kinship system reflects this 'vertical' organization; even the 'life structure' of the individual shows parallel features of organization.

The basic reciprocity in Hopi kinship terminology is reflected in the reciprocal behaviour patterns between most pairs of relatives. When the relationships are non-reciprocal, so also is the terminology. Only in the case of such genealogically distant relatives as 'grandparents' have the Hopi classed together relatives with somewhat different positions.

With regard to the kinship system it may be said that there is a rather precise correlation between the present terminology and the present social behaviour of relatives. There is little reason to interpret the kinship system in terms of previous social conditions, nor is it desirable or necessary to restrict the analysis to linguistic and psychological factors. When our knowledge of Hopi history is increased, however, it will be indispensable in analysing the shifts from Basin Shoshoni types of social structure to those of the modern Hopi.[1]

We may now examine the extent to which the principles outlined by Professor Radcliffe-Brown in 'The Study of Kinship Systems' are exemplified in the Hopi kinship system. We have noted that the Hopi system is 'classificatory' in that lineal relatives are grouped with collateral relatives, and that kinship covers a wide range. He points out that in such systems 'the distinction between lineal and collateral relatives is clearly recognized and is of great importance in social life, but it is in certain respects subordinated to another structural principle, which can be spoken of as the principle of the solidarity of the sibling group'.[2] The importance of the bond between brothers and sisters in the Hopi social structure has already been noted. It finds expression in the equation of the father with the father's brother, and of the mother with the mother's sister, in the various extensions of kinship, and in the household and lineage activities. Interestingly enough it does not find expression here in such institutions as the sororate or levirate, or in sororal polygyny or fraternal polyandry. In the light of the organization of the Hopi household these customs would be inefficient or difficult to carry out. Their absence does call into question the frequent explanation of 'classificatory' terminologies as the direct result of the levirate and sororate.

The principle of the 'distinction of generation', as noted above, has only limited application. Within the lineage there is superordination and authority, correlative with the responsibility for transmitting the social and ritual heritage, but even here the mother's mother's brother is frequently taken out of this role and classed as a sibling. The grandparent–grandchild

[1] Compare R. H. Lowie, 'Hopi Kinship', and 'Notes on Hopi Clans', *American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers*, xxx, pts. 6 and 7 (1939); J. H. Steward, 'Ecological Aspects of Southwestern Society', *Anthropos*, xxxii. 1 and 2 (1937); and Titiev, 'Old Oraibi', ch. vii.

[2] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 'The Study of Kinship', p. 7.

relation is one of friendliness and general lack of authority; the Hopi have extended this relationship rather widely and loosely, but on a lineage rather than a generation basis.

The most important structural principle among the Hopi, however, is the principle which Professor Radcliffe-Brown has recently referred to as the solidarity and unity of the lineage group. This seems to be a composite principle, built up on the basis of unilateral descent and the equivalence of siblings. The main axis is the mother–child relationship, particularly that of mother to daughter. Correlated with this is the sibling relationship, particularly that of two sisters.

We have already noted the expression of the solidarity of the lineage as indicated in the internal relations between lineage relatives, and in their treatment of outsiders connected by marriage. The unity of the lineage group is noted particularly in the treatment of the father's and mother's father's matrilineal lineages, and in the organization of relatives by marriage. The central role of a line of women in the lineage and household serves to tie together these two basic institutions. The peripheral role of the brother and husband and his varying responsibilities for training and punishment on the one hand, and economic support on the other, do not bind him strongly to either institution; he finds his basic satisfactions in the kiva dances and ceremonials in many cases.

The weakness of the husband–wife bond may be a structural corollary of a strong lineage principle. Where primary loyalties have developed to lineage and household it is difficult to develop strong ties between spouses, particularly in the case of matrilocal residence and female ownership of house and land.[1] Wives usually side with their house or lineage mates in disputes involving their husbands; in crises even grandfathers may be treated as outsiders by the lineage group. Husbands often fail in the difficult adjustment to a new household; wives, who have little adjustment to make, easily fall back on the household in the case of separation or divorce.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the Hopi lineage is its function of conserving and transmitting, not only the social and

[1] Under modern conditions in certain of the villages there is a shift to separate residences built and owned by the husband and to male ownership of land. Correlated with these features is a greater stability of marriage. Since the Government and missionaries have tried to bring about all of these 'improvements', it is now difficult to determine the nature of their interrelationships.

ritual heritage, but property rights, houses, and ceremonies as well, from one generation to the next. Professor Radcliffe-Brown has used the analogy of a corporation conserving an estate, and has pointed out the advantages of unilineal descent in achieving that goal.[1] Among the Hopi the women of a lineage or clan act as trustees with reference to land and houses, holding them in trust for the generations to come. Similarly they may own ceremonies and ritual paraphernalia, leadership being exercised by a mother's brother and passed to one of his sister's sons.

Explanations of kinship systems of the Hopi type have frequently been in terms of particular forms of marriage, specifically marriage with the mother's brother's widow. Such marriages, however, are not customary among the Hopi and in fact seldom occur. A more useful interpretation would seem to be in terms of the principles here sketched. The lineage principle has been shown to play a significant role in household and clan, in marriage, and in the conservation of Hopi values. The 'vertical' integration and continuity of Hopi society and culture is largely centred in the lineage. With regard to 'horizontal' or village-wide integration, the lineage groupings are tied together in a loose-knit way by the principle of the equivalence of siblings and by ceremonial and other bonds.

Hopi society, despite appearances, is not highly integrated. As it has no political superstructure, the clan and phratry groups tend to assert their position at the expense of the village. Hopi society has been held together by kinship ties, marriage bonds, and associational structures which cut across clan lines. Rituals and ceremonies are not highly centralized, being controlled by clans but performed by societies for the good of the village. In the past certain external pressures have also assisted in integrating the Hopi social system; observation of the present process of disintegration furnishes valuable insight into the nature of that integration.

Professor Radcliffe-Brown has said: 'All that a teacher can do is to assist the student in learning to understand and use the scientific method. It is not his business to make disciples.'[2] In the larger study of which this present paper is a small section,

[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 'Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession', *Iowa Law Review*, xx. 2 (1935).

[2] Id., 'On Social Structure', p. 1.

I hope to show the relevance of certain of his concepts and principles in the comparative study of social systems. Here I have tried to show how one or two principles are exemplified in one group, the Hopi. Taken with the other studies in this volume it may be a step towards the natural science of society which has long been Professor Radcliffe-Brown's major goal.

FRED EGGAN

THE ROLE OF THE SEXES IN WIKO CIRCUMCISION CEREMONIES[1]

THE circumcision ceremonies of the Wiko are typical *rites de passage* which follow the general pattern formulated by Van Gennep. The novices, after a period of seclusion in which they are isolated from women, return to their homes as 'men'. Here I draw attention to another set of problems involved in these ceremonies. It appears to have been overlooked in extant descriptions of the ceremonies of other southern African tribes, though there are indications that these have a similar structure.

The Wiko describe the circumcision-lodge as 'an agreement' between men and women, whose purpose is to turn their children into proper, fruitful men. The women therefore have specific duties to perform in the ceremonial cycle: at times they struggle with the men, while in other rites they unite with the men. Even the taboos against the women draw them into the ceremony, by setting them in opposition to the grouping of men at the lodge. Thus men and women as social categories act in organized groupings within the ritual situation, to achieve the rebirth of their sons through the lodge's *rites de passage*. This is the process which integrates the many themes of a very complex ceremony. In addition the boys are ritually separated from their mothers to be identified with their fathers, and their mothers have to assist in this separating process by surrendering their sons. The conflict of the generations emerges, of sons with parents but especially the father, though this conflict is symbolized mainly in the characters of the masked dancers of the lodge. These characters and the lodge ceremonies also reflect the struggle of the society of living men with the ancestors and the spirits of nature. The general hypothesis presented here arises directly from Radcliffe-Brown's interpretations of ritual, and particularly from the problems he posed in his early study of the Andaman Islanders' initiation ceremonies.[2]

[1] I collected the data for this article while working for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Social Studies, Northern Rhodesia. I am grateful to Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, Prof. I. Schapera, and Dr. W. Sachs for criticism of the first draft of this paper. Mr. C. M. N. White has given me valuable detailed comments based on his knowledge of the people themselves.

[2] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1922, reprinted 1933).

The people I describe collectively as *Wiko* comprise Mbunda, Luena (Lubale), Chokwe, and Luchazi. For some thirty years members of these tribes, who are matrilineal but usually marry patrilocally, have been migrating into central Barotseland from north and west, particularly from Angola. The Lozi, who are the dominant tribe of the region, call them *Mawiko*, 'the people of the west', and they accept the name. I use this name here because I observed the ceremonies as practised by these immigrants, and studied different parts of the ceremonies among different 'Wiko' tribes. There is variation from tribe to tribe and lodge to lodge, but all ceremonies have the same structure. Published accounts indicate that the ceremonies are similar in their homelands.

Most of the Wiko have built their villages on the margins of the stream-valleys and small plains in the woodlands stretching east and west of the central Barotse Plain on the upper Zambezi.[1] On the east the Wiko villages are interspersed among the villages of Kwangwa, related to the Lozi, and Lozi-ized Totela. Here I worked through Lozi, a lingua franca which most Wiko men, and many women, speak and understand; but as I could not speak the Wiko languages, and was not resident among them long enough to observe the full background of family life, I appreciate that I have missed much of the symbolism of the rites. However, I am here setting out only one theme which ran through the ceremonies: the ritual tension between the sexes as groups. This was so striking that I felt it empathically, noted it in all discussions of the ceremonies, and saw it vividly in the cycle of rites.

I use the present tense in recording texts and in analysis, and the past tense for my own observations.

POLARITY OF THE LODGE AND VILLAGE: SEX-GROUP ASSOCIATIONS

The significance of the ceremonies appears in the relationship of the lodge and the village, and their associations with the two sexes. Therefore I set this out before describing how the novices are taken to the lodge (*mukanda*) of high brushwood walls for their period of seclusion. *Mukanda* itself has several connotations: (1) it is a specific place near the village where

[1] See my *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain*, Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 7 (1941).

most of the ritual occurs; (2) it is a series of rites and knowledge confined to men who have been circumcised and initiated, and through which they pass their sons to make them men; (3) it belongs to men who possess specific status, powers, and knowledge, and is taboo to women; and (4) it distinguishes a group of tribes practising circumcision from neighbours who do not. In all its connotations *mukanda* implies social groupings excluded from its secrets, and opposed to the initiated men.

The lodge itself is 'not-the-village, not-at-home'. This was impressed on me by every reference the men or women made to either lodge or village. In the lodge the men referred to the village constantly as 'at home' (*kwahae*), or 'over there'. The lodge is built fairly close to the village, and its walls can be seen from the surrounding paths. Villagers and lodge-inmates can see each others' dwelling places, though the novices must not look at the village hut-roofs. The women hear the singing in the lodge, and the novices and 'shepherds' (initiated youths who look after the novices) hear the women pounding the grain in the village. Life in the lodge has its own routine, even in the breaks between rites, and its activities are attended by taboos and rites whose significance partly depends on their difference from the routine of village life. On the other hand, in the village the women and men are constantly aware of the existence of the lodge. The women have to prepare separate, and sometimes special, food for the lodge's inmates. They are deeply conscious of the absence of their children, who, they think, are undergoing great hardships in the lodge. The normal life of the village is upset. It is in a marginal state, symbolized by the ban on sexual relations for parents and stepmothers and for shepherds. This ban, which I believe may be compared with that on sex relations in the later stages of pregnancy, also prevents the union of men and women in accordance with the main ceremonial theme we are discussing. However, it also indicates that the boys are in a state of danger like hunters, or warriors, or travellers, who taboo their wives before setting out and whose wives must remain chaste. Quarrelling in the village is also taboo. Thus both pleasure and aggressiveness in the village are restrained. In brief, the lodge is 'not-home'; its existence depends on its antithesis to the village. While the lodge is on, the village comes similarly to be thought of as 'not-the-lodge'.

On the main path between the village and the lodge is the spot where the boys were circumcised. The circumcision-spot (*fwilo*=dying-place) is a ritual boundary, which sets emphatically the limit to which women and the uncircumcised may go: beyond is the lodge. The important rites performed at this spot in the cycle of ceremonial show that it is here that men and women express tension over their children. The novices must not look towards it or eat food which has passed over it; shepherds bringing food from the village go by a side-path.

The antithesis of village and lodge, and therefore of women and men, is expressed vividly in the singing at sunrise and sunset, and at night. The boys welcomed and bade farewell to the sun with special songs. They stood naked in the cold round the 'female-elephant fire', outside the lodge facing away from the lodge, and in their songs called on their mothers to help them. When the sun had set, the boys gathered round the 'male-elephant fire' which was inside the lodge and sang songs of the lodge. Meanwhile in the cold of the winter night the women sat round a fire on the outskirts of the village: they must not sit in the village, though men are free to rest. The men and boys ended each song with a special call: they listened for the women's answering shrill, 'My child, it is he yonder.' This continued till the novices sang: 'My mother! My mother! Go home!', i.e. we are tired and would like to sleep. 'Even if the women are tired but the people in the lodge like to sing, the women must remain. They must not go to the village when the men are singing. But if the women are very tired they may shout to ask that it be the last song.' It is especially the mothers of the novices who must do this, and a mother may have to move to the lodge-village from her own if it is farther away. The men stressed that it is essential that the women answer: 'it is the life of their children'. When they were slow to do so a man climbed the wall and called to them: 'We do not sleep, your children don't, mothers of the novices, you must not.' The men explained: 'It is to tell them, "you who sit at home, mothers of the novices, your children sit here, you must shrill loudly". Because when the novices are at home they help their mothers with work. . . . Now "they do not sleep here, they undergo hardships, do you, their mothers, awake! You must all feel the cold which is felt by your children in the lodge, vou also must remain awake. to watch over vour children.

Shrill loudly, and your children will sing greatly."' It is to enable the women to answer, and to bring food, that the Wiko build many lodges each with only a few inmates.

The men insisted that the women must co-operate thus if the lodge was to be successful, and even though the women complained of cold and tiredness and boredom, they were conscious that they must contribute to this success. Some women told me: 'We women find joy and fear when our boys go to the lodge, because the lodge is death and life to them. Above all we want all the children in the lodge to live well and to heal well, so that they return home without one dead or hurt. Therefore we women who have sons in the lodge taboo sleeping with our husbands, because if we do their wounds will not heal, or they will be very big or scabby. . . . Therefore we have to shrill in answer to our children and their shepherds when they sing, and we dance to show them our joy when they remain in good health. It is not that we women fear that perhaps our husbands will not take care of the boys in the lodge: not at all, for we know that they are also the children of our husbands. We do not complain because we are forbidden to go to the lodge to see our children; for we know that this law is of long, long ago. We hear about how the boys are when we meet in the village.'

Thus the women appreciate that the men's frequent threats to make their sons suffer if they do not help with the lodge are empty, because their husbands share their anxiety about the children. The children, whose initiation produces the ritual barrier between men and women, still link them. The women consider that their work in feeding the lodge, their taboos and abstinences, and their positive actions in certain rites, are necessary for the lodge's success, as ordained by old ancestral law. More immediately, their answering shrill is a means of maintaining contact with the lodge. They know all is well as long as there is singing. If a novice dies, according to some informants, all ceremonial in the lodge stops for at least three days; according to others, it closes until the old lodge is burnt and a new lodge is built.

The separation of novices and the attendant men, and the taboos on the women, are two aspects of the same ritual process. Clearly neither is possible without the other, but as they occur in the same situation the result is a positive ritual opposition.

As lodge and village stand contraposed to one another, so do men and women. Ignorance of the women makes possible esoteric initiation of the men. Men and women have thus ambivalent attitudes to one another in relation to the lodge: there is hostility over the children whom the men keep from the women, and yet a common interest in their successful initiation. This I suggest, in terms of Radcliffe-Brown's general hypothesis of joking relationships, partly explains the obscene songs, jokes, and dances between men and women which are so frequent in Wiko and other Southern African lodges.

The tension between the two groupings varies in tempo. It is high during the singing and answering shrills, and falls in the periods when women perform their household tasks and boys lie in the shade through the heat of the day. Men, but not the shepherds, return to their ordinary tasks in the village. The tension is at its highest in the special rites which occur at stages of the ceremonial cycle, and it is expressed through the *makishi* masked dancers of the lodge who are described below. Here I have set only the general situation of lodge and village, and of men and women.

The lodge and its inmates also stand opposed to uncircumcised and uninitiated men. 'If a man comes into the lodge he has to take part with the novices in a certain ceremonial. Should he not know the ceremony the shepherds laugh at him and strip him—and if he is uncircumcised they straightaway cut him and put him in the lodge.' The circumcised but uninitiated man is only mocked, and informants say that circumcision alone is sufficient badge of entry to the lodge, at least nowadays. Many Wiko are circumcised in Government and mission hospitals, and even a circumcised foreigner would be admitted: 'he has felt the pain so he is of the lodge'.

Informants told me that in their Angola homeland boys were circumcised when they were ready for war, and I judged from their descriptions that most boys were circumcised in their late teens. The thirty Wiko boys whom I saw in five lodges ranged in age from 4 to 15 years; only two had reached puberty and most were about 6–8 years old. Among the Belgian Congo Luena, but possibly not in Angola, the age of circumcision has also fallen. The Wiko themselves told me that they now circumcise the boys when they are small so as to catch them before they run away to school or to work for the Whites, and

before lax modern morals have accustomed them to sexual intercourse so that they will have erections when they are being circumcised.

The songs and sayings stress the 'wisdom' that comes from passing through the lodge and laugh at the 'stupid fools who have not been cut'. Nevertheless this theme is a minor one. Obviously initiation is only initiation if there are uninitiated. But initiated men really stand opposed to women, who can never be initiated. Baby boys, but not girls, can be brought into the lodge, though neither can observe the secrets. It is in this background that we must set the antithesis of initiated men and uninitiated boys. The latter are lumped with the women, and initiation frees a boy from his mother: he may no longer sleep in her hut or hang about her, and she must no longer see his penis. He is now in theory ready for marriage, he can eat with the men at the men's place, he can join in law-cases and political discussions, and he can go out to war. In Barotseland nearly all the uncircumcised are small boys. The uncircumcised boy is laughed at and mocked not in the persons of these small boys, but abstractly, in the conception of 'the uncircumcised fool' in songs. This conception poses for the novices the glory of the initiation which they are undergoing, and which is conferring tribal manhood on them. In their tribal homelands it is unlikely that many boys escaped circumcision. In Barotseland I observed that little contempt was shown for an uncircumcised young Wiko among my carriers, though he was teased because he could not go into the lodge with me; and there was no direction of the rites against uncircumcised fellow-tribesmen, though the songs mocked them. Nevertheless the ceremonies identify sons with fathers, who are beaten so as to suffer as their sons do. The mothers too are beaten, for they must be forced to surrender their sons.

What was very marked was the hostility of the Wiko in the situation of the lodge to their Lozi and Kwangwa neighbours and to my Lozi attendants—the true uncircumcised (*Banjenje*). Here the lodges definitely assert Wiko pride and culture against the dominant people among whom they have settled. One song went: 'The Lozi come to-day, men seize your guns.' The men delighted in threatening my Lozi with 'cutting', and told us stories of how they had frightened Lozi intruders into tears. Twice I saw Wiko fiercely threaten with axes Kwangwa passing

on paths near the lodge. Again, a violent altercation broke out over a Kwangwa woman who went by—significantly, the Wiko men were more enraged because she was a Kwangwa than because she was a woman. A circumciser said: 'The taboos on Lozi men and women are almost equal.' In Barotseland the Wiko circumcised probably glorify the lodge additionally against the uncircumcised foreigners because they live among those who despise them.

Therefore the main intra-tribal alinement of the lodge is its association with the men and its opposition to the women with whom the uncircumcised boys are lumped. Circumcision renders a boy ritually fit for marriage: that implies leaving his previous relationships with women, which were chiefly of blood-relationship, to establish a marriage which will produce children. When boys 'are circumcised together and have suffered together, it is like blood-brotherhood'; bonds of mutual help and of wife-lending are established among them. Together they are made fertile and ripe for marriage; by virtue of their common *passage* through the lodge they are identified with one another against women as a category. They 'share' wives. They are not banded together against uncircumcised males.

UNION AND OPPOSITION OF THE SEXES IN THE COURSE OF THE CEREMONIES

When a lodge is to be held, the costume of a *likishi*[1] to guide it should be prepared. The *natshifwa*, a barren old woman who will prepare food for the novices and who is admitted to some of the lodge-secrets (hereafter called the 'grandmother-of-the-lodge'), and the circumciser's wife, make the first cords for the costume but are told it is for a trap or noose. The women have to do this so that the *likishi* may be strong and its costume not unravel when it hears the shrill of the women, that it may please the women with its dancing, and that the men and women may join together in dancing. The men finish the costume and tell the women they raise a spirit of the ancestors of the boy's mother who becomes a *likishi*, and the women greet him: 'those whom you take with you, guard them well'. The *likishi* comes to the village to help prepare beer for the circumcision-day, and nightly during this time the women dance an obscene

[1] A mask and fibre dress worn by a male. I use the native term (pl. *makishi*).

dance. The *likishi* when he comes to the village plays with and chases the women. On the day preceding the lodge the *likishi* and the circumciser's wife or the grandmother-of-the-lodge together grind protective medicines which are sprinkled on the fire round which the novices sit, and on the dancing-place.

At the dances on the night preceding the operation, the village's united interest in the novices reached its climax. Neighbours came to feast and to give support. The headman, the lodge-owner (the father of a novice who took the lead in planning the lodge), and the circumciser called on everyone present not to disturb the peace. The former warned all that as the people were privileged to dance obscenely they must not quarrel over adultery. Sorcerers and trouble-makers were told to stay away: 'Let us dance in peace and pleasure. The lodge comes to us from the ancestors; I did not begin it.'[1] The circumciser also referred to the ancestral origin of the lodge and boasted of the successful lodges he had run. The men and women danced in a mixed circle till sunrise. The novices were allowed to sleep but were awakened at intervals to dance. Men and women danced the same step, and several men, dressed as women, danced out with the women and 'copulated' with the drums. Both sexes kicked up their skirts to expose themselves. 'A man is not even ashamed to see the genitals of his mothers-in-law.' Women imitated penes with their arms and men shaped vulvae with their hands.

Each novice's mother and father or maternal uncle advised him not to quarrel with his comrades, to obey his shepherds, and to observe the taboos lest his parents be fined. The mothers said: 'Do not be worried about me. If you think too often about me, your mother, you might get thin.'

During the night the circumciser should have coitus with his wife, and she takes their secretions to mix with chalk he keeps from lodge to lodge, to rub on the novices in order to protect them against anybody who approaches the lodge after lying with a woman. Thereafter the circumciser must not have sexual relations.

In the morning, the circumciser, shepherds, parents, and

[1] In the homelands reference is made to the chief's support of the lodge, and the chief, says Mr. White, may approach his ancestors to support each lodge. In Barotseland the functionaries affirmed that they had the permission of the British and Lozi authorities to hold the lodge.

novices gathered at the lodge-owner's altar. His ancestors care for all the boys. Then the mothers prayed for the boys to all their ancestors and to God, and the fathers prayed to their ancestors and to God. The circumciser again emphasized the ancestral origin of the lodge. Meanwhile the *likishi* who announced the lodge, one called 'The Thief' (*Katotola-wa-lisalasala*), had been hovering on the edge of the bush. From the altar the men and women joined the other people in a quick joyous dance round the drums. The *likishi* ran to dance with them, and with the men rushed the boys and drums into the forest. The women shrilled loudly, while the thudding of the drums covered the operation. The female relatives of the novices should loosen their girdles and sit on the ground, lest the novices be not circumcised properly. The *likishi* ran backwards and forwards between the circumcision-spot and the village until the drums fell silent: the last boy had been done. The *likishi* danced into the village, thus 'informing' (this *likishi* does not speak) the women that the operation was over. They shrilled loudly. Then the *likishi* chased them about the village—he, 'The Thief', had stolen the boys from their mothers. The boys' wounds were dressed and they were medicated; their blood was collected, they began to learn the formulae of the lodge.

The shepherds may beat the fathers, as they hold their sons to be circumcised: 'To-day you make your child suffer hardships, to-morrow you will live well with his wealth. Tame yourself. If he earns money, or gets fish, or game, you will eat. He suffers greatly in the lodge, but not alone; you also must suffer with him.' Later the shepherds run to beat the mothers.

The women meanwhile began to dance again round the drums, which had been returned to the village, while the *likishi* stood near the bush warning them not to follow their children. Suddenly, the men, armed with branches, rushed out to dance with the women, while the circumciser waved his knife. The men and *likishi* then chased the women backwards and forwards through the village. They try to beat the mothers: 'Your children suffer and you suffer; to-morrow you will live on their things.' The men may 'steal' domestic utensils to 'cause the women trouble', and they steal wood to make certain appurtenances of the lodge. The women redeem utensils with small fines. The men suddenly dashed back to the boys.

For lack of space I cannot describe a number of other rites, some of which are clearly *passage* rites, but many of which illustrate my thesis. The lodge itself is built with prayers, and with protective and fertility medicines. The novices are shown that the *makishi* are men, and *makishi* are dedicated to ancestral spirits at the family altars. The women are told that certain *makishi* are of such-and-such novices, and rejoice, because they know the boys are well. The first *likishi* of a boy is of his mother's ancestors.

The lodge is believed to be compounded in part on a union of the male and female principles. There are two ritual fires, the male- and female-elephants, inside and outside the lodge: fire is moved between them at sunrise and sunset. Certain of the medicine grasses are interwoven in rings, the top being *Man*, the bottom *Woman*. Altars in the villages are made of sticks thrust into the ground. The lodge-altar is a stick (*Man*), thrust into a ring of leaves (*Woman*), which is buried below the ground. The blood from the boys' wounds is compared by some informants with a woman's menstrual blood, and it has to drip into ant-heaps which at the end of the lodge are buried under water or in a path along which many people pass, 'as there are many penes which pass in a woman's vagina'. The first fertile woman to pass over them will fall ill with constant bleeding. The novices are graded in rank, and should be grouped in pairs as man and wife.

The great song of the lodge, sung after the operation and before and after healing, refers to an upsetting of nature when fish were caught in hives and honey was found in fish-traps by a man Sakamana and his son. When they went to recount this wonder and to ask for fire, they found the men preparing the food while the women sat in the men's place and tried cases. Sakamana told them to reverse their roles and they thanked him and praised his wisdom. They gave him fire and he returned to the forest to find honey in the hives and fish in the fish-traps. My informants said the women do not know the background of this song, but Borgonjon[1] records that the novices tell their mothers that at the lodge they found mice in fish-traps and fish in mice-traps and fought over this wonder. One of them was hurt and the shepherds said that at the end

[1] P. J. F. Borgonjon, 'De Besnijdenis bij de Tutshiokwe', *Aequatoria*, viii. 1 and 2 (1945), has the best account of the ceremonies I have read.

of the lodge their mothers would pay for this. Therefore their mothers must give them gifts. The great song of the lodge thus refers to the complementary division of work between men and women as being part of the right order of nature.

The lodge-ceremonial and medicines are mainly intended to increase the novices' semen and ability to have children. Songs and rites constantly refer to copulation and the sexual organs and 'insult the women'. Impotence and unfruitfulness and poor healing of the wounds are the main sanctions of the lodge: idiocy and madness are secondary.

Most of the lodge-taboos, save for those on sexual intercourse and quarrelling, refer to acts specific to the lodge: not looking at certain parts of it, not eating certain birds or looking at them, &c. The greatest taboo, and the one that is constantly emphasized, is that the novices must not see or be seen by a woman. In the past a breach of this taboo, or of that which says that a woman must not learn the secrets, was punished by death: it now presages at least sterility. No taboo on seeing an uncircumcised man was mentioned to me or is listed by Borgonjon, and the taboos against uncircumcised men learning about the lodge are less emphasized. 'If a woman sees into the lodge, she is killed; an uncircumcised man is cut, a woman cannot be circumcised', I was told by a circumciser.

The Wiko themselves say that the boys do not learn anything save the things of the lodge. Some informants said: 'They are taught things such as, if your mother sits on her heels, go away lest you see her genitals. That is all.' This refers to the other theme stressed in the lodge: the novices are grown-up and they must break away from their mothers, who symbolically resist.

The rites of the lodge continued for about two months until all the boys' wounds healed. Then the circumciser climbed up the fence during the night-singing and called to the women: 'The wild cat climbs.' The women, hearing this song, knew that the boys were healed and broke into loud cries of joy. They moved their fire from the edge of the village to near the circumcision-spot to shrill their answers. The men, joined by many summoned from surrounding villages, sang new songs with special actions while the women answered. Later in the night the men imitated shots to tell the women again that the boys were better. The circumciser shouted from the fence

to the women who approached close to the men's entrance over which a blanket was hung. Thus for the first time they passed the circumcision-spot. There they built fires and shrilled. When the men waved the women away they would not go, so a fierce *likishi*, *Kalelwa*, was sent to drive them off. *Kalelwa* patrolled between lodge and village till late in the morning when the boys, dressed in special bark fibre skirts and in order of precedence, were taken to the stream and washed. The women remained at some distance, but close enough to see the boys, while *Kalelwa* kept guard. The boys jumped through fire and were washed. They hurried back to the lodge, while the women ran parallel with them. The boys stood up at the female-elephant fire outside, so that the women could see their backs. The lodge-owner waved the women away, but they did not go till driven away by *Kalelwa*.

From now on the boys need not sing at sunset or for food and can eat off metal dishes. 'They are people, they are born again.' The parents can now have sexual intercourse, though the lodge-functionaries still may not. A *likishi* went to help the women prepare beer and new oil 'to wash the knife'. The next day the boys sat in the gardens near the village where their small sisters brought them food and talked with them; women past the menopause 'can sit farther off'. Their mothers may see them.

When the beer was ready, a *likishi* went into the village and the women hid laughing from him. The *likishi* took a cup of beer to the lodge where the circumciser added medicine and some of the women's new oil to it. He prayed and offered it in thanksgiving at the lodge-altar. Then with his knife and medicine he led shepherds and *likishi* into the forest where they collected medicines of fruitfulness which a shepherd helped the *likishi* pound in the village. With these medicines the circumciser washed the female relatives of the novices who brought gifts of white beads. The men then washed the knife at the circumcision-spot and rushed into the village where they joined the women in a joyous dance. The circumciser and lodge-owner poured beer on the fire to thank the spirits for the safe healing of the boys and to ask that there be no quarrels when the boys left the lodge. They returned to the lodge and prayed in thanks, asking that the boys be fertile, and they all washed with the medicines of fruitfulness. The boys exhibited their skill in the coming-out dance.

Borgonjon describes a ceremony which I have also had described, but did not see, and which fits in at this stage. Beer is brewed to free the blood-relatives from the impurity of the lodge—'it is a day of undiluted joy'. The men and women, armed with switches, meet at the cooking-place of the boys' food, and fight and chase each other: 'brother-in-law and sister-in-law, nephew and niece, &c.' They hit and indulge in horse-play, and 'here and there couples disappear into the forest'. Beer is drunk and the *makishi* dance.

The lodge ritual now passes into a quieter phase until the next new moon. The *likishi* helps the women start preparing many pots of beer for the coming-out. When it was ready, the *makishi* danced all afternoon in the village. Near sunset, the last circumcised novice, crouched under a blanket in a file of men, was brought into the village but not past the circumcision-spot. The *makishi* chased away the women but were reprimanded by the circumciser. The procession moved to the men's place in the centre of the village. Suddenly the other novices appeared at the circumcision-spot, where they danced. The women dashed towards them and tried to seize them. They were fought off violently by the *makishi* and the men. The boys raced back to the lodge. The women wandered about near the lodge, edging towards it, while the *makishi* gesticulated fiercely at them. The men told me: 'The women want to seize the children but we prevent them. They fight.'

Later the men, singing the great song about the reversal of things in nature, fetched beer from the village. The women shrilled. The men also brought from the village the things used to prepare the boys' food and these and all the appurtenances of the lodge were thrust into the lodge-wall. The beer was offered at the lodge-altar with prayers for a good life and no fights. Medicines were used to prevent harm to the boys' penes even if they did wrong with women.

Men and women drank and danced together in the village into which marched files of singing neighbours. Some men danced in the lodge singing new songs: (1) about a hunter who hunts all night, shoots an animal, and comes home at night too tired to copulate with his wife, and goes to hunt again; and (2) blaming the women for the pain they suffer in the lodge, because the women dislike intercourse with uncircumcised men.

At cock-crow the men stole fire from the village 'where the women are'. They fired the lodge, and the boys went out of the lodge and down a path parallel with the circumcision-path to the village. The dried brushwood of the lodge broke into high flames which the women greeted with loud shrillings. They moved close to the flames crying with joy. The men hustled the boys into the village: the women pressed about them but did not try to touch them. The grandmother-of-the-lodge came from her hut with a white chicken which the boys tore to pieces. The boys were then taken to a spot near the village. Here, according to Borgonjon, they should undergo tests of fertility, involving symbolic tricks with axe-heads, &c., and are mocked if they fail—'they will be unfruitful'.

Meanwhile the women broke into the dance of the first day, and were later joined by the men. The chief shepherd placed the head-dress of the *likishi Thief* on one woman's head; another woman wore a man's hat; a third carried a ceremonial axe (women usually have hoes); and a fourth wore the skin-aprons used by the men in the operation-day dance. 'They show they have their children again: "we too are lords."'

The next morning the boys were decorated and danced in the village. Women, but not men, danced with them, and all relatives welcomed them with gifts. The fathers gave spears, symbols of manhood. Next day the novices buried their skirts, sticks, and head-dresses under water. Over the next couple of days the shepherds gave gifts to their charges and were thanked by their parents; and then in turn the novices' parents 'returned' the shepherds with gifts to their parents.

I did not see a reported ceremony in which the boys are sworn to secrecy over a *likishi* mask. Each boy should have intercourse with a woman or girl to remove the impurity of the lodge, lest he be infertile; and never again should these two have intercourse lest they become sterile. The small boys circumcised nowadays cannot do this, but 'when they grow up they just take a woman. The disease from the medicines of the lodge has passed with the years.'

In the preceding description I have omitted many rites which deal with other themes than the one I am here analysing out of the ritual complex. I have mentioned some, as, for example, the conflict of the generations, which appeared in the beating of the parents, but the relations of the sexes is the

dominant integrating theme. We see in the roles of men and women in the ceremonies that there are two strands; they struggle with one another, the men dominating the women, and they unite in a common interest in the children. Women play specific parts in some of the ceremonies, but above all their abstinences and their attempts to seize the children are necessary parts of the ritual. In the cycle of ceremonies, men and women join in the preparations for the lodge. They dance together, and men dress as women to assert their common loving care for the children. They pray together for the boys' welfare. The men forcibly take the boys to be circumcised, but during the operation the women help by sitting with loosened girdles, as a man loosens his belt when his wife is in childbirth. The men chase the women. When the wounds heal, the women are allowed to see the boys and are kept away from them by the *makishi* and the men—now females who have not begun or have ceased to menstruate may come near them. Men and women again dance together. At the coming-out the boys approach the village and the women are forcibly restrained from seizing them. The lodge is fired with a brand stolen from the village and the women shrill with joy. They dance with the men, and the women assert their equal rights in the children by dressing as men. Finally, men and women rejoice together in the coming-out dance which installs their sons in their new status.

The ceremonial thus clearly shows the common interest of the men and women in their children, but this common interest of the sexes has its tensions. The ritual also expresses hostility between men and women over their sons and a struggle between them in which the aggressive men seize the children and keep away the women by ritual force, with the help of the *makishi* ancestors and with magical sanctions. It is their own women who must keep away. They were angry with the intruding Kwangwa woman because she was a Kwangwa. The tension reaches its climax just before the boys return home: the women have to be kept off by open force.

THE ROLE OF THE MAKISHI DANCERS

The role of the *makishi* fits into this theme. Nowadays the women know that the *makishi* are not spirits but are costumes worn by men. Informants say that in the past the women's

belief that they were spirits was maintained because only *Chizaluki*, the good chief of the lodge, and his assistants, who wore costumes so well woven that no one could see there was a man inside, danced close to the women. After the Portuguese exposed the dancers as men, the women became an attending chorus for all the *makishi*. But men and women still believe that particular costumes are 'occupied' by particular ancestors[1] to whom they are dedicated with sacrifice, and obviously the alteration of the belief is both socially and psychically comparatively unimportant.

Even when the women were kept at a distance, the *makishi* would not dance unless they were there. They shrilled to the dancing and sent gifts. Selected women have to begin the cords from which the costumes are made to strengthen these against the women. Nowadays a dance consists in a balance of *makishi* and women. The women go shrilling to escort the dancers into the village. While the men drum, the women chorus the songs, mirror the dancers' actions, and fan some with switches, cloths, and branches. It is the women who respond to the quips of the lewd jesters among the *makishi*. If a female relative of a novice comes to the village from a distance the *makishi* dance to welcome her.

The *makishi* are taboo to the women and typify the power of the men in the lodge situation. Men describe the *makishi* as 'the policemen of the lodge'. We have seen how in the ceremonial they drive the women away from the boys, and they keep the women to their share in the ceremonies. They see that the women send sufficient food to the lodge. If they do not, or if there is quarrelling in the village, the *makishi* descend on the village before dawn and strip it of everything. Anyone who intercepts them, man or woman, is severely beaten. 'The women send a man to complain to the lodge-owner. He will tell them: "There is no fault, you have done wrong. The lodge is an agreement. Your children go there to grow up, we hope they will come out grown handsomely and well. You should take care of them and send food to them and the shepherds who care for them. They are dying of hunger, so they take

[1] I abstract here one element from the complex character of the *makishi*. They also symbolize 'cannibals of the forest', animals, sorcerers' familiars, dead men turned into animals, foreigners, natural objects. The Wiko say the ancestral spirit is 'awakened to *become* a *likishi*'.

your things; your children themselves are pounding the grain and preparing the food." And the women can hear food being pounded in the lodge. So the women will give a goat to the lodge-owner to be eaten at the lodge.' The goods taken have to be redeemed with a fine which the *makishi* share.

The women do not regard the *makishi* as merely a plague. They represent the spirits of the ancestors whose unquestioned edicts enforce circumcision with its lodge-rites and its taboos on the women, but they care for the women's sons. A *likishi* comes from the cemetery to initiate the lodge and he steals the boys: the women appeal to him to care for them well. A *likishi* helps the women prepare the beer and the men gather medicines for the lodge. Even their aggressiveness is exercised for the novices who are the common interest of the men and women in the ceremonial. The women know that the fierce ones protect their children against baneful influences from sorcerers, ghosts, and uncircumcised tribes, and they can see grass-images of the *makishi*, which are filled with medicines, erected on the lodge walls to guard the lodge. Moreover, when the fierce *makishi* come from the lodge the women know their children are well. Therefore they enjoy the fun and horse-play when *The Thief* rushes to tease them in the village and to steal hens, food, utensils, &c. When the *makishi* dance in the villages the women are as entertained as the men: they chorus for the dancers all day and heap gifts on them.

Since the *makishi* are part of the ritual opposition and union of men and women, their power is ambivalent. We have seen that this applies to all *makishi* and it appears patently in the grouping of *makishi* as 'kindly' and 'fierce'. The women welcome *Chizaluki, The Good Chief*, into the village: they sprinkle his path with beer and fan him with switches. 'They love him because he cares for their children in the lodge. . . . *Chizaluki* comes to the village to inform the parents and relatives of a boy that he is fit to leave the lodge. They honour him and place a beast for him to kill. They regard him as an ancestral spirit of the boy's parents and he is treated in the way they make offerings to ancestral spirits.'

'*Chizaluki* is happy when the novices leave the lodge well, watches their dance cheerfully, and retires to rest when the ceremony is over.' But the fierce *makishi*, such as *The Thief*, watch angrily. 'The women will tell him as he broods at the

edge of the forest: "Where will you rest? Your lodge is burnt. We have got our children back. You want groundnuts—there are none. You want cassava—there is none. You will languish, you will sleep in the bush." They laugh thus at all the terrifying *makishi*.' Other informants gave similar accounts: 'The women laugh at the *makishi*: "Your lodge is burnt, our children have come back, where will you sleep? You cannot trouble us any more because we have our children." There are no gifts for the *makishi* because the lodge is finished. The mothers' hearts are with their children, they no longer like the *makishi* or fear them. The *makishi* no longer dare steal, because the women tell them: "Your work is finished. The lodge is burnt. There is no food here for you."' I did not hear this at the ceremony I watched, but I was with the novices. However, I saw how the power of the *makishi* was ended. When I could not take photographs in the crowd at the coming-out, I deliberately asked the lodge-owner to summon a fierce *likishi Kalelwa* to drive the women away. The women scorned him: 'Get off, you have no village now, it is burnt, our children are home.' The previous evening they had fled shrieking from him. He retired to stand disconsolately among the granaries, and then disappeared into the bush.

CONCLUSION

The lodge's purpose is to turn boys into proper men, initiated according to ancestral custom and made fruitful to produce many children. However, fertility, like the other good things of life, is not to be won without struggle. The ceremonies show that we may apply to the Wiko what Radcliffe-Brown said of the Andaman Islanders: 'the social life is a process of complex interaction of powers or forces present in the society itself, in each individual, in animals and plants and the phenomena of nature, and on these powers the well-being of the society and its members depends. . . . The ceremonial of the Andaman Islanders may be said to involve the assumption of a power of a peculiar kind. . . . This power, though in itself neither good nor evil, is the source of all good and all evil in social life. It is present in the society itself and in everything that can affect in important ways the social life.'[1] These interacting powers clearly are present in the activities connected

[1] *The Andaman Islanders*, ch. v.

with the difference between the sexes and their union in marriage to produce and bring up children. Like all activities they are threatened by evildoers within the tribe, and here also by the uncircumcised foreigners. Ancestors and living join to resist these ill influences. Intra-tribal powers, on the other hand, are ambivalent, and the ritual achieves good—fertility—by the use it makes of the struggles between dead and living and between men and women. The ceremonies clearly reflect these struggles and the enforcing of unity in the interests of the children.

In the ritual the ancestors, who confer fertility on the novices, are both beneficent and aggressive. As the *makishi*, male and female, they preside over the novices' *passage* from boyhood to ritual manhood, and some *makishi* are kind while others are fierce. Note that all 'female' *makishi* are kindly, but none are lodge-functionaries. In prayers the men repeat again and again that it is the ancestors who instituted circumcision. The women say this is why they accept the lodge. Since the ceremonies are to make the novices fertile, the ancestors' interest in the continuity of the tribe and of their own lines through the production of many children is manifested. But they may withhold or grant fertility: without them men, and therefore women, cannot have children. They join their descendants in thanksgiving when the *makishi* help prepare the beer of rejoicing and dancing. They also threaten those who do not conform; and men, novices, and especially women must struggle with, and yield to, them for fertility. The novices when they return tell their mothers how the *likishi* fought and overcame them. They are sworn to secrecy, with dire sanctions, on the *likishi* mask. To the end of their days parts of the lodge threaten their welfare. The ancestors insist on an elaborate series of rites, formulae, songs, and taboos, many of which are apparently meaningless even to the practisers. There is no secular instruction; the boys learn only the things of the lodge. This emphasizes doubly the power of the ancestors, who, as the *makishi*, enforce the rules with mystical and physical force.

The circumcision ceremonies express the Wiko conception of reproduction and the rearing of children to adulthood as a struggle between men and women, in which union is necessary for the good of their children. Both must participate ritually as well as secularly. When boys are initiated, the

men are, as usual, dominant; in the less important girls' puberty ceremonies, which also aim at fertility, the roles are reversed. The women dominate and may beat any man who comes on the girl's hide-out in the bush. Men and women dance together to send their daughter into seclusion, and rejoice together in a final dance that she is growing up. Her father and substitute mother together bring her out from under a blanket.

Thus the ceremonial shows that the lodge is, as informants say, 'an agreement between men and women'. The taboos on the women are not only the other aspect of the esoteric initiation of the men but are a positive form of co-operation in the ritual. Their enforced separation and approaches symbolize their sons' breaking from them, and in addition their participation in many rites is essential for the success of the lodges' main purpose. Women are needed to make the boys proper fertile men, just as their union with men is necessary for the physical and social production of babies. Each sex makes its specific contribution. Marriage is not a union of two like and merging units. It joins two different types of individuals, belonging to different groupings of kinspeople, and it is a relationship marked by many tensions. Some Wiko describe coitus itself as 'fighting', and see the comparison. It is 'fighting with joy', as in the circumcision ceremonies men and women 'struggle with joy'. Marriage which gives birth to children, and the bringing up of those children to be full and fertile members of the tribe are seen as an unending struggle in which unity has to be established by ritual which comes from the ancestors. This unity is based on the complementary differences between the sexes. The ceremonial of the lodge dramatizes the struggle and the union. As marriage is not a merging but a state of balanced tension, so in their sons' *rites de passage* to manhood men and women are linked in complementary opposition, as are lodge and village. Therefore among the great taboos of the lodge are these: the parents and stepmothers of the novices and the lodge's functionaries and their wives must not join sexually and must not quarrel. On the other hand, the transvesticism in the initial and final dances symbolizes their ultimate unity of purpose. The ceremonial ritualizes the polarity of men and women, which is one of the fundamental facts of nature and of social life, but it does not override that polarity. The appeals for unity at the dances, and the taboos on quarrelling, show

that their co-operation is of hostile partners. The social positions of men and women with their respective contributions to procreation, and their tasks in social life, are not inevitable, but are ordained by the ancestors, for the great song of the lodge speaks of a temporary reversal of their roles, reflected in a reversal in nature, which had to be set right. The struggle is unceasing, but it works through the ritual in the interests of society; it creates power which makes the new generation fertile.

In the ceremonial the fathers and mothers of the novices are particularly singled out, but all men and women respectively become associated with them. For underlying the ceremonial struggles and unions of the sex-groups themselves is a conception that the two sex principles are opposed but complementary. Both contribute to life and fertility, but only through the resolution of mutual antagonism. In the lodge femaleness is dangerous to men. The men have to suffer that the women may have children: the last song blames the women for the novices' pain. It is above all fertile women who are enemies to, and allies of, fertile men. Until he is circumcised, a boy is lumped with the women; and as soon as the wounds heal little girls and women past child-bearing may approach the novices. The first fertile woman who passes over the spot where the novices' blood is buried will fall ill of constant bleeding like the menses. Their blood is still dangerous to the principle of female fertility; though the ceremony ends in common and mutual thanksgiving, the struggle goes on. But the female principle is also beneficent and the male dangerous. The male-elephant fire inside the lodge, and the female-elephant fire outside it, between which fire is carried, symbolize the opposition and union of these principles. The ashes of the male fire, which are the lodge itself, are as dangerous to the novices as to women: if they ever step over the ashes, till the end of their lives they will become infertile idiots.

The complementary opposition and union of men and women, deeply rooted as they are in physical, psychical, and social life, are here expressed as a field situation. The seizing of the boys for the operation precipitates the ritual polarity of the sexes, which is ceremonially ended at the coming-out. The revolt of the women against the *makishi*, the ancestors themselves, shows this clearly. In the meantime the rites, which

largely express the hostility of the sexes and its resolution, achieve an end which both men and women desire: their sons leave the lodge 'grown men', circumcised, initiated, able to be fruitful and to take their part in tribal life. It is irrelevant that they are only ritually admitted as men, and that in fact most of them are as yet too small to act as men. They are no longer 'the uncircumcised fool' (*ngulye*) who is mocked in the formulae and songs of the lodge.

This analysis implies a recasting of the formulation of *rites de passage* in this type of circumcision ceremony, which should be checked in other tribes. The novices, as Van Gennep pointed out, are 'born again'; they undergo typical *passage* rites comparable with birth processes. But the process of rebirth, like that of reproduction, involves both sexes. When a baby is born, the husband loosens his garments; the mothers loosen their garments while the fathers circumcise the boys. Men and women united in the 'joyful struggle' of coitus to beget sons and the women brought them forth in pain. Now men and women unite in 'joyful struggle' to send the boys through the travail of the lodge, which, by the *makishi* ancestors, 'gives birth' to them as full-fledged men.

MAX GLUCKMAN

AUTHORITY AND PUBLIC OPINION IN TIKOPIA

IT is a commonplace in modern social anthropology that in any authority[1] system involving the pre-eminence of individuals, the power exercised by these individuals is not completely autocratic, whatever the local system of ideas about the nature of their control may be. In practice it is not that this control rests on the ultimate acquiescence of their people through virtue of some kind of initial covenant, as the earlier European political philosophers argued. The acquiescence may be due to no more than a dull apathy, an inability to see an alternative mode of government, or acceptance by them of some values regarded as absolute and not forming part of any contractual scheme. But in one way or another the people governed impose limitations and modifications on the actions of their leaders and rulers. In some societies formal institutions such as chiefs' councils or nominated elders help to provide checks to authority. In other societies these checks come through informal mechanisms such as a ruler's gossip with his retainers, the influence exercised upon him by his womenfolk, or some dramatic event which reveals to him the strength of popular feeling.

There has so far been little examination of the kinds of processes whereby such popular feeling becomes manifest and effective. This essay is therefore intended as a contribution to the analysis of public opinion as a force of social control. It is dedicated to Professor Radcliffe-Brown because, like all British and many other social anthropologists who have worked on problems in primitive law and allied fields, I am deeply sensible of the value of his clear and stimulating formulations—even though I have not always adopted either his terminology or his concepts.

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

The term 'public opinion' is used here to indicate a view or a body of views on a matter of general concern expressed in some concerted form by a significant number of individuals in the community. From the point of view of empirical study and of social action it is the expression and not the mere holding of

[1] By authority is meant here the ability to exercise power through the application of sanctions.

the views that is significant. The difference between overt and covert expression of views is relevant to most social situations, the former being usually much more effective as a force of social control. Action in regard to public opinion may be mobilized or unmobilized. The latter may range from exchange of views among small groups to simple crowd behaviour; the former implies elements of decision, leadership, and organization. It is situations of this last type especially that I shall discuss here, in particular reference to the sociology of Tikopia. Since the paper is an analysis of social process and not an exercise in definition, I refer to the material considered as phenomena of social control, not of law. I prefer here the term popularized by E. A. Ross, because, though I think one can usefully speak of law in Tikopia, there is no need to consider here the problem of the relation between social control and politically organized authority, which would be necessary if the term 'law' were to be employed.

The relevant principles of the Tikopia social organization may be briefly recapitulated.[1] The major forces of social control are provided by the kinship organization—with which the religious organization is largely coincident—reinforcing authority to a considerable extent with ritual sanctions. The basic structural element in the kinship organization is provided by the segmentary kinship groups of ramifying type, which are now generally known in African ethnography as lineages, but which I termed in a former publication *ramages*.[2] These are unilateral groups, and in Tikopia are patrilineal. There are more than twenty of them, aggregated by various processes of affiliation and assimilation into four primary kin groups which, though not exogamous, are most simply termed 'clans'. In each clan there is one ramage whose members are of senior rank and which furnishes the chief of the clan. The chief of each clan is

[1] Tikopia is a Polynesian community in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Material on the social organization of the people has been given mainly in: 'Totemism in Polynesia', *Oceania*, i (1930), pp. 291–321, 377–98; *We, the Tikopia—a Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*, London: Allen & Unwin (1936); *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, London: Routledge (1939); *Work of the Gods in Tikopia* (2 vols.), London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology (1940).

[2] See *We, the Tikopia*, pp. 344–72. The term kinship system is sometimes used to indicate only ties derived from the bilateral family, and distinct from those of the lineage system, with ties from the unilateral descent group. I think this is inappropriate. A lineage system is part of a kinship system, i.e. of the system of recognition of social ties based on genealogical ties.

supreme in authority as far as his own group is concerned, and autonomous. In public affairs for the island community as a whole, however, especially in religious affairs, the four chiefs are arranged in a hierarchy, each having specific ritual functions to perform. The order is as follows in terms of named offices: the Ariki Kafika; the Ariki Tafua; the Ariki Taumako; the Ariki Fangarere. The first is *primus inter pares*; he is the senior and takes precedence, but he is not a paramount chief; and the others defer to him rather than obey him. Any one of them is at liberty to refuse co-operation.

Our general problem, in more specific form, can be seen to have two aspects. The first is: within each clan, where a chief is ruler, what are the forces of social control and how does public opinion emerge *vis-à-vis* this dominant element of chieftainship, backed as it is by ritual sanctions? The second is: by what mechanisms of social control are relations among the four autonomous clan chiefs maintained in a way which allows of community action as a whole, and what role does public opinion play in this seemingly even more refractory type of situation?

Before adducing evidence to answer these questions, a few general points may be made. The first is that neither question is a hypothetical one. General community relations depending on the solution of difficulties among the clans exist in a number of ways in Tikopia, e.g. at dance festivals and in the ritual cycle known as the Work of the Gods, and public opinion can be effective both in intra-clan and inter-clan relations. The second point is that in such a society, where the institution of chieftainship is operative with great force and with important religious sanctions, for any mobilization of public opinion to be effective its directing force, presumably in terms of the individual or individuals primarily responsible, must clearly be of great weight. *Ex hypothesi*, one might postulate that the principle relied upon in such case would be that of a ritual sanction different in kind from, though equal in magnitude to or greater than, that on which the power of the chiefs depends. In fact, this is not the case. The sanctions utilized are essentially non-sacerdotal, exoteric; the basis is a social, not a ritual one. The third point is that the social principle involved is overtly that of the appeal *ad misericordiam;* it is constraint by pleading; it takes the form of what may be termed a 'lead from weakness'. The final point to make at this juncture is that to a considerable

degree it is the kinship system which provides the basic structure on which public opinion can operate most effectively. It is not the sole factor, but the primary curb on the autocracy of the senior members of the community—that is, the chiefs—is provided by the recognition that juniority has claims which cannot be ignored. Kinship also enters in another way by providing lateral ties between the major participants in the situation.

Having outlined the main sociological aspects of the problem, I can now examine the ethnographic data bearing upon it.

STRUCTURE OF AUTHORITY

The first set of data concerns the structure of authority. In the ordinary everyday affairs of the Tikopia clan the ultimate decisive role is played by the chief. His word is effective, and is normally not questioned. Affairs between clans are decided by the chiefs in concert, with great display of courteous agreement. Seconding the efforts of the chief in each clan are his elders (*pure* or *matapure*), who are the heads of the various major ramages. They attain their position primarily by seniority of descent, but they must be confirmed in office by their clan chief, and in some twin ramages which continue to maintain a close relationship for generations after the point of branching the chief may select the joint elder alternately from one and then the other ramage. The role of the elder is, however, in essence a ritual one. His main task is to conduct the worship of the gods and ancestral spirits on behalf of the group he represents and to perform the appropriate rituals in connexion with sickness, sea voyaging, &c. This ritual function is symbolized by his investiture by the chief on election with a leaf necklet regarded as endowed with magical virtue. The elder exercises authority by right over all members of his ramage and obtains respect from the community at large. His position is analogous to, and in some degree is the outcome of, that of a father in the family. The Tikopia elder can, in fact, be regarded as fulfilling in part the role of a father-symbol to his ramage, just as the chief fills a similar role for his clan. But the elders may play a comparatively small part in general social control in the community. They are ranked in a ritual hierarchy in each clan according to the importance of the gods they serve, and only a few of the highest ranking ones play much part in the maintenance of public order.

The role of sustainers of public order is played primarily by

the men of rank known as *maru*. These, broadly speaking, are the brothers of a chief and his closer cousins in the male line. Ordinarily the chief's sons are not considered as *maru*; they become so on his death, when they act as supporters of the authority of the eldest of their number, who succeeds their father. The *maru* are essentially the executive officials of the chief; their function is to watch the land and to repress violence, to carry out the commands of the chief when sentence is passed on an offender, and in general to keep the peace of the community. The influence and importance of the elders depend on the gods over whom they have control; that of the *maru* almost wholly on their personality backed by their rank. The *maru* has no gods to whom he addresses invocations; his position depends to some extent upon his birth, but a man without strength of character will exert no influence. The ideal *maru*, respected by the people, is a strong vigorous individual, secure in his high birth, unafraid of expressing his opinions or taking action, and well disposed towards the common folk. In the years before I arrived in Tikopia one *maru*, Pae Avakofe, became pre-eminent on this account. Father's brother to the chief of Taumako, and a man of strong personality, he had gained great influence by his firm assumption of authority in cases of dispute and his unwavering protection of strangers and the oppressed. When I was there he was still spoken of as *te maru sokotasi i fenua nei*, 'the one *maru* in this land', meaning by this not that he was the only one but that he exerted the supreme and final authority. In 1928 he was an old man and unable to take any active part in the administration of affairs, but he was still of premier importance in the community. His responsibilities had been delegated to his eldest son, Pa Tarikitonga. The latter told me that his father had said to him: 'Your brother, the eldest of the family, is dead, so it is for you to be the *maru* to the land. Do not trouble to remember formulae of the *kava* and other matters; leave those to the chiefs and the elders. Your work is one only: to look after this land. If a stranger comes, look after him; if a time comes when the chiefs and their people agree together in anger against him, you protect him that he may not be killed or sent off to sea. That and that only is your work: to look upon the land that it may be well.'

This speech emphasizes the one essential difference in function between the chiefs and the *maru*. They are close relatives, but

the duty of the chief is to retain the esoteric knowledge of the community, embodied in the *kava* and other sacred formulae, and to exercise it for the public weal; that of the *maru* is to preserve peace in the purely social sphere. The injunctions of the old man illustrate also another extremely characteristic feature of the Tikopia social system. There is a marked sense of responsibility possessed by the leaders of the community—the chiefs and their assistant officials—for the maintenance of the social order and the well-being of the people, and for the exercise of hospitality towards strangers who have arrived on their shores. This is a traditional attitude handed down by each generation of men in authority to their successors; it represents the ideal and to a considerable degree also the reality of government in the island. It receives recognition in current sayings, and at critical times does indeed exert a definite influence on the course of events. Another aspect of this sense of responsibility is shown in the invocations of the chiefs and their elders to the presiding gods, who are addressed specifically not for the welfare of the reciter but for that of the group as a whole.

In speaking of the maintenance of peace the native expression is *fau te fenua*, to 'guard the land'. This is regarded as the predominant function of the *maru*. The ideal of order in the community is expressed in the words 'That the orphan child may sleep in the middle of the path'. This expression is figurative—no Tikopia, not even a child, would dream of behaving in such an uncouth manner as actually to lie down and sleep in the middle of a public way! It is intended to convey the sense of security felt when strong and benevolent authority is wielded in the land by men of rank—even one so defenceless as a parentless child is safe from oppression.

EXERCISE OF AUTHORITY

We may now consider the exercise of the functions of the chief and the *maru* in social control. No attempt can be made here to survey the whole field, but simply to indicate a series of type situations.

In ordinary quarrels of individuals about property or in family affairs the chief exercises no authority. The disputants settle the matter by themselves, or with the assistance of their kinsfolk, by wordy battle which sometimes, though rarely, ends in assault or the exchange of blows. The chief, in common with the rest

of the community, displays a lively interest in the affair, and expresses his opinion freely as to the rights of the case; but it is not formally laid before him for judgement, nor is his opinion taken as a ruling by either side. Out of respect for him the quarrel will seldom take place in his immediate neighbourhood. However, if it should occur near his dwelling or that of a *maru* or other man of rank, the *maru* may intervene in the general interests of order. He usually admonishes both sides, bidding them cease their strife. In one case I knew, a married woman committed adultery with her husband's brother. When her own brothers came to hear of it, they were greatly enraged, and after virulent reproaches one of them struck his sister a severe blow, and threatened violence to her paramour. The latter replied with spirit, and the noise of the resulting brawl reached the ears of the eldest son of the resident chief of the village, who was sitting in his house close by. Learning the reason for the disturbance he sent out a message in forceful language, which can be translated only in colloquial style as 'If I come out to you, there will be something doing!' Not wishing to brave his anger, the brawlers subsided. The most violent of them, indeed—one of the woman's brothers—withdrew to live for a few days in a village at some distance.

The wrath of a *maru* or of any man of a *paito ariki*—a 'chiefly house'[1] is feared, since he may possibly strike the offender and the latter, especially if a commoner, is by custom expected not to retaliate.

Cases of dispute over land, due either to contested boundaries or to collateral inheritance, are common. Normally the people concerned settle their own differences. Sometimes, however, if a man of rank feels that public concord is being outraged too openly he will endeavour to reconcile the parties and suggest a form of amicable arrangement. This he does on his own initiative, not as a piece of set procedure. As a rule the chief does not act in the matter; he may in conversation state his opinion as to the relative merits of the claims advanced, but the settlement of the case does not immediately concern him. In certain circumstances, however, he may exercise his authority and give a pronouncement. In theory all the land of the clan is held at the disposal of the chief, and some portions of it were actually

[1] i.e. a ramage from which the chief of the clan may be chosen, or the members of which are descended from a fairly recent chief.

handed over by his ancestors to clan members in bygone generations. If land of this type is under dispute and the trouble appears to be serious, perhaps likely to lead to bloodshed, or if the chief becomes irritated at the news of the bickering, he sends a messenger with an ultimatum to the people concerned. This may embody a decision against one party, bidding them 'sit down' and yield to their opponents. More often it is to the effect that if they do not speedily resolve their differences he will resume the land himself and drive off both parties. This threat has usually the desired effect. Where land is so scarce the entire loss of a garden or orchard is a serious matter, apart from incurring the displeasure of the chief, so that some compromise is generally arranged.

Most of the disagreements so far described may be termed private disputes. They are essentially between individuals or small groups of individuals, such as families, and though the fact of dispute may invite the censure of the rest of the people, the action of either party is rarely in itself regarded as deleterious to the welfare of the community.

Theft is a phenomenon of a different type; it is regarded as reprehensible. *Te kaia e pariki*—'theft is bad'—is the conventional stricture. But, though stigmatized, theft in Tikopia is not punished by the community.[1] The essential reaction to theft is the idea of replacement by equivalent. The use of other people's property, especially food supplies, is much more free among Polynesians than among modern civilized folk. This is partly because of the ties of kinship extending throughout the entire community. Hence one man can distrain upon the property of another with comparative immunity. He should, however, first ask permission of the owner—which is normally not refused—and again he should, as soon as is convenient, give a *quid pro quo*. These are the points on which a Tikopia fastens when a question of theft arises. When articles have been stolen the people say, 'Theft is bad. It is good to come and ask permission (*fakataurongo*) of the man whose things they are', and again, 'It is good that the person who has taken these things shall come and lay down an equivalent of his own for what he has taken.' The question is treated on the basis of wants and satisfactions: it is argued that the person must have desired the articles, otherwise he would not have taken them away; let him therefore

[1] Except when persistent, see later.

come and produce something in return. It will be noted that it is not suggested that the particular goods stolen be handed back to their former owner; it is deemed a satisfactory outcome to the situation if a proper equivalent is rendered. It is general restitution, not precise restoration, that is needed. Theft, then, though regarded as an outrage against personality, is primarily seen as a failure to present compensation. Hence it incurs reprobation, not punishment. This is in line with the ordinary canons of etiquette in connexion with the transfer of property.

In cases of theft the chief takes no official action, but leaves the person who has been robbed to prosecute his own inquiry and settle with the offender, if he locates him. When he is robbed himself, as happens occasionally, he acts as a private member of the community, not in his representative capacity.

The normal reaction of a person on finding that some of his property has been taken without leave is to *forua*. This means to shriek in a high-pitched, prolonged way, *Iefu! Iefu! Iefu!* At the same time he indulges in violent bodily action, such as beating the roof of his house with a stick, until his rage has exhausted itself. He also curses vigorously. This is not only a venting of his anger; it is also a formal protest against the theft, and serves to apprise other people of the village of his loss. If the thief is actually caught at work a vigorous tongue-lashing is administered to him. If he is seen at a distance a stone may be thrown in his vicinity to scare him. If he is later identified he will be asked for recompense, or the owner himself will reimburse his loss by seizing upon some goods of the culprit and appropriating them. But theft of durable property is rare; theft of food is more common, especially from the cultivations, and in this case the thief usually evades discovery.

In these matters the chief is in the same position as his clansfolk. His gardens and orchards are as subject to depredation as theirs, and his behaviour in response is of the same type. I have heard the Ariki Kafika, premier chief of the community, shriek and curse like any ordinary man—and with as little effect. Theft of coco-nut and areca-nut is the most common offence, and as a rule the perpetrators go undiscovered. Sometimes in exasperation the man who has been robbed will compose a song in ridicule of the thieves and introduce it at the next public dance display. There it is chanted as a chorus by all the performers, and the matter is thus brought to the notice of the

people in general. When I was in Tikopia one of the chiefs, the Ariki Taumako, whose areca-palms had been raided time after time during the season despite all his precautions, took umbrage and composed a song of this type. In it he likened the thieves to parakeets who came and settled in the fronds of the palm and nipped off the nuts. In ironical style he asked them to come and dance with abandon after the completion of their nefarious task. The song of an aggrieved owner generally embodies some contemptuous reference of this kind, though he may confine himself simply to a plaint of his misfortune. The native idea is that the persons responsible, hearing the song thus chanted before all the people, feel ashamed of this publication of their misdeeds and of the derisive terms applied to them. They slink away from the dance ground, it is alleged, and are restrained from repeating the offence. Thus, while he gets no compensation in goods, the victim does get some emotional compensation—even though he has not discovered the persons who were to blame. The song is a kind of mobilization of the ridicule of the community, and a formal launching of it against the offender. More important, perhaps, though not explicitly recognized by the Tikopia, is the opportunity it affords of giving relief to the composer's feelings.

Apart from these ordinary measures the chief has one mode of reprisal in which he has exceptional advantages. This is the practice of black magic, *tautuku*. By its recital he is believed to be able to inflict illness on anyone who offends him, through the intermediacy of his gods. The power of a chief in this direction is feared, though not, apparently, to the extent of deterring persons from raiding his crops without authorization. But as a rule theft is not followed by an appeal to black magic. This is a secret measure of retaliation, and though its use may be regarded as justified, the consequences are not approved by the community. The *tautuku* is bad because, it is believed, it makes people ill, and they may die. Whatever the provocation then, the action of a person—commoner or chief—who employs or is believed to employ such a device is always condemned—though not, of course, to his face. The *tautuku* is a traditional institution, regarded as a reality, utilized as a means of private retaliation, but regarded with disapprobation by the community in general. Its use in any specific instance is suspected but not normally disclosed.

FIAT AND EXECUTION

Offences against a chief's dignity or against a taboo he has set up are on a more serious plane than theft. The procedure in such a case illustrates how a chief crystallizes his attitudes into a specific declaration or fiat, and how this is acted upon. I give an example which I witnessed personally.

Most of the lands used for cultivating taro in Tikopia are aggregated in a number of areas known as *mara*. Each of these *mara* is subject to the authority of a chief, who names the day when it shall be broken up for cultivation. No member of the clan should begin to work there before the chief's permission has been secured. On one occasion the Ariki Taumako gave instructions that a *mara* on the Te Roro shore of the lake was to stand uncultivated for a season, to allow the grass and other vegetation to grow tall and provide a good mulch for the ensuing year. Contrary to his instructions his sister's husband (of the same clan) together with several other men of the clan began one morning to break up the ground there. The chief had been bathing in the lake and from the farther shore perceived what was being done. He flew into a rage, which was increased when he learned the identity of the transgressors, and shrieked out his anger till the lake-side re-echoed and people came from their houses to investigate. On the return of the chief to his dwelling his sister crossed his path, and was cursed vigorously—'Filthy household'—a term of abuse which is quite improper between members of the same family and shocking in public. What was to be done with the culprits? The chief summoned the leading elder in the Kafika clan, Pa Rarovi by name, who lived near, and ordered him to proceed at once round the lake shore to announce his indignation to the offenders. They were bidden to betake themselves immediately to the woods—a form of banishment. Pa Rarovi complied and sped along the path, uttering an occasional yell of *Iefu!* as he went, to proclaim that he was on a mission of wrath. Bursting out on the glade where the startled workers stood, he bade them fly to the woods, telling them that they had incurred the anger of the chief and that this was their punishment. Immediately they deserted the scene of their labour and, wailing, obeyed the command. The fiat meant that they could not re-enter the village of their chief, or inhabit their ordinary houses on pain

of more serious bodily penalties. They must reside either in one of the scattered bush dwellings, which stand in the orchards as temporary shelter, or go and dwell for a time with relatives in another district. In this case, as generally happens, the culprits went over to the other side of the island. There they stayed till the anger of the chief had cooled; then having ascertained that he was prepared to receive them, they returned.

In order to regain the good graces of a chief once more and be reincorporated into the community, the person concerned prepares food, then brings it to the house of the chief. Setting it down at the doorway, the offender begins to wail as he enters, then crawls along the floor mats to the feet of the chief and, bending down his head, salutes with his nose the chief's foot and knee. This denotes his abasement. At the same time he chants a formal dirge expressive of his sorrow for his lapse. The song chosen does not necessarily bear on the immediate situation, but is one of a type employed at funerals or other mourning occasions. When the dirge is completed the chief (who has hitherto taken no notice of the man) tells him to be quiet, lifts up his head, and salutes him by pressing noses with him. This is the formal token of forgiveness, denoting that the offence has been expiated and that the man is received into favour again.

For graver offences the mode of procedure consists in 'banishment' of the culprit likewise, but in a more permanent form by sending him out to sea in a canoe. This amounts to a sentence of death, since the remoteness of the island from other land renders it extremely unlikely that a man so launched on the face of the ocean will survive.

This punishment is seldom inflicted. It is said that in former times men who became known as persistent and incorrigible thieves were sometimes treated in this way, but no recent case had occurred when I was in Tikopia. The offences which are thus penalized are in general those which seriously infringe the dignity of the chief, either by bodily violence or by deep insult offered to his person or to that of a member of his immediate family. Thus to strike a chief's son in a quarrel, to engage in an intrigue with his daughter resulting in her pregnancy, to disregard the chief's welfare in a crisis, or to threaten his life, are all offences which are held to merit the extreme penalty. The duty of executing the punishment is delegated to the *maru*. After

making his decision the chief summons the *maru*, mentions the name of the offender, and says, 'Drag down his vessel to the sea.' The *maru* goes and with the help of other men hauls the canoe down to the water's edge. Then he visits the condemned man and announces to him his fate. Weeping, the victim goes and takes his seat in the canoe, and is set adrift. A paddle and sometimes a sail are given him which he may use if he wishes. A water-bottle or a few green coco-nuts are usually laid in the bottom by some sympathizer in case he should desire to attempt to reach another land. The sentence is thus theoretically one of exile, not death, though in practice there is little difference.

Sometimes, with hope of life still strong, the man endeavours by sailing or by paddling to preserve himself, with the faint prospect of eventually reaching another island. As a rule, however, the natives say, he abandons himself to his fate, and either allows himself to drift on the ocean till he perishes of thirst, or is overwhelmed by the waves, or takes the initiative and slips overboard to meet his death in the maw of a hungry shark. To be eaten by these monsters of the deep is in fact regarded by the Tikopia as the normal conclusion to being set adrift in this manner.

In suicide the same procedure is followed. Voluntary self-destruction and the punishment of crime are intimately connected, since when a serious offence has been committed the guilty person often anticipates the sentence by setting off in a canoe on his own initiative. It is worthy of remark that in this case the vessel is often not his own. Women commit suicide or, in rare instances, suffer punishment by swimming out to sea. Unlike the men they do not go out to meet their fate in a canoe: such is not the custom. On this account their end is more speedy, though hardly more certain: sooner or later, the natives think, the shark gets his prey.

So far we have dealt with the ordinary forms of punishment as following in logical sequence from the action of the chief. In this connexion the function of the *maru* is seen to be that of executive official: it is he who carries out the chief's orders and deals with the criminals in person.

THE RESTRAINT AND STIMULUS OF PUBLIC OPINION

This course of events, however, is not always followed in its theoretical or ideal plan, and here the interrelation of chief and

people and *maru* is of distinct interest. The following illustration of procedure is from my own observation.

A brother of the Ariki Tafua had recently died. This chief, in accordance with a custom of mourning for a man of high rank, had set up a taboo sign and declared that no fish might be caught along a certain stretch of coast. This prohibition was observed by the majority of the people. But one afternoon as the chief went down to bathe, he saw on the reef a small party of men taking out a net in the forbidden area. This breach of his prohibition angered him intensely. He stood on the beach and yelled at them: *Iefu! Iefu!* in an expressive protest. Then, as they were startled and hastened inshore, he stalked up to his house to get his gun. By this time some members of his family, hearing the commotion, had run from their houses near by. As he seized the weapon they endeavoured to restrain him. In dealing with an angry chief every care and tact is used, since his power is absolute, and there is, for the time being at least, no appeal beyond him. His sons grasped the weapon and held it respectfully but firmly while they talked soothingly to him, adjuring him not to do damage to his people nor to cherish his anger. The old man sat silent, his whole form quivering with wrath, his eyes glaring, his face working. From time to time he ejaculated merely, 'May their fathers eat filth', and spat emphatically into the fire-place. At last, yielding to the continued exhortations of his sons, he allowed the gun to be drawn from his grasp and began nervously to pound up his betel mixture in his mortar. This took place inside his house. After sitting for a time he rose to his feet, seized an old sabre that hung on the wall—a relic of the early labour recruiting days in the western Pacific—and made for the door. His youngest son, a man of 20, was sitting there. As his father crawled towards him on hands and knees—for Tikopian doorways are very low—he tried to block his exit. 'Get out of the way!' said the old man to him, threateningly, and pointed the sword at him. The son obeyed, slipping to one side, and the chief emerged. Standing up to his full height he began to stride purposefully down to the beach, brandishing the weapon over his head, his grey locks streaming out, an impressive, even awe-inspiring figure. It was clearly his intention to proceed to the next village where the offenders lived and punish them for their transgression. At his side and behind him came his sons and their wives, endeavouring to

restrain him with placatory words, but not interfering immediately with his progress. When he reached the beach, however, one of the wives, a woman of rank of another clan, slipped close and grasped his sword arm. A young man also from another clan, and of *maru* status, ran in and clasped him round the knees, making the *songi*, the salutation of respect to a superior, by pressing his nose to them. Thus impeded the old man stood still. Again he began to shout in fury, in a voice which carried along the beach for nearly a mile. Mingled with the conventional *forua* were curses heaped on the heads of the offenders and their progenitors. This exhibition lasted for several minutes while more and more folk assembled from their houses and came to soothe the chief by tactful words. At last the old man ceased to rage. His frenzy had spent itself. Yielding up the sword he walked back to the house, silent, but stiff and dignified, with his sons and villagers in train. No further action was taken by him against the offenders.

It is important to note that though this procedure is spontaneous in certain respects it follows basically a well-defined course and forms a recognized social reaction. The extravagant gestures, the yelling and curses and grasping of weapons are the product of real, not assumed emotion, but nevertheless they constitute an expected norm of behaviour. So also the placation of the offended chief proceeds on conventional lines, the outcome of which can be fairly closely predicted. His own relatives acknowledge the justice of his anger and reprobate the folly of the offenders, while at the same time they counsel moderation and appeal to his sympathy towards these people and themselves. They take no active measures to restrain the chief; on such occasions it is etiquette only for a person *of another clan* to bar his progress or seize his weapon. Were one of his own family or clansfolk to attempt to do so he might strike them for their temerity, but he would not act thus to a person from a different clan. He shows this respect especially to a married woman, since in Tikopia formulation 'a married woman is taboo'. The whole course of events, then, including the protest of the chief and the efforts of the people to pacify him, is a customary mechanism in which the behaviour of all parties is based on real emotions, but expresses itself according to traditional rules. An offence of this type is thus liable to set in motion a whole chain of recognized procedures, of which each

element is variable, but all in association conform to a more or less definite pattern. The chief has a customary form of action for expressing his displeasure; his people have one also for exerting restraint upon him. As for the culprits, the cause of the outbreak, they also have a recognized mode of expiating their offence: they remain in seclusion for some days and then bring to the chief a gift of food.

It will be observed that what we have been considering here is merely the social response to the breach of taboo. To use a terminology conveniently introduced by Professor Radcliffe-Brown in his studies of primitive law, it is the operation of a repressive sanction. It is not that of a ritual or religious sanction. It is in so far as the offenders have incurred the wrath of the chief and the action of the society that they have come within the scope of our study; they may also be visited with sickness or accident thought to be the result of supernatural agencies concerned with taboo, but this lies in another sphere.

A more dramatic case of the same general type indicates still more clearly the emollient and restraining influence of public opinion.

A son of the Ariki Tafua fell ill, and the chief proclaimed a period of restriction during which no festivities might take place. Such an edict was in conformity with public sentiment. When the crisis had passed some of the folk of Rofaea, a near-by village, instituted a dance one evening without troubling to ascertain the feeling of the chief. As the old chief sat in his house the rhythmic beat of the sounding board was borne to his ears. Without a word to anyone he rose, seized his spear—which is also a chief's staff of office—and went along the path to the village. In order to avoid being seen he took the inland path through the bushes in the moonlight, and did not go along the beach, the main high road, lest he might be noticed. However, a youth caught sight of him before he disappeared, and guessing his errand ran on ahead to warn the dancers. 'Be off, you fools!' he shouted, 'the chief is coming.' Struck with fear they stopped the dance and fled in all directions to hide. When the chief arrived, furious at the breach of his edict, no one was left for him to confront but a few of the elders. Carried away with anger he stood up in front of the village and with yell after yell of the *forua* he roundly cursed the inhabitants of the village. Then he finished by giving the fatal order: 'Go to your land the

sea.' This is the formal pronouncement of the sentence of exile and death. The people understood the command—to set themselves adrift in their canoes. In such a case as this the execution of the sentence is left to the people concerned; shame, injured pride, and the force of tradition cause them to carry out the obligation. By next morning the whole island had heard the news, that the villagers of Rofaea were going to *forau*, to voyage forth. It was said that even then they had begun to prepare bark-cloth for their departure. Public opinion was decidedly against the Ariki Tafua. It was felt that his sentence was too harsh. It was admitted that his action in rebuking those people was justified, but it was said on all sides that the punishment was excessive. This point of view was held most firmly by the Ariki Kafika, to whose clan the unfortunate offenders belonged. He, however, could do nothing, since it is not etiquette for one chief to interfere in the decisions of another. During the ensuing days the projected departure of these folk was discussed on all sides as a definite event. The actual day was named to me. As time went on, however, I learned that this was in part a façade. Though the banishment was spoken of as about to be put into effect when the preparations were complete, yet it seemed to be tacitly understood by all parties that the affair would not be allowed to proceed to this conclusion. In such circumstances it is the custom for a man of rank of another clan, the eldest son of a chief, or a *maru*, to take the initiative. Without reference to the chief who imposed the sentence, he goes and bids the people settle down again and abandon their intention. After some demurring they obey this command. They then prepare food and take gifts of mats, sinnet cord, and a valuable bonito hook to the chief whom they have offended. Abasing themselves before him in the customary way, they lay down their presents and thus expiate their offence. This closes the incident. Such in fact actually occurred in the case cited.

It will be seen then, that the *maru*, apart from their position as executive officials of the chief, have also a valuable place as abrogators of punishment and protectors against the chiefs' anger. It is their function, recognized by the chiefs themselves, thus to step in and mitigate a sentence. In so doing they help to guard the common people against the oppression of authority. But more subtly, they also sustain the power of the chief. A chief in the heat of his anger may utter sentiments which are

uncalled for, and inflict an unjust penalty. To revoke this sentence later would cause his pride to suffer; it also might lower his dignity and authority in the eyes of the people at large. The usage, then, whereby the *maru* take it upon themselves to intervene and remit the sentence, thus allowing the offenders to go and make peace with their ruler, is of considerable value to the system of government of the community as a whole. This function of the *maru* is a feature of great interest in the social organization.

The principle of differential rank, based on difference of birth, is fundamental in Polynesian society. But with rank come power and privilege, and with these the possibilities of oppression. In obviating this consequence the Tikopia social system makes use of the ingenious procedure of complementary officials, whereby the *maru*, themselves of rank, act as a factor of adjustment between the men of higher rank, the chiefs, and their people. In so doing they represent the popular will and give expression to it.

In another direction also the *maru* serve to give expression to popular sentiment in contrast to the will of the chiefs. Sometimes an offence is committed and the chief for reasons of his own is unwilling to take action against the culprit. If public opinion is strongly against him, it may become mobilized through the agency of a *maru* and his relatives. These people, having observed that the proper penalty—banishment—will not be inflicted, determine to force the issue by a customary method of procedure. They assemble outside the house of the chief, then, on a given signal, they rush in and, catching him up in their arms, raise him from his seat into the air. While he is in this elevated position they pay him the utmost signs of respect. They press their noses to his knee and the sole of his foot. They use the most conciliatory and honorific forms of expression. At the same time they implore him to accede to their request and banish the criminal—to send him in his canoe out to sea to perish. The action of raising the chief in their arms is termed *sapai*, and is a mark of great respect. Their procedure is in fact a kind of compulsion by exaltation. For the chief to struggle would be undignified, so he is forced to remain on high until they release him. They on their side tacitly refuse to set him down until he has agreed to pronounce the sentence. In thus doing homage to the chief the *maru* and his relatives are putting

him under an obligation. In recognition of this he is virtually forced to yield to their wishes. Theoretically it is possible for a chief to remain aloft in this manner, sitting still and making no reply to the men who thus abase themselves beneath him. But such conduct would be regarded as churlish on his part. However much he may inwardly resent their interference, he must show no sign. In practice, apparently, after a due pause to sustain his dignity, he always grants what they ask. His decision is probably affected by his realization of the strength of the public sentiment against the offender, which unless powerful would not receive expression in this action of the *maru*.

The *maru*, then, can enforce punishment in cases where a chief is too mild, or mitigate it where the chief is too harsh. He helps, in fact, to complement the functions of the chief, to adapt his decisions to the sentiment of the community. The existence of a mechanism of this kind, whereby other members of the community, usually of another clan, force the chief's hand, indicates that actions such as killing or intrigue with a chief's daughter are definitely a matter for the exercise of judgement on the part of the community as a whole. The action taken against the culprit is then a punishment of a public kind, not merely private retaliation.

These examples which we have considered help to illustrate the principles of social control in Tikopia, and show the relation of the individual clan chief to the government of the whole society. Moreover, they indicate the difference between social theory and practice. In Tikopia theory, as formulated by the natives themselves, the punishment of offences depends entirely on the will (or whim) of the chief; he and he alone is acknowledged by the people as the absolute power. In practice his decisions are subject to the general will of the community, or a large section of it, as interpreted by the action of some *maru* or other man of rank. If the offender is not deemed to have committed a severe offence, or if the circumstances are extenuating, then someone steps forward and saves him by forbidding him to obey the sentence. If popular opinion is against him then no one hinders him. And if he be sheltered from the consequences of his offence by the person who ought to punish him—the chief—then public opinion takes action on the other side, and the chief is constrained through homage to pass the appropriate sentence.

The administration of social control, then, depends to some

extent upon the reaction of personalities within the community. It is not merely automatic, as some writers on primitive politics have attempted to prove. The essence of the sentence of banishment passed on a Tikopia offender is that a *decision* has to be made. Moreover, the decision may have to be rescinded, which again involves personal choice on the part of the man taking the initiative. It is clear that the individual's conception of justice and expediency which prompts his action is dictated ultimately by the ideas derived from his group associations. Traditional precedent, sentiments of indignation and horror at the breach of custom, respect for the chief, sensitiveness to public opinion, sympathy for the offender and compassion for his children—all these factors combine to sway the individual in his interpretation and administration of the social controls. But, however close the social determinism of the individual's actions, there is a point of crystallization at which the anthropologist cannot predict the outcome exactly—the individual may decide one way or the other. Here the anthropologist has to give place to the psychologist and join the ranks of the historians, reduced to recording a sequence of events. Retrospective, not prospective, analysis then becomes his task, though he can still predict in terms of 'averages' of behaviour.

The Tikopia material given in this paper demonstrates how, in an illiterate community with a kinship system of ramifying segmentary groups and a hierarchical class structure, social tension can be resolved and social control exercised. This is done by using as a counter-weight to the predominant representatives of authority—the chiefs—an amorphous set of officials drawn from the existing rank structure, and relying for their authority not on ritual powers but on social prestige and personality. Even public opinion, a control force of considerable effect, uses this feature of the organization. Nascent class conflict is recognized, but is damped down and checked by using members of the dominant class themselves as channels and leaders for expression of the common moral law. A cynic might admire the way in which a ruling class draws the teeth of opposition by making members of their own body 'protectors of the poor' from the exactions of their own kind, and accumulates a moral credit balance thereby. This would be an inverted way of seeing the situation. To all Tikopia, chiefs and people alike, the *maru* are

governed by considerations of the common welfare. It is witness to the power of the common people that even the chiefs accept the convention that the *maru* represents the views of the people, and also accept his check on their pronouncements. This may be viewed in terms of a system of complementary forces. The principle is carried still farther in the use made of extra-clan pressures. A chief yields more easily to members of another clan than to his own. It is the fiction of the 'disinterested party', who in fact may be a very interested party in terms of the wider polity. The weakness of the whole mechanism as a regulating agency is that action depends on the personal decisions of the *maru*, and that his conceptions must to some extent be framed in terms of his class interests.

It would seem possible to translate these conclusions into wider terms. Each factor in an authority structure has its own assets, i.e. ability to exercise pressure and reap advantage—in material goods, in social goods (e.g. prestige), or in psychological goods (e.g. the satisfaction of seeing one's own opinion prevail). To separate out these factors and to examine the tension between them, to estimate the comparative advantages they possess and the comparative pressures they exercise or potentially have at command, is part of the business of the sociologist. To view them as systems in equilibrium seems to me to be an unwarranted assumption. In any society at any given time there *may* be such balance attained as to render the comparative pressures fairly even, and action by one factor or group of factors compensated for by that of others. On the other hand, there may not be such balance. To view this lack of balance as simply one stage in a disturbance of equilibrium or as a return to equilibrium seems meaningless, unless one has a vague belief in a sort of political entropy. One might affirm that there can be no equilibrium in any political system except a Spencerian anarchy, and that unless one believes that anarchy will be the result of social evolution, there can be no general trend to equilibrium. There is struggle, there are alliances; there is respect for the existing system and desire to change it; there is obedience to the moral law and attempt to get round it or to reinterpret it to sectional advantage. It is measurement of these forces in terms of a theory of comparative social advantage and relative social pressure that is necessary.

RAYMOND FIRTH

GOVERNMENT CHIEFS IN NEW GUINEA

WHEN in 1923 the Pan-Pacific Science Congress met in Australia a recommendation was made to the Commonwealth Government that administrative officers for the newly acquired Territory of New Guinea should be trained in anthropology. The advice was accepted, and within two years the University of Sydney had established a department to provide the necessary facilities.

Anthropology in Australia has thus been associated from the beginning with the administration of native peoples. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, the first occupant of the Chair, consistently stressed the practical application of the science, and it is gratifying to be able to record that his labours were crowned with success: during the war with the Japanese two Pacific dependencies which were seriously affected sought anthropological advice when undertaking the rehabilitation of devastated areas. In 1943 Sir Philip Mitchell, High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, invited my assistance in the British Solomon Islands, and in the following year four anthropologists, of whom I was one, were called upon for similar work in New Guinea.[1]

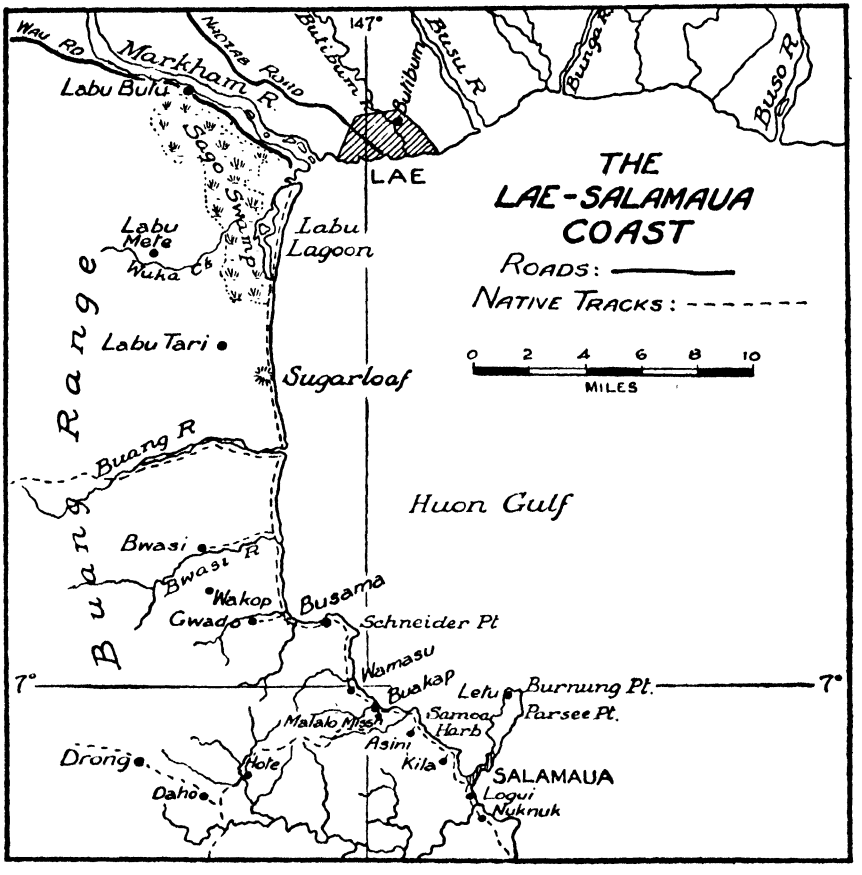
The colonies of the south-west Pacific thus owe a debt to Professor Radcliffe-Brown, and it is fitting that my contribution to a volume in which anthropologists from all over the world are uniting to do him honour should concern itself with an administrative problem from this area. I propose to give an account of certain incidents in which a New Guinea native official was involved and to point out their implications.

The story is so fantastic in some of its aspects as to be almost incredible. By manipulating Europeans to his advantage, this 'chief' appointed by the Government succeeded in acquiring the authority not merely to oppress and rob his people—that is not unheard of in New Guinea as elsewhere—but to disgrace them in the eyes of their District Officer and bring them to the verge of actual starvation.

Lest it be thought that this is a poor advertisement for the training of native administrators in anthropology, I hasten

[1] Civil Government ceased to function in New Guinea after the fall of Rabaul early in 1942, but the departments concerned with native welfare continued to function as an Army Unit.

to stress that most of the senior men in the pre-war Government of New Guinea were appointed prior to 1926 and thus had had no opportunity to attend classes. It is pleasing to note, however, that the officer with whom I collaborated to clean up



the mess, Major A. A. Bloxham, also had had associations with Professor Radcliffe-Brown, having been his pupil in 1931.

THE BACKGROUND

The affair came to light in the course of the investigation which I was carrying out as a basis for a programme of rehabilitation. I had decided to begin by making a detailed study of a community which had been seriously affected by the war. The Salamaua region, where some of the bitterest fighting in the New Guinea campaign had taken place, seemed to offer

the best possibilities, but I needed advice as to a suitable village. Major Bloxham had taken charge of the Salamaua station only two weeks before my arrival but had already heard enough from Busama, a coast village of 600 persons located eight miles to the north, to cause him serious concern, and at his request I settled there.[1]

Busama had been under Japanese control from March 1942, when the enemy entered Salamaua, till their expulsion in September 1943. During this period fairly heavy demands were made for the supply of foodstuffs and of labourers for unloading cargo vessels and carrying stores to the forward troops, and towards the end Allied bombers obliterated the village, killing some of the natives and forcing the rest to flee to the bush with such of their belongings as they could carry in their hands. A survey which I made later revealed that nearly all the pigs were killed and that the value of the property destroyed exceeded £3,000.

On the return of the Australians the whole of the male population was conscripted for necessary work by the Army. Some of these men were sent home after a few weeks, but two years later 43 per cent. of the effective males were still employed by headquarters in Lae. The villagers who remained behind were set the task of preparing roofing material for Army buildings, and 1,600 sheets of sago-leaf thatch were for twelve months turned out each week. Half rations were provided, but

[1] The people of Busama—or Busamang as they themselves call it—are physically of the normal negroid type common in the western Pacific. They speak a language known as Kawa', one of the Melanesian group, which is widespread round the shores of the Huon Gulf.

I take this opportunity to point out that Dr. Haddon's suggested division of the peoples of the south-west Pacific into two physical types, which he called Melanesian and Papuan, cannot be accepted. The many dialects may be grouped into two linguistic families, Melanesian on the south-east and north-east coasts of New Guinea and on most of the islands, and Papuan in western and central New Guinea and in parts of Bougainville and the Russell group of the Solomons, but the distribution of languages has no relation to the race of those who speak them. What has happened is that distinct local types have developed, probably through isolation—the Kiwai type, the Hula type, the Trobriand type, the Huon Gulf type, the Hagen type, the Benabena type, the New Georgia type, and so forth. Four of these, the Hula, the Trobriand, the Huon Gulf, and the New Georgia, have Melanesian languages and the remaining three, the Kiwai, the Hagen, and the Benabena, Papuan languages. All are Pacific negroids, but the slight pale-skinned Hula and Trobrianders are quite unlike the stalwart brown Huon Gulf people and the coal-black New Georgians; and the tall dark Kiwai could not possibly be mistaken for the stocky yellow-brown Hagen population or the slender Benabena.

Major Bloxham was convinced that the gardens must be suffering and that housing might be inadequate.

Living as they did at the back door of a busy port, the Busama were reasonably well acquainted with the white man and his ways. Christianity had flourished amongst them for nearly two generations, their conversion having been undertaken during the German régime by Lutheran missionaries, and, as a number had been trained in Mission schools to carry out semi-skilled work, comparatively large sums of money were in circulation. The people were in consequence somewhat independent in manner and, perhaps for this reason, were cordially disliked by certain sections of the European community. The low opinion in which they were held was reinforced by tales of alleged disloyalty during the Japanese occupation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The village is divided into two sections, one numbering rather more than two-thirds of the inhabitants and the other the remainder. The members of the first are the descendants of the original settlers who migrated on account of food shortage due to pressure of population from Lutu (spelt Letu on the charts) on the Salamaua peninsula, during the seventies of last century. These were joined some fifteen years later by the survivors of the bush village of Awasa, which had been the subject of a series of attacks from its neighbours, and their descendants now form the second section. There has always been a certain amount of rivalry between the two, the Awasa minority being the more vocal and aggressive.

More significant from the point of view of daily co-operation is the grouping which is based on closer kinship ties. Equal recognition is given to genealogical relationships on both sides, certain types of property, for example, being inherited from the father and other types from the mother's brother. As each set of brothers and sisters has different paternal and maternal kin from every other set, it follows that there are as many groups as there are individual families. Instead of segmentation, which results from a division of the society into clans, or branching, which results from a joint family organization, there is rather a pattern of intersecting circles.

The old system of authority was associated with wealth, the

man who outstripped all others in the lavishness of his feasts being ultimately accepted as the headman of the village.[1] But as these feasts were mainly associated with pagan religious festivals and warfare, they have long since been abandoned, and for many years Busama has been without a traditional head. Government policy is to appoint the man who seems to be the most outstanding personality as the village chief, with the title of *luluai*. He is assisted by the *tultul*, the official representative of the Administration, a young man chosen for his knowledge of Europeans.

The *luluai* of Busama was a widely known individual named Bumbu, of the Awasa section, who had held office since 1926. His sole training had been as the boss boy of a German planter whose brutal methods were notorious, but many Europeans regarded him with favour. He had earned their gratitude in the early days of the Edie Creek goldfields, when all gear had to be carried inland by porters. Bumbu, quite illegally, conscripted the villagers for this work, thereby amassing a small fortune. He was supposed to have remained intensely loyal to us during the Japanese occupation and as a result had been awarded a Loyal Service Medal.

The *tultul*, Isom, was removed from office and placed under arrest for assisting the enemy by Major Bloxham's predecessor. I was not impressed with the man who took Isom's place, a son of Bumbu named Mayeng. Subsequent to the events recorded in this paper, during a period when I was temporarily absent in Australia, an ugly incident in which he had a year before been involved became public. The matter was brought to Court, and he was found guilty of procuring a married woman.

EARLY DAYS IN THE VILLAGE

Ten minutes were sufficient to reveal the inadequacy of the housing. The place was a tropical slum, and, though Bumbu's

[1] It should perhaps be stated here that each New Guinea village—and the same applies to the villages in the islands to the east and south-east—almost always forms an independent political unit owing no allegiance to anyone living outside its boundaries. The type of leadership found in Busama is, or was, fairly general, and it is in one sense unfortunate that the community about which the world knows most, the Trobriands, should be practically unique. I know of no other place where a system of rank involving exaggerated respect to social superiors exists, and nowhere else, so far as a record has been made, are there powerful hereditary chiefs whose authority extends beyond their own settlements.

and Mayeng's dwellings were satisfactory, the others were barely weather-proof.

Having settled this point so quickly, I decided to begin a survey of the gardens. This involved measuring scores of small plots and estimating potential harvests, a job which took over two weeks. I found that only eight acres were in cultivation as against a pre-war figure of over 100 and that the amount of taro available in each thirty days did not suffice for more than five. The Army supplied enough rice and meat for a further fifteen, and during the remainder of the time the people were eating forest products or going without. As was to be expected, health was poor and resistance to epidemics low.

On the receipt of this information Major Bloxham had the Army rations increased and forbade the further production of roofing material. The people were also told to leave rebuilding for the present and to concentrate on their gardens.

In the early stages Bumbu gave me as assistants three men whose word, he said, I could trust, Mayeng and two others. All three, I learnt later, were from the Awasa section. The second was the village medical dresser Ho'giling, a member of Bumbu's immediate kinship group, and the third Gwaleyam, a fairly close relative. These men were intelligent and on superficial acquaintance appeared to be reliable, but I aimed at making my own friends and choosing informants for myself. This, however, proved to be impossible, for no one would have anything to do with me, and repeated invitations to visit the house produced not a single guest. People answered my questions when spoken to in the village but showed no desire to volunteer information or to linger in my company.

At about this time Mayeng presented Major Bloxham with £37 as a gift from the Busama to the Government to restore their good name. The money was not accepted, but Mayeng was told to hold it for the present. It appeared that this was an expression of shame at having sided with the Japanese, and I concluded that a feeling of guilt was responsible for their avoiding me.

Bumbu had repeatedly given me his version of what had happened. It was a plausible story which had often been told; even the Army publication *Jungle Green* includes it.

Isom, he stated, had rushed along to the Japanese commander to tell him how glad everyone was to see the white men expelled,

being rewarded for his efforts by promotion to the office of *luluai*. He then took Bumbu into custody and marched him to Salamaua, where he was tied to a coco-nut palm. The Japanese tortured him for some hours in an endeavour to make him admit that he hated the British, but on his steadfastly refusing they put him in prison, from which he later escaped during an air raid.

For some months, according to Bumbu, Isom organized the willing Busama into working gangs till news of what was happening drifted through to our lines. A night raid by two Australian officers and a detachment of native police followed, but Isom was not sighted, though some of the villagers were killed. The subsequent visit of three native policemen as scouts for Allied troops gave him an opportunity for vengeance. These men were taken captive and brought to the Japanese at Salamaua, where he asked that they be killed, a request which was readily granted.

On the return of the Administration Bumbu at once reported to the District Officer and told of all that had occurred. The result was that Isom left under a police guard and he himself was rewarded with a medal.

FIRST SUSPICIONS

By the time that I had been in the village for five weeks I had made not the slightest headway with the people and was becoming worried. At this stage, however, what was to prove my best contact occurred. A youth was bitten by a snake and his kinsman Nga'gili' came for assistance. Whether the snake was poisonous is perhaps doubtful, but the victim recovered, and my treatment was held to be responsible. Nga'gili' was obviously grateful and said so but begged me not to single him out for any familiarity as Bumbu might be angry; moreover, I was cautioned to keep our conversation a secret.

My suspicions were already becoming aroused by certain of Bumbu's actions, and I determined to keep a close watch on him. The first thing which had struck me was the retinue of six elaborately dressed girls in his house who did no work. Not one of them had lent a hand at thatch making—neither, indeed, had Bumbu or Mayeng—and now they sat about the village all day depending on women with families to bring them firewood and water. A pack of dogs was also maintained, being

fed twice per day with excellent taro when other persons were hungry. Every morning, too, half a dozen persons were detailed to collect fresh fruit, all of which found its way to Bumbu or Mayeng. This was subsequently sold to week-end parties of troops who came over every Sunday from Lae on picnics. The two had a complete monopoly of the trade, and it was reported in confidence by Nga'gili' that a young man who attempted to sell some of his own pawpaws had been soundly beaten. Again, Major Bloxham's instruction that no house was to be rebuilt till the area under cultivation had been considerably extended was being ignored. Bumbu had ordered that his dwelling, the best in the village, was to be pulled down and re-erected on a new site, and far from sending the people out to clear new ground, he kept them rehearsing for a dance every afternoon and half the night. Each day defaulters were called upon to give an account of themselves, those whose explanations were unsatisfactory being publicly reprimanded. Finally, Bumbu, Mayeng, and Ho'giling seemed to be claiming far more of the Army rations than was their due.

Knowing how Melanesians detest a lazy woman, I tackled this problem first. The two informants Mayeng and Ho'giling said lamely that Bumbu was an old man and had to be constantly nursed, a statement which was manifestly ridiculous, but the third, Gwaleyam, first hedged and then under pressure suddenly whispered: 'Don't say any more now. To-morrow come for a long walk, and I'll ask someone to join us who'll tell you about it.'

This was the turning-point, and from now on the mystery began to clear. The earliest details came from Gwaleyam's associate Ahipum, a nephew of Bumbu whose very existence had at first been concealed on the grounds that he had so aided and abetted Isom that all right-thinking persons were ashamed to own him. But that same afternoon Nga'gili', on the pretext of asking for aspirin, hurriedly made a request that I should meet him at night in a deserted hut half a mile along the beach, and in the course of the following week no less than seven more men came to my house separately at the dead of night, often after twelve o'clock. There is not the slightest doubt that what they had to say was substantially correct, for their accounts tallied, and in the course of the next few months I was able to check them with half the village.

THE REAL STORY

While still a young man Bumbu had been well known for his ugly temper, and his appointment as *luluai* caused consternation. As expected, his brutality was soon felt by all, men, women, and children, and he used to go round with a cane belabouring all who incurred his displeasure. One woman he struck over the face and permanently blinded. She is still a pathetic figure in the village, having to be led everywhere by a small child. Reports of this behaviour were made by Isom and others to successive District Officers, but nothing was ever done.

Two seductions followed, the first of one of the village girls, who bore a bastard, and the second, a few years later, of a niece, Ahipum's sister. The latter was pregnant before the affair became public, but she was then married in haste to Ho'giling, who, already somewhat elderly, was prepared to father the child in return for a young wife. Both incidents were reported, the first by Isom and the other by Ahipum, supported by the whole village, whose moral sense was outraged by the incestuous relationship. Bumbu so terrified the women with threats, however, that they denied that he was responsible, and the charges were dismissed.

It seems amazing now that the officer in charge of the District did not make a more thorough examination of the witnesses, especially since the Mission held an investigation each time, found Bumbu guilty, and on the second occasion suspended him for some months from Church membership. But it is convenient, no doubt, when a large area has to be governed, to leave village administration to the native official, and there is in consequence a tendency to attribute any charge made against him to malice. Of this Bumbu was well aware, and his constant line of talk was that the villagers made a habit of concocting lies about him, their minds having been poisoned against the Government by Lutheran missionaries who wished for a return of the Germans. This was untrue but was always believed, for the Mission was in fact partly staffed by German nationals.[1] It is possible that suspension from the Church may

[1] Several of these missionaries were ardent members of the Nazi party and were interned by the Commonwealth Government, but my own careful investigations failed to produce any evidence of efforts to indoctrinate the Busama with anti-British propaganda.

have even made Bumbu something of a martyr in the eyes of the District Officer. A further point in his favour was the marriage of one of his daughters to the police sergeant-major, who made it his duty to keep the District Office informed on local gossip. This man, Tape, whose name will occur again, retired from the police force shortly before the war and settled in Busama.

One further attempt was made to secure justice. The villagers on this occasion complained that for refusal to work in Bumbu's gardens they had been made to stand for hours on end holding a heavy weight with one finger. Bumbu's explanation, that the Busama were liars, was accepted as sufficient answer, so they maintain, to a charge brought by nearly one hundred persons.

After this the people gave up hope. The Administration, it was felt, was determined to accept Bumbu's word rather than theirs, and they therefore resigned themselves to the inevitable, making no further effort to check his career of oppression. Thus they submitted when ordered to contribute towards the purchase of a boat, which cost £80, and not only allowed him to keep the profits from charters to Europeans but gave him even higher rates when they themselves had occasion to use it. His vindictiveness was hardest to bear. Grudges were harboured for years, all who obstructed him being forced sooner or later to pay the penalty. Isom and Ahipum, as ringleaders of the opposition, became his special butt, and on one occasion a charge of sorcery was framed against them. It is significant that the figure for men absent from Busama during the war, when labour was conscripted, was not much in excess of the average for the four or five years preceding, though in the neighbouring villages the number away was often more than doubled. Life in Busama was so unattractive that all who were able to do so kept away.

Then came the war and the arrival of the Japanese. Fearing that the people would seize the chance to make reprisals, Bumbu went into hiding.

Some days later a party of the enemy visited the village and called a general assembly together. The leader stated that he desired to appoint the senior official as the Japanese representative, but, on being told of Bumbu's flight, selected Isom, the *tultul*, as a substitute. Orders were given to him that

messages demanding food or labour were to be attended to promptly, and the people were told that at all times he was to be obeyed. Defenceless as they were, it is difficult to see why they should have been blamed for compliance.

Before the party's departure Isom was also instructed to hand over all firearms. The only weapon in the neighbourhood was a shotgun, which had been given to Bumbu by a European for safe-keeping. Isom was accordingly told to find him and see that he brought it to Army headquarters.

The hiding place was soon found, and several attempts to make Bumbu comply followed. For two or three weeks he refused but finally made his way to Salamaua in secret with a gift of fresh fruit. The Japanese, however, were determined to make him an example. He was promptly taken and tied for several hours to the trunk of a coco-nut palm. Although not tortured, he was given no water to drink and that night put in prison. Isom several times asked for his release and after about a month was told to bring along some of the senior men to take him away. On arrival they were informed that the same punishment would be meted out to them if orders were ignored, and before Bumbu left he was publicly warned that in future he must submit to Isom in all things.

During the period of delay before Bumbu went to Salamaua an American aircraft crashed in the bay. The pilot was wounded but managed to swim ashore, where the Busama gave him medical treatment, provided him with food, and furnished guides to take him over the mountains to the nearest Australian outpost.

Bumbu's degradation from office and his subsequent imprisonment rankled, and, although blame was attributed to most of the villagers, especially the Lutu section, Isom, as their instrument, was considered to be the worst enemy. A plan was accordingly evolved in an attempt to bring about his downfall. Mu'ali, the wife of Tape, ex-policeman, provided the means. According to informants, who included Tape himself, she was a woman of loose morals and was carrying on an intrigue with a native from another area who was temporarily living in Busama. Bumbu now suggested that she and her lover should elope to Wau, where there was an Australian base, and lay information. Their tissue of falsehoods, which is now on the files, was accepted by the District Officer there, and shortly

afterwards a night raid by two Europeans and a party of native police took place. This was a complete fiasco, as has been mentioned. Isom made his escape, and a couple of villagers were slain.

The capture of the three police who were scouting for our troops followed within a few months. Those primarily responsible were a group from Aitape, a district several hundred miles away in western New Guinea. These men had been in employment in the area till the beginning of 1942, when the Europeans withdrew. Being then unable to return to their homes, they settled in a camp in the bush behind Busama, selecting as their leader police sergeant-major Nason, Tape's successor at Salamaua. I have so far been unable to trace Nason and find out the reason for his action, but, whatever this may have been, he had the three seized as soon as they set foot in the camp. A party then marched them to Busama and handed them over to the villagers, Nason saying that they must be brought to Japanese headquarters. The people had no alternative but to take them, for he threatened to report them if they refused. It is worth noting, however, that at this stage of the proceedings Isom played no part, as he was away from home.

On receiving the three men, the Japanese again ordered the elders to assemble. Through an interpreter, the commander asked all those who were related to anyone killed in the raid to stand. Would the death of these policemen be a fair return, they were asked. It is impossible now to discover their feelings, but they clearly had to agree, and the men were shot.

There was no further contact between our troops and the Busama till the fall of Salamaua. Bumbu had by this time added circumstantial details to his story and shortly afterwards received his medal. Isom evaded capture in the bush for a few days, but on learning that the police who were sent to arrest him had surrounded his house and were carrying out a mass rape of the women—a crime, incidentally, which the Busama were afraid to report lest a worse fate should overtake them—gave himself up. He remained in confinement for a year.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

Bumbu was now stronger than ever. He had the complete confidence of the District Officer, and so poor a view was taken of the villagers' behaviour that they thought that any complaints

which they might have made would be even less likely to succeed than before. Crazy with power, he determined that they should be utterly humiliated and if possible starve. I use the word 'crazy' deliberately, for in the end he also would have suffered. The natives had an apt analogy: a European who has cattle on his plantation appoints a bullock boy, they used to say, but if the cattle die the youth is paid off. Mayeng was on his father's side, as also were three or four Awasa kinsmen, including Ho'giling.

The first step was to avenge himself on the Mission for its action years before in suspending him.[1] The District Officer had given verbal instruction that church services throughout the District were to cease, schools to remain closed, and all religious books to be destroyed. Except in the beginning, the order was not enforced, but Bumbu seized the opportunity, and for the space of exactly a year he personally inflicted punishment on all who came together even for private prayer meetings.

Thatch making was also convenient. The task occupied three days each week, during which Bumbu and his henchmen sat about in idleness or slept, refusing to prepare so much as a single sheet. When the rations arrived, on the other hand, they became most active. At two distributions when, unobserved, I kept an accurate record I saw them set aside three-sevenths for themselves. The total strength of their households was thirty, so that the remaining 500 or so in the village were even worse off than I had thought. Rations not required for personal consumption were sold back to the village or to neighbouring communities, and subsequent inquiry revealed that eighty natives had between them paid over £20 for rice and meat.

The lining up of the people, which was necessary for the allocation of duties on the days when the thatch was made, was continued throughout the rest of the week. For at least half an hour they had to listen to the foulest abuse, and a certain number were then picked out to gather food and firewood or to perform work for Bumbu and his satellites. During the tirades he used often to state that the whole Administration was in his complete control—and the facts appeared to support him—and when I arrived solemn warnings were given that

[1] All European missionaries, nevertheless, had before this been evacuated to Australia.

no one was to approach me or give any hint of what was taking place.

The gardens had necessarily suffered, though very slightly, during the bombing raids, when the people fled, and the situation grew steadily worse with the conscription of manpower and the setting of the weekly thatch quota. For Bumbu, however, this was not enough—he determined that agriculture should as far as was practicable cease. In order to achieve this end he organized a continuous series of dances, and, on the four days of the week not taken up with preparing thatch, rehearsals began at three o'clock in the afternoon and continued till well into the night. Three hours of daylight which might have been devoted to cultivation were thus lost. Further, for fear of being late, no one dared go far away to where the better lands are located. The penalty for not being on time was having to sit for several hours with hands in one of the village latrines.

A pole was erected alongside the dance area, and beneath an Australian flag presented by a credulous Army officer from Lae, Bumbu watched and criticized, using his stick if he considered that anyone was not doing his best or if a spectator seemed to be falling asleep. Visitors from other places were invited from time to time, and to entertain them he ordered the killing of the few remaining pigs, sows being chosen first.

This order for dancing, bad enough in itself considering the circumstances, appeared even worse to the participants, since they have for years now regarded such entertainments as of the devil. This is in my opinion a pity, but the belief is accepted as an integral part of the Christian religion.

There remained a further affront, the retinue of idle girls, all of them kinswomen who had been ordered to join the household. A certain amount of evidence suggests that they were used for the entertainment of visiting troops, Bumbu enriching himself in the process, and I also had it on unimpeachable authority that he himself had had relations with two of them. Such behaviour was looked upon by the village almost with horror. Disapproval of extra-marital intercourse is the Busama tradition, the death penalty being formerly demanded.

My presence in the village was an embarrassment, for thrashings had to cease, and no longer was it possible to sentence offenders to sit with their hands in a latrine. Yet so confident was Bumbu of his power that the daily line-up continued and

also the dancing, with the consequent interference with garden work. When he, too, could no longer resist the order to clear an extensive area, a stony hill-side was deliberately selected because at that season of the year nothing would grow there.

COURT PROCEEDINGS

Once I was sure of the facts I visited Salamaua for discussions with Major Bloxham. We came to the conclusion that a public inquiry was called for, but I warned him that everyone was so discouraged that witnesses might be afraid to come forward. A day was fixed, however, and I returned to the village to try to convince my informants that at last the time had arrived when they might secure redress. I agreed to allow myself to be called as the first witness but explained that I could only tell of what I had actually seen: they, too, would have to play their part. Eight of the nine agreed to speak, Gwaleyam alone proving a coward, and together we prepared our case.

Word had not leaked out to either Bumbu or Mayeng that their careers might be approaching an end, and Major Bloxham was greeted with the usual honours. The people were summoned to the centre of the village, and, after a concourse of native police had taken up their position behind the bench, the Court opened.

Major Bloxham's first words were an order to the police-corporal to search Bumbu's house. The man returned, his eyes popping, ejaculating in pidgin; 'Master, master, house belong Bumbu he full up all same store.' The dwellings of Mayeng, Ho'giling, and the other henchmen were then searched with similar results. When distributed, the food proved to be sufficient to feed the whole village for nearly six weeks.

The information received at the District Office was then outlined and I was called into the box, being followed one by one by the eight who had said they would come forward. Fortified by what they heard, various others volunteered to speak, and the case against Bumbu closed with eighteen witnesses. He and Mayeng were asked for an explanation and, to everyone's astonishment, began to quarrel, the son blaming the father for having ruined him. This was promptly stopped, but Bumbu had nothing further to say, though Mayeng continued to protest that he had been an unwilling victim.

The insignia of office for village officials is a navy-blue peaked cap with a single broad red band for a *luluai* and two narrow red bands for a *tultul*. These were removed from Bumbu's and Mayeng's heads for ceremonial burning, and the former was told that had he not been so advanced in years he would have been imprisoned. Ho'giling, too, was removed from the job of medical dresser.

Before closing the Court Major Bloxham announced that he would appoint new officials the following morning and that consideration of the matter had better be given by the village, as he would accept their nominations.

The selection was Gwaleyam for *luluai*, in my opinion an unfortunate choice, and Ahipum for *tultul*, but before they received the caps Mayeng was called upon to produce the £37 which he had been holding. Major Bloxham stated that a good name could not be bought but must be earned and that he proposed to return the money. The teachers had kept an exact record of the amount each person had given, so that distribution did not present any difficulties. It was then disclosed that neither Bumbu nor Mayeng had contributed—the 'gift' was a levy, the purpose of which was to convince the Administration that the Busama were aware of their guilt, thus giving confirmation to the malicious lies which had been spread about them.

The two new officials were now formally installed. The past was dead, said Major Bloxham, and a new order was beginning. Gwaleyam and Ahipum must do their duty by their people, and these in turn must fulfil all reasonable demands and help one another to build for a better future.

The Busama are a deeply religious people, and Christianity means a great deal to them. That evening a service of thanksgiving was held, the text of the sermon being from the Epistle to Titus, the eleventh verse of the second chapter: 'The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men.'

The account may well close with a mention of the farewell to Major Bloxham when a year later he was transferred to another district. His visit to say good-bye was unexpected, though, as it was Sunday, all were at home. He walked through the village shaking hands and chatting with those whom he knew personally, telling them how sorry he was to leave and

expressing hopes that he might return. There was not much time to spare, and within half an hour we were walking slowly to the shore, where the craft was waiting to take him away. The whole village had gathered, and as we approached a hymn began, the main theme of which was that the Lord might watch over the wanderer and bring him safely home. A prayer followed in which the native pastor thanked God for having sent them a District Officer whom they could look upon as a friend. He also asked for blessings to be showered on Major Bloxham and begged that in due time he might be sent back. The ceremony closed with a few speeches, quite unrehearsed and spontaneous, in which the speakers expressed their heartfelt gratitude for all that had been done for them.

THE MORAL

Bumbu's worst excesses, with their complete disregard for public welfare are, I believe, without parallel. But, although some *luluais* possess a marked spirit of service, it must be admitted that these are far outnumbered by men who use their office for their own advantage. Gwaleyam, for example, had already within a year developed some of the worst characteristics, and the village as a result had to be split into two, each with its own officials. The Lutu section then promoted Ahipum to be *luluai* and requested the appointment of Nga'gili' as *tultul*. Still a third type of *luluai* must also be noted—the nonentity who only functions when the District Officer is actually present.

Ample evidence could thus be produced to justify an observer in coming to the conclusion that, from the point of view of the natives, the *luluai* system had failed. For a remedy it is necessary to go no farther than the neighbouring British Protectorate in the Solomon Islands, where the social condition of the people is identical.

In 1939 I suggested the establishment of native Councils and Courts and outlined a scheme for their constitution. The District Officer of the island of Malaita adopted the proposals, and within a couple of months experiments were being tried out in two areas. In 1943 and again early in 1945 I returned to see what progress had been made. An account is given in detail in another publication, and there is no need for recapitulation

here.[1] It will suffice to say that, though there have been many unforeseen difficulties to overcome and even one or two failures, the results have in general been encouraging. At the present time native taxation is left to the Councils, the money being also spent by them as they themselves see fit. The District Officer has to give his consent before any large sum can be paid out but up to the present has found no occasion to interfere. The Courts, too, have been accepted with enthusiasm, and so satisfactorily are they functioning that in May 1945 Regulations were issued empowering them with full authority to settle all cases involving native custom, practically all civil cases, and all criminal cases for which the appropriate penalty does not exceed a fine of £10 or imprisonment for six months. The District Officer may veto decisions but had so far only once done so. There is no appeal in native customary cases, but in both civil cases and criminal cases the plaintiff or defendant may refer the matter to a higher Court for review.

The system envisaged is a native democracy run on traditional lines; but, like any other democracy, its continued success and progress will depend upon the people's education. Up to the present the Australian dependencies of the south-west Pacific have had to pay their way, and so slender have been their revenues that the bare minimum of the public services which are in civilized communities taken for granted has had to suffice. The money available even for the Department of Public Health, the most important of all, has been pitifully small, and for schools practically nothing could be spared. Improvement will be impossible unless the metropolitan Government can be persuaded to change its policy and make adequate grants, and until this happens the statements of our political leaders that the aim of native administration is to foster the people's welfare will not be worth as much as the paper on which they are written.[2] H. IAN HOGBIN

[1] H. I. Hogbin, *Experiments in Civilization*, London: Routledge (1939); and 'Native Councils and Courts in the Solomon Islands', *Oceania*, xiv (1944). The latest version of the Instructions issued to the natives appears in *Oceania*, xvi (1945), under the title, 'Notes to Native Local Administrations in the British Solomon Islands'.

[2] This paper was written late in 1945, while the Army was still in charge. With the restoration of civil Administration extensive grants were made by the Australian Government.

AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT

THE novel *A Bell for Adano* dramatized the problems of a Civil Affairs officer in Military Government—the difficulties of bringing order out of chaos, the headaches of conflicting political and social factions in an occupied area, American ways of carrying out principles of justice and humanity versus local ways, and both versus the arbitrary orders of higher ranking officers who lacked knowledge of the local situation. Not all American Civil Affairs officers were as high minded or conscientious as Major Joppolo, but all were faced with similar Herculean problems.

DEFINITIONS

Military Government is defined in the United States Army and Navy Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs (FM 27–5; OPNAV 50E3) as 'the supreme authority exercised by an armed force over the lands, property and the inhabitants of enemy territory, or allied or domestic territory, recovered from enemy occupation, or from rebels treated as belligerents' (p. 1). The same manual described 'Civil Affairs' as 'the activities of the government of the occupied area and of the inhabitants of such an area except those of an organized military character' (p. 1). In other words, Civil Affairs is that aspect of Military Government concerned with the governing of resident civilian populations. It is this civil affairs aspect of Military Government which most resembles colonial government and which is the subject of this paper. The Army and Navy manual already quoted defines the aims of civil affairs as follows: 'The object of Civil Affairs control through Military Government is to assist military operations, to further national policies, and to fulfill the obligation of the occupying forces under international law. . . . Further, the efficient conduct of a Military Government as a part of one military operation will promote military and political objectives in connexion with future operations' (p. 3).

It is further stated (p. 5) that 'the paramount interest of the civil affairs officer is in dealing with civilian relationships of concern to the commander. Such interest will be expressed in restoring law and order and in returning to the civilian population certain facilities or services and restoring living conditions to normal, in so far as such activities will not tend to interfere

with military operations. Whether interference with military operations will result shall be determined by the commanding officer after giving consideration to the recommendations of his combat and civil affairs officers.'

Thus the primary aim of Military Government and Civil Affairs as a branch of the Army and Navy is to aid in winning the war. There is a brief bow to the rules of international law, but they are really secondary, and in practice the civilian populations which come under military jurisdiction in war-time have practically no fundamental civil rights. Indeed, they have even less than prisoners of war, who are elaborately covered by international treaty.[1]

The difficulties resulting from attempts to change local custom too drastically are recognized in the manual (pp. 8–9): 'To avoid confusion and to promote simplicity of administration, it is advisable that local laws, customs, and institutions of government be retained, except where they conflict with the aims of military government or are inimical to its best interests. In general, it is unwise to impose upon occupied territory the laws and customs of another people. Any attempted changes or reforms contrary to local custom may result in development of active or passive resistance and thereby handicap the operation of military government.'

This official advice shows clearly that the military planners have learned from experience. It does not, unfortunately, tell how to persuade prospective Civil Affairs officers of its truth, nor does it take into account the embarrassing fact that many an officer simply cannot learn the value of the advice until a riot or revolt explodes in his face.

The Civil Affairs aspect of Military Government is by no means new. Pontius Pilate was in effect a Civil Affairs officer and his treatment of Jesus followed a characteristic pattern. First he tried to shift responsibility for what he regarded as a difficult problem to another man.

'When Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilean.

'And as soon as he knew that he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction,

[1] During World War II this led to such paradoxes as the paying of 70 cents a day to Japanese prisoners of war on Saipan, but only 40 cents to civilian workers, both Japanese and native Chamorro. In Europe the German treatment of civilians was tempered by no international treaties whereas prisoners, on the whole, fared better.

he sent him to Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time.' (Luke xxiii. 6–7.)

But Herod returned Jesus and the problem of dealing with him to Pilate, who then tried to avoid the issue of passing judgement on a religious disturber of the peace.

'And Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people,

'Said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people; and, behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him:

'No, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him.

'I will therefore chastise him, and release him.

'(For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast.)

'And they cried out all at once, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas:

'(Who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison.)' (Luke xxiii. 13–19.)

So, finally, Pilate 'gave sentence that it should be as they required'.

In this situation Pilate anticipated FM 27–5 in bowing to local custom and judgement in his area of administration. In the version of St. John, Pilate, after having issued judgement under pressure, wrote for the cross the inscription 'the King of the Jews', and when the chief priests requested him to rephrase it as, the man who said he was King, Pilate replied, 'What I have written I have written.' Just so has many a modern military governor clung to 'face' rather than revise an order.

TRAINING

In the field of military occupation and the administration of alien civilian populations, American military authorities have had extensive experience in the Philippines, the Rhineland, Liberia, and—to be frank—in Latin America.[1] Such ventures

[1] An excellent analysis of American Military Government in various areas is made in an article by Ralph H. Gabriel, 'American Experience with Military Government', *The American Political Science Review*, xxxvii. 3 (1943), pp. 417–38. He gives a broad definition of Military Government as 'the transitional phase between the active conflict of armies and the quiet of an established peace'. He goes on to say, 'Military Government may be—and has been at times in American history—as important for ultimate solutions as major military campaigns.'

into civil administration on the part of the military have usually been undertaken with but little prior planning for the specific problems of civilian government in the region and, as a rule, the lessons of each experience have had to be re-learned in subsequent ones with frequently unhappy and expensive results.

The record for World War II is different. We not only drew on earlier experiences in planning, but elaborate Civil Affairs training programmes for personnel were established. When the prospect of extensive overseas occupations became clear, the Army began to plan for a Civil Affairs Training programme for the European theatre and the Navy for a similar programme for the Pacific Ocean Area. The British, with their long experience in colonial government and with their prior involvement in the European war, had already established such a training school at Wimbledon, England. Both the Army and the Navy sent observers to Wimbledon before establishing Military Government schools in the United States.

The Navy's solution of the training problem was to establish a nine-months' school at Columbia University in New York, using a combination of resident professors and visiting naval officers as instructional staff in: (*a*) problems of civil administration, (*b*) the geography, economics, history, and peoples of the area, and (*c*) language. The area primarily planned for was the Japanese Mandated Islands in the Pacific and, secondarily, Japan.

The Army established a Military Government school at Charlottesville, Virginia, in which the principles of Military Government were taught, relying at first on a report on the Rhineland occupation experience by Major Hunt[1] and on visiting lecturers, both British and American, from the Libyan area. After six weeks at Charlottesville the officers were sent for a two months' intensive training course to one of a number of universities, where they learned the characteristics and some of the language of one European country.

This Army programme of university training, an unwanted child at first, was finally put under the jurisdiction of the Provost Marshal General's Office. A civilian, Dr. Charles Hyneman, a Professor of Political Science from Tulane, was employed to act

[1] This was issued in 1943 in condensed form as *American Military Government of Occupied Germany 1918–1920* and is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., for 40 cents.

as liaison between the Army and the universities. He was also largely responsible for drawing up the original Civil Affairs Training School (CATS) curricula.

In 1943, when an adequate number of Civil Affairs officers for Europe had been trained, and when it became clear that an occupation of Japan was to be carried out, plans were made to establish a Far Eastern Civil Affairs Training School. The first institution chosen for such training was the Division of Social Sciences of the University of Chicago with Dr. Fred Eggan as Director.

The Far Eastern Civil Affairs Training School was begun on 1 September 1943, with the usual three fields: Military Government Administration, Area, and Language. In the Area studies there were three resident instructors and a number of visitors. As supervisor of Area studies it was the job of the writer to co-ordinate the programmes of the Area lecturers, to build up a Civil Affairs Training School (Far Eastern) library, and to present Japanese social organization. In actuality the problem of all the instructors was not only to instruct in the subject, but also to inculcate first principles of administration in an area such as Japan.

The whole Far Eastern programme raised a number of special problems similar to those encountered by the British in training men for colonial administration. That is, men had to be trained for administration in a cross-cultural situation. Not only was the language and culture of the area in question different from that of the trainee, it was also a non-western language and culture and so raised a host of problems, not the least of which was the difficulty of understanding the meaning and motivation of the behaviour of individual civilians in such an alien area.

The first Far Eastern Civil Affairs Training School class was a select group of special service officers. They included college presidents, town mayors, and federal civil servants, many of whom had had experience in Japan. The second class was larger, included more men with no foreign experience and also, unfortunately, contained a fair number who had no interest in becoming Civil Affairs officers. Later classes were more carefully selected, and an attempt was made to avoid 'shanghaiing' officers into the programme. A contingent of naval officers was also brought into the scheme as well as, eventually, some

WACS. Only one Japanese American was trained in a total of five classes at Chicago.

Training adult men who in civil life had made their way successfully in business, in government, and in military service, ranging from lieutenant to lieutenant-colonel in rank, presented difficult problems in morale and discipline. Most of the language and area instructors were younger than the officers they were instructing. In language classes, especially, it was difficult at first for such mature men to adjust themselves to a beginner status. Even in Area lectures this situation created emotional reactions, often of antagonism to the subject-matter. Frequently there took place a kind of reversion to schoolboy psychology: note passing, glee if an instructor cancelled a class, a disinclination to ask questions at the end of an hour (the man who dared to do so faced the disapproval of his fellows).

Another special problem in such training was the very nature of the subject-matter—namely, a detailed analysis of the society and culture of an enemy nation; not only an enemy, but an Oriental enemy. Descriptions of the social context for individual behaviour, which gave to individual Japanese actions a meaning, were interpreted as providing alibis for the Japanese. A few officers who felt a little self-conscious about being Civil Affairs officers felt it necessary to exhibit their patriotism and courage by adopting bellicose attitudes in regard to Japanese civilians—advocating a 'treat 'em rough and tell 'em nothing' policy.

Still another problem was the uncertainty as to just how and when we would enter Japan and under what post-war policies. There was a tendency to centre on the emperor as an index of policy, and every visiting lecturer was sooner or later required to give his opinion on 'what are we to do with the emperor'. Often all his other remarks were judged according to his answer to this all-important question.

Still another pedagogical difficulty was the restriction of the area training to Japan proper. No lectures were supposed to be given on China, Formosa, the Philippines, Korea, or South-east Asia. This policy, determined no doubt by political considerations, made it difficult to put Japanese history and culture into its proper context of Asia as a whole. At Chicago we did manage to slip in a few lectures on South-east Asia under the subject of Japanese Occupation Techniques, but the general

restriction on going beyond Japan's shores sometimes made it difficult to demonstrate the politico-economic context for Japan's national policies, both foreign and domestic.

From time to time visiting lecturers were brought in to describe experiences in the governing of peoples in Samoa or War Relocation Centres and elsewhere with a view to deriving certain general principles of administration in cross-cultural situations.[1] During an interval between the first and second three months' periods, tours were arranged to city installations such as water-works or steel factories with lectures on American city administration, the idea being that such experience might aid in city administration in Japan. While certain ways of doing things are different in Japan, there are problems common to all big cities such as water-supply, power production, and waste disposal. It was very difficult for the men to see the value of these comparative lectures and visits to installations and so learn the lessons they contained. The cry was always for lectures specifically concerned with Japan regardless of whether such lectures might aid in learning the principles of administration.

Many of these problems were successfully coped with, though they continued to be present throughout the programme. After the first two classes, a series of orientation lectures by the civilian director of the school and the military associate director were given to newly arrived groups, which laid out the aims of the programme and the necessity for learning the language and culture of the Japanese. They also outlined the extent and nature of the course, what subjects would be treated, and what sort of reading and report writing would be required. Such orientation lectures helped to chart the course and so make psychological adjustment to it easier.

In regard to particularly antagonistic students, the Army made an effort to avoid assigning men to the programme who did not wish to participate. They also made it possible for men to apply for transfer to different duties. This helped morale considerably, as did another new policy, namely, the granting of *per diem* to the men during residence in Chicago. This practical matter had become a rallying-point of the discontented in the

[1] For instance, Commander Alexander Leighton, author of *The Governing of Men*, and G. Gordon Brown, co-author of *Anthropology in Action*. Both these men had had first-hand field experience in the analysis of administration in Japanese relocation centres, and Brown had had experience in a British colony in Africa and in American Samoa under Navy administration.

early classes and its solution, together with other changes, helped greatly.

A special problem not solved during the course was that of weeding out officers with strong racial bias and with strong anti-labour bias—two traits which are likely to handicap a Civil Affairs officer in the field. The higher military authorities were never really convinced that such considerations should enter into Civil Affairs officer selection—indeed, some military staff members looked with suspicion on officers who lacked such biases.[1]

As part of the training programme, an extensive series of Civil Affairs Guides and Handbooks was prepared. Those on Micronesia and Taiwan were compiled by the Navy, and the Army prepared most of those on European countries, Japan, and Japanese occupied territories. These handbooks helped to make up for a serious shortage of adequate background books on enemy countries, especially Japan. They also brought the information together in up-to-date and well-organized form. Nearly every federal agency, as well as many private institutions, were called upon to aid in preparing the series, e.g. the Departments of Commerce and of Agriculture for the men best qualified to write the handbooks on agriculture in Japan, the Cross-Cultural Survey of Yale University for information on Micronesia, the Treasury Department for information on European finance. Many of the handbooks on the Far East were prepared by the Research and Analysis section of the Office of Strategic Services.

A by-product of the training programme was a series of research papers prepared by officers and staff on various aspects of Japan, which were used by planning staffs in Washington and in the field. The naval Civil Affairs Guide on Far East Nutrition was an outcome of a supply conference at the Chicago school; the original Civil Affairs Handbook on Government was prepared by a former member of the Military Government staff, &c. Graduates of the early classes became instructors at

[1] In this connexion, an observation of a Military Government officer in the field is worth quoting: 'Some of those selected were found subsequently to be temperamentally unstable, others displayed racial biases, lacked imagination or were unable to make quick sound decisions in crises. They were not dropped from the program because all officers of the same rank are presumed to be equally competent.' (J. Useem, 'Governing the Occupied Areas of the South Pacific', *Applied Anthropology*, iv. 3 (1945).)

Chicago and other schools[1] for subsequent classes and some joined planning staffs in Washington and at a staging area on the west coast.

After six months' training, most of the officers were transferred to a Civil Affairs staging area, though some were drawn off for work in the Philippines and elsewhere as campaigns advanced. Most of the Navy graduates of Columbia were assigned duties in Micronesia as those islands were taken over from the Japanese. The long wait at the staging area between the completion of a Civil Affairs Training School course and the defeat of Japan was hard on the morale of the officers involved, but was a necessary part of a programme of stock-piling trained men.

EXPERIENCES IN THE PACIFIC

Early experiences of Military Government in the Pacific are virtually unknown, because most of the early reports of Civil Affairs officers from the field have been classified as secret or confidential and so are not available for public discussion. Releases by the military to the Press are so self-eulogistic as to be virtually useless for critical analysis. A few articles by former Civil Affairs officers with good observational ability have begun to appear, however, notably those of Lt. John Useem, U.S.N.R., a graduate of the Columbia Naval Training School.[2] His observations tend to corroborate conclusions from comparable administrative contexts such as the Colonial Administration, the Indian Service, and the War Relocation Authority. Common features are: the impatience of the operations man not only with the human relations problems of the natives, but also with the Civil Affairs officers' concern with them; a tendency to look upon the local civilian population purely from the point of view of a labour supply and so developing programmes in such a way as to force the natives to work or starve; a preoccupation with establishing 'law and order' according to the culture of the occupying force.

A special development in the Pacific area was the utter destruction of civil installations on occupied islands and the consequent necessity of moving the civilians into special con-

[1] The Far Eastern programme developed at Chicago was expanded in 1944 to include five other universities: Harvard, Yale (Medical Officers), Michigan, Northwestern, and Stanford.

[2] See bibliography at the end of this article.

centrated villages or even into detention camps 'for their own protection', as well as to keep them out of the way of the engineers and seabees.

There has been a considerable variety of administration according to local circumstances of occupation. In Saipan, Japanese, Koreans, and Chamorro were placed in three adjacent detention camps; in Babelthaup, Palau, the population was ruled through the Japanese Military for a few months; in the small islands of the Marshalls with a sparse Japanese population, the Japanese were evacuated early and the native peoples administered through a native administrative structure much the same as that established by the Japanese. The American administrator simply changed the name of the village office from Yakuba to Town Hall and called the headman mayor instead of *soncho*. In Ponape, which was occupied after Japan's surrender, the Americans ruled for three months through the Japanese commander and then evacuated every Japanese, military and civilian alike, to Japan. But in Tinian, where an elaborate agricultural programme had developed during the many months of occupation before surrender, it was found worth while to keep some Japanese (from Okinawa) to maintain the programme.

The occupation of Japan under General MacArthur is not, strictly speaking, an example of Military Government. Japan is being governed during the occupation period by its own government with the 'advice' of MacArthur and his staff. Many of the Civil Affairs officers trained at Chicago and elsewhere have gone to Japan, not as governors of cities or prefectures, but as members of various divisions and committees under General MacArthur concerned with such matters as counter-intelligence, information programmes, and advisory groups concerned with governmental reorganization.

CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMS OF CIVIL AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION

There are a number of fundamental characteristics of Military Government. First of all, it is a form of administration of peoples and has all the problems peculiar to such administration. Secondly, it is a form of absolutism. The military governor has absolute power and the people have few civil rights. The governors issue proclamations which are posted to be read and

obeyed by the people without question, and a series of military courts is established to take care of those who do not comply. Thirdly, partly as a self-protective safety measure and partly from humanitarian principles, the American Military Government has usually instituted a series of welfare programmes—public health, infant care, education. These programmes are often carried out under difficult circumstances, and not always with the co-operation of the people aided, with the frequent result that the administrator regards his people as ungrateful. In general, people with no part in the government of their own affairs rarely express gratitude to their benefactors—especially if the agency which dispenses public health also maintains the military courts and enforces seemingly arbitrary censuses and issues changing administrative orders. No matter how much it may be 'for their own good' no people likes to be pushed around.[1]

Military Government officers, having the power all administrators sometimes wish they had, often come to regard all attempts of people under their jurisdiction to better their condition as subversive. And in order to simplify administrative problems, such as feeding and public health, they prefer to have the population in compact groups. Under certain conditions, such as existed during the early months of the Saipan occupation, this is justified. But even on Okinawa, with 300,000 people, every last civilian was relocated to one of a series of compact artificial villages out of the way of the military and in a position easy for government. Such policies also tend to undermine local leadership, and create attitudes of dependency.[2]

In the unavoidable confusion of the early days of an occupation, justice must be alloyed with expediency and cases disposed of in a minimum of time. One of the first things Military

[1] Cf. George Boas's comments on the basis of experience in the Rhineland occupation after World War I: 'There is just no sense in thinking that an occupying force will ever make itself beloved by the occupied . . . one must expect neither gratitude nor affection. . . . A military governor by his very position never sees the better side of life. He sees arrogance, pride, humiliation, slyness, deceit, pettiness, selfishness, mendacity.' 'Human Relations in Military Government', *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vii. 4 (1943). All this affects the administrator, who may become bitter and cynical or himself fall victim to arrogance and pride.

[2] Moving people, regardless of their desires in the matter, may become almost a habit. A recent example is the summary evacuation of the natives from Bikini because of the atomic bomb experiment. During the war, a whole community in the Carolines was moved *en masse* to make way for a recreation centre for the American Military. Such populations automatically become wards of the Government, having been separated from their land and means of livelihood.

Government does on entering a territory is to post a series of proclamations and provide punishments for disobedience of these rules. After the emergency period, however, Military Government sometimes becomes more preoccupied with seeing that its proclamations are adhered to and with throwing offenders into jail than in seeking ways of stimulating local sanctions to take care of local matters of law and order. On Saipan, for instance, the military court spent much of its time trying and convicting cases of petty theft and erecting bigger and better jails, despite the fact that all persons in its jurisdiction were already virtually in a concentration camp.[1]

A common source of conflict between governor and governed is in the field of property. Quite apart from different systems of property ownership and inheritance which may exist in the occupied country, people the world over have a tendency to regard government property as fair game—especially if this is formerly enemy-owned property. In Ponape, for instance, the local population regarded all former Japanese property as suitable for them to take, but the American Military Government posted notices on it informing the people that this was now United States Military Government property and not to be molested. And when it was molested, American Military Government officers said the Ponapeans had odd ideas about property (overlooking the similar odd ideas of property of American G.I.s).

The absolute power of the Military Government officer, plus the usually rather wretched condition of living of the natives in a war-ravaged area, often leads to attitudes of superiority on the part of the governors. In the Pacific area this was reflected in the habit Americans had of calling all natives 'gooks' and considering any attempts of 'gooks' to assert civil rights as insolence or downright subversion. One natural consequence of all this is that the military governor is frequently suspicious of local leaders who agitate for improvements in the living conditions of the people. The Uncle Tom type of native who says 'thank you' and never agitates to better himself is much preferred by the average administrator to the community leader willing to stand up for his ideas.

This general attitude, plus problems of differences in cultural

[1] See Embree, 'Military Government in Saipan and Tinian', *Applied Anthropology*, iv. 4 (1945).

standards, leads to such situations as that of the Chief and the Trousers on one of the larger Micronesian islands. This case is a good example of a conflict between administrators with little or no knowledge of local culture, and a people whose society is different from the American. On the island in question there is a system of inherited rank with a high chief in each of the major districts. These chiefs receive regular gifts of fruit and other products from their constituents. The chief is, of course, likely to be the richest, best dressed, best educated, and best housed man in the district. He, on his part, supervises the government of the district and is expected to maintain law and order. Traditionally he does this through his high prestige and wealth, as well as his superior training.

One day Military Government issued 100 pairs of navy greens, a kind of work trousers, to the most needy natives of each district through local native officials. The needy were defined as widows, orphans, and people with no pants. People in this area do not need pants for warmth or protection as they would in New York City, but as a prestige item trousers are important. By local standards it is silly to give the best things to the poorest and lowest classes of people, so in one district the native official gave the chief a pair of the new trousers as a matter of course.

The chief wore his pants to go to the administration building one day. The executive officer saw him, recognized the navy greens, and reprimanded him for having them at all, saying, 'Are you needy, have you no pants that you must wear these?' This attack not only surprised the chief but rather shocked him. The executive officer, on the other hand, going by American relief standards of giving things to the poor, was shocked to see a relief item in the possession of a rich man. What he failed to realize was that in the island trousers are not items of need in subsistence, they are items of prestige in dress. From the chief's point of view it was as wrong to hand out such things without regard for rank and as shocking as it would be to issue braid and brass to an enlisted man because he is an orphan.[1]

This is more than just a case of isolated misunderstanding between Military Government and a native chief. By such

[1] In the Navy Civil Affairs Studies pamphlet OPNAV 50E–10 on p. 5, under the heading 'Ponape, 1907', there is a paragraph which is pertinent here: 'It has been shown many times that over-hasty attempts to revolutionize native social systems bring unfortunate results.' Evidently few Military Government officers absorb this basic truth without some first-hand (and expensive) experience to drive it home.

measures of relief, based on American urban practice, Military Government is likely to undermine the authority of the very leaders who could help most in carrying the people over the trying adjustment period from life under Japanese rule to that under American.

'OPPOSITION FACE'

It is only after months or years of administration, and sometimes not even then, that a Military Government officer or colonial administrator learns the virtues of 'opposition face'. By this is meant that the native leader or appointed official must be allowed some leeway to oppose the occupying administration for purposes of his public, in order that he may the more successfully carry through the main and essential necessities of government for the maintenance of law and order. This is simply good political horse sense. One good reason for giving native leaders some sense of responsibility (not necessarily for policies but rather for methods and procedures of carrying them out) is to avoid too much paternalism. The latter is stultifying and may lead to complete lack of active co-operation on the part of the people. A reasonably alert and satisfied population is amenable in terms of labour procurement and any other problem of administration requiring the co-operation of the people. A self-reliant local leadership is also essential in carrying on the functions of government when the occupying force departs.

One of the special problems of an administrator in Military Government is that he may realize the local problems very well and have constructive ideas about how to meet them—but he is restricted in his activity by military regulations from above and is afraid to 'stick his neck out'. The cost of such independence is shown in the fate of Major Joppolo in *A Bell for Adano* and it has been repeated many times in both Europe and the Pacific. One Military Government officer in Saipan, who was doing an excellent job in a quiet way, explained to the writer that he made it a principle not to bring himself or his problems to the attention of his commanding officer, on the theory that the best way to achieve one's goal and keep out of trouble was to remain inconspicuous. In this connexion it is perhaps worth noting that the commanding officer of most Civil Affairs establishments has not undergone any training in a Civil Affairs School, but is usually an old-line officer. His rank and his lack of such training

may, however, stand the unit in good stead when it comes to obtaining supplies from other military units.

THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNICATION

One administrative problem any civil administrator is sure to meet is that of communication—especially the communication of orders and policies to the people. Posting proclamations and printing them in the press is not sufficient. Communication from the people to the administration is also necessary through some sort of grievance machinery. Both channels of communication are equally important if one is to avoid trouble. Even the Tokugawa Government of feudal Japan kept a weather eye open to social trends. In situations of anxiety and tension communication is doubly difficult,—and doubly necessary. In certain situations it is necessary not only to get information out but also some explanation of the motives for given administrative changes. If this is not provided, rumour comes to the fore—and wild rumour can prevent the successful carrying out of a policy.

Any background information gathered about an area concerning social structure, political organization, and public attitudes will be relatively useless to an administrator unless it is made a basis for interpreting current information on social developments and community attitudes. It is useful to maintain a running analysis of these. Such community analysis is a tool to aid the administrator in avoiding needless crises that may lead to loss of life and an unnecessary slowing down of his programme. This requires analysts with special training in human relations—anthropology and sociology—not old-line intelligence officers, who may be worse than useless. The problem here is not so much individual trouble makers as the social and economic bases of the trouble. Community analysis also provides a valuable check on the efficiency of administrative policies. The British Government learned this some years ago, and Government anthropologists are now a regular part of British colonial administration.[1]

[1] The need for this has been felt by some Military Government officers in the field. Lt. Useem writes: 'There is no research section at any level and hence no way of ascertaining which measures prove successful or otherwise. In the absence of such control there is no accumulation of tested principles of administration and the same errors are repeated in succeeding operations.' 'Governing the Occupied Areas of the South Pacific', *Applied Anthropology*, iv. 3 (1945).

An attitude poll was made on Saipan by Army G–2 concerning Japanese

The problems of Military Government, especially in areas of alien culture, resemble in many ways those of colonial government. There are the same linguistic and cultural barriers between administrator and administered, and in both situations the administrator has behind him the power of arms, while the people governed have only passive resistance or open revolt to offer against the edicts of a governing body in which they have no representation. The job of the administrator is to govern in such a way as to keep the peace in, and increase the productivity of, the area being administered. The people's sanctions of resistance and revolt against misgovernment are only partial in view of the fact that the governor not only can resort to force, but that it will be a long time, if ever, before higher authority will catch up with an inefficient, corrupt, or sadistic administrator. A strong *esprit de corps* within the governing body and the maintenance of administrative 'face' tend to protect military administrators from the effects of poor government. The 'confidential' nature of Military Government reports and general restrictions on travel and communication in occupied areas may prevent, even after the cessation of hostilities, any public discussion of social and political issues either by the people governed or by the civilian home population of the military governors. It is as rare to hear of a Military Government officer being relieved owing to unfitness for office as it is common to hear of native 'agitators' and 'extremists' being jailed or exiled.

Military Government, then, is a special aspect of administration characterized by absolute power on the part of the governors and often involving the administration of peoples of cultural background different from that of their administrators. It thus resembles colonial government in some ways and faces some of the same problems. It differs from colonial government in being, as a rule, a war-time or emergency control. Before and during World War II, the British and Americans established special training schools for Civil Affairs officers. The Germans

civilian attitudes toward Japanese government. While brief, it was useful to psychological warfare planners. A similarly brief but somewhat different type of study of Japanese civilian attitudes toward American propaganda and local living conditions was made by the writer just as the war ended. But no permanent provision for attitude analysis or research into the effects of administrative policy in occupied areas has yet been instituted. See Major Paul Bosse, 'Polling Civilian' Japanese on Saipan', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, ix. 2 (1945), and J. F. Embree, 'Military Government on Saipan and Tinian', *Applied Anthropology*, loc. cit.

did the same, and it is possible that some Japanese training went on. But little attention has been given as yet to the civil rights of civilians under Military Government, and both Axis and United Nations military governors have felt free to coerce civilians into work programmes and to move civilian populations *en masse* or to herd them into administratively convenient concentrations.

CONCLUSION

Since Military Government is still in operation in Pacific and European areas, and may be for some time to come, the following suggestions seem justified:[1]

1. Training programmes for Civil Affairs officers, while not a guarantee of efficient administration, are a great improvement over the old custom of placing military men with no training or experience in civil administration in charge of civilian populations. Civil Affairs Training Programmes are fully as essential as training courses in radar or gunnery.

2. In accordance with the experience of British and Dutch colonial administration, it is advisable to employ the services of government anthropologists in areas of cross-cultural administration. This has already been found useful by the Indian Service and the War Relocation Authority, and its need has been felt—but not yet met—by both Army and Navy administrators in the field.[2]

3. Since the after-effects of Military Government, whether for good or for ill, live on long after the period of occupation, more attention should be paid to the problem of civilian rights under conditions of military occupation. This subject might well be discussed and legislated upon by the United Nations Organization.

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[1] More detailed recommendations have been made elsewhere by other writers. See, for instance, Felix S. Cohen, 'Colonialism: A Realistic Approach', *Ethics*, lv. 3 (1945); Lt. John Useem, U.S.N.R., 'Governing the Occupied Areas of the South Pacific: Wartime Lessons and Peacetime Proposals', *Applied Anthropology*, iv. 3 (1945).

[2] During World War II the writer was employed on a number of war projects because of his anthropological training and Japanese area knowledge. In 1942 he established a section of community analysis in the War Relocation Authority, the agency which administered the Japanese relocation centres. In 1943–5 he was in charge of area teaching at the Civil Affairs Training School at the University of Chicago and in 1945 joined the Office of War Information, which sent him to Saipan, where he made brief surveys of attitudes of interned Japanese civilians in preparation for a psychological warfare programme in Okinawa and Japan, which Japan's surrender in August happily made unnecessary.

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