

University of New Mexico

UNM Digital Repository

Anthropology ETDs

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

6-11-1962

An Examination of the Concept of Flexibility as a Tool for the Analysis of Social Systems

Elizabeth Jane Lapovsky

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/anth_etds



Part of the [Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Lapovsky, Elizabeth Jane. "An Examination of the Concept of Flexibility as a Tool for the Analysis of Social Systems." (1962). https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/anth_etds/109

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Anthropology ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

378.789

Un30^{la}

1962

cop. 2

THE CONCEPT OF FLEXIBILITY

— LAPPOVSKY

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO



Call No.
378.789
Un302a
1962
cop. 2

Accession
Number

291459

DATE DUE

OCT - 1 '78 11NM 2W

RECD UNIV SEP 27 '78

NOV 26 '80

MAY 16 '80

MAY 23 '81

RECD UNIV MAY 23 '81

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

NOTION CONTENT
EVERYWHERE
WITH THE BEST

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO LIBRARY

MANUSCRIPT THESES

Unpublished theses submitted for the Master's and Doctor's degrees and deposited in the University of New Mexico Library are open for inspection, but are to be used only with due regard to the rights of the authors. Bibliographical references may be noted, but passages may be copied only with the permission of the authors, and proper credit must be given in subsequent written or published work. Extensive copying or publication of the thesis in whole or in part requires also the consent of the Dean of the Graduate School of the University of New Mexico.

This thesis by Elizabeth Jane Lapovsky
has been used by the following persons, whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above restrictions.

A Library which borrows this thesis for use by its patrons is expected to secure the signature of each user.

NAME AND ADDRESS

DATE

Stacy, W. T. Borcherdt Anthropology, U. N. M. 8/9/67

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONCEPT OF
FLEXIBILITY AS A TOOL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

By

Elizabeth Jane Lapovsky

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Anthropology

The University of New Mexico

1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE BY THE FOLLOWING DATE AND AUTHORITY



BY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE BY THE FOLLOWING DATE AND AUTHORITY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE BY THE FOLLOWING DATE AND AUTHORITY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE BY THE FOLLOWING DATE AND AUTHORITY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE BY THE FOLLOWING DATE AND AUTHORITY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE BY THE FOLLOWING DATE AND AUTHORITY

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Stuart A. Nathanson
DEAN

DATE

June 11, 1962

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONCEPT OF
FLEXIBILITY AS A TOOL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

By

Elizabeth Jane Lapovsky

Thesis committee

Harry W. Bassett
CHAIRMAN

Frank C. Hibbs

W. O. Hill

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's advisor,
has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the
University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

[Signature]

[Signature]

DATE

AN EXAMINATION BY THE UNIVERSITY OF
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

BY

THE BOARD OF REGENTS

THE COMMITTEE

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

[Signature]

[Signature]

[Signature]

378.789
Un 30 la
1962
cop. 2

ABSTRACT

It is the purpose of this thesis to delineate the concept of flexibility as a tool for the analysis of non-literate social systems. Despite the frequent use of the descriptive term "flexible" in discussions of ethnographic case materials, the potential analytic significance of the concept has not been examined systematically.

The initial portion of the thesis is concerned with an examination of the term "flexibility" in various contexts of ethnographic usage. In all cases it is found to refer to a system characterized by the feature of optional or alternative possibilities for interpersonal or group relationships. It is hypothesized that this recurrent feature constitutes the fundamental element of the concept of flexibility.

The major portion of the thesis is devoted to the analysis of ethnographic data for five societies which manifest the fundamental element of flexibility: the Iban, Kónkómá Lapp, Mescalero Apache, Plateau Tonga, and Turkana. The data indicate that the societies share eight significant organizational and cultural features in addition to the feature of optional relationship possibilities: (1) domestic and community groups are the important structural units; (2) political order is defined by a network of relationships

It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the concept of flexibility as a factor in the development of social systems. The first part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the social system. The second part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the individual. The third part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the group. The fourth part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the organization. The fifth part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the society. The sixth part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the world.

The first part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the social system. It begins by defining the concept of flexibility as the ability of a system to adapt to change. It then discusses the factors that influence flexibility, such as the size of the system, the complexity of the system, and the nature of the environment. It also discusses the benefits of flexibility, such as the ability to survive in a changing environment and the ability to take advantage of new opportunities.

The second part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the individual. It begins by defining the concept of flexibility as the ability of an individual to adapt to change. It then discusses the factors that influence flexibility, such as the individual's personality, the individual's experiences, and the individual's resources. It also discusses the benefits of flexibility, such as the ability to cope with stress and the ability to achieve one's goals.

The third part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the group. It begins by defining the concept of flexibility as the ability of a group to adapt to change. It then discusses the factors that influence flexibility, such as the group's structure, the group's norms, and the group's resources. It also discusses the benefits of flexibility, such as the ability to solve problems and the ability to achieve the group's goals.

The fourth part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the organization. It begins by defining the concept of flexibility as the ability of an organization to adapt to change. It then discusses the factors that influence flexibility, such as the organization's structure, the organization's culture, and the organization's resources. It also discusses the benefits of flexibility, such as the ability to compete in a changing market and the ability to innovate.

The fifth part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the society. It begins by defining the concept of flexibility as the ability of a society to adapt to change. It then discusses the factors that influence flexibility, such as the society's values, the society's institutions, and the society's resources. It also discusses the benefits of flexibility, such as the ability to maintain social order and the ability to improve the quality of life.

The sixth part of the chapter discusses the concept of flexibility in the context of the world. It begins by defining the concept of flexibility as the ability of the world to adapt to change. It then discusses the factors that influence flexibility, such as the world's population, the world's resources, and the world's environment. It also discusses the benefits of flexibility, such as the ability to maintain global peace and the ability to improve the global environment.

rather than a system of groups; (3) exclusiveness and perpetuity are not critical for group functioning; (4) leadership recruitment emphasizes ability; (5) individual freedom is stressed; (6) physical mobility is emphasized; (7) the concept of authority is egalitarian; and, (8) there is unrestricted access to the resources of the environment.

In the conclusion a relationship between these eight features and the fundamental element of flexibility is demonstrated. It is proposed, therefore, to consider the former as additional defining variables of the concept of flexibility. However, a concept based on these variables will require testing, since it has been possible to explore only a limited number of ethnographic cases. It is suggested that the concept, after further refinement, will be useful in cross-cultural studies of a wide range of non-literate societies.

rather than a system of values. The concept of values
perpetuates the old idea of the "right" and "wrong" in
ship relationships. The concept of values is a double-edged
in essence. It is a system of values, but it is also
concept of values. It is a system of values, but it is also
unrelated to the concept of values. It is a system of
In the concept of values, the concept of values is
features and the concept of values. It is a system of
demonstrated. It is a system of values, but it is also
former as with the concept of values. It is a system of
flexibility. It is a system of values, but it is also
will require that it is a system of values. It is a system of
only a limited number of values. It is a system of values,
that the concept of values is a system of values. It is a system of
in cross-cultural studies. It is a system of values, but it is also
societies.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.	1
II. ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA	6
A. The Iban.	7
B. The K'önk'ömä Lapp.	21
C. The Mescalero Apache.	30
D. The Plateau Tonga	39
E. The Turkana	49
III. DISCUSSION.	62
IV. CONCLUSION.	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	79

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	ETHNOGRAPHICAL DATA	2
A.	The Land	2
B.	The People	3
C.	The History	4
D.	The Present	5
E.	The Future	6
III.	ETHNOLOGY	7
IV.	CONCLUSION	8
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	9

I INTRODUCTION

The term "flexible" has appeared with increasing frequency in recent discussions of the structural characteristics of a variety of non-literate societies. Although it is used primarily in a descriptive sense, its recurrent use suggests the possibility that a distinct feature of certain social systems---flexibility---can be isolated and conceptualized. Since the potential analytic significance of this mode of characterizing societies has not been examined systematically, this thesis will constitute an attempt to delineate the concept of flexibility and to indicate the possible contribution of the concept for cross-cultural comparison.

Flexibility has not been clearly defined by anthropologists, and consequently the initial task of the thesis

The term "character" has a technical meaning in psychology in recent discussions of the personality characteristics of a variety of human beings and animals. Although it is used primarily in a descriptive sense, the term has also been suggested as a term for the study of the development of certain social systems. This is especially true in the case of conceptualized. Since the concept of character is a term of this work of characterization, it is not only a term examined systematically, but also a term which will be used in an attempt to delineate the concept of character and to indicate the possible contributions of the concept to the study of cross-cultural psychology.

Character, like any other term, is usually defined in terms of psychology, and character is the term used in the study of

involves an examination of the term in the various contexts of ethnographic usage. Firth and Davenport, in discussing aspects of the organization of ambilateral descent groups, point to variability in group membership and optional possibilities for group affiliation as features which provide the characteristic flexibility of this form of descent system.¹ Davenport stresses the adaptability of ambilateral groups under conditions of change, noting that the possibility of the exercise of choice with reference to group membership fosters an equitable distribution of resources, as group size can be adjusted to take advantage of changes in ecologic or economic conditions.²

Basehart, Pehrson, Aberle, Willmott, and Pelto go a step further and describe entire social systems as flexible.

Basehart's description of flexibility in Mescalero Apache social organization emphasizes the range of choice permitted in group affiliation and in interpersonal relationships, and

¹Raymond Firth, "A Note on Descent Groups in Polynesia," Man, Vol. 57 (No. 1, 1957), p. 5, and William Davenport, "Non-unilinear Descent and Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, Vol. 61 (No. 4, 1959), p. 568.

²Davenport, "Non-unilinear Descent...", p. 568.

David Schneider and Kathleen Gough, (eds.), Studies in Social Organization (California Press, 1961), p. 30.

³W. E. Willmott, "The Flexibility of Social Organization," Anthropology, Vol. 2 (No. 1, 1961), p. 10.

the velocity of the reaction is not affected by the concentration of the reactants.

the reaction is not affected by the concentration of the reactants.

apoptosis, in the context of the cell cycle, is a process by which

"What is meant by apoptosis is the process by which cells are programmed to die."

there is a close relationship between the cell cycle and apoptosis.

then, have a close relationship between the cell cycle and apoptosis.

facilitating apoptosis, which is the process by which cells are programmed to die.

apoptosis is a process by which cells are programmed to die.

apoptosis is a process by which cells are programmed to die.

alternatives for action and reaction, which is a process by which cells are programmed to die.

alternatives, which is a process by which cells are programmed to die.

ability, which is a process by which cells are programmed to die.

apoptosis, which is a process by which cells are programmed to die.

ability involves not only the ability to die, but also the ability to live.

¹Henry W. Henshaw, "The Role of Apoptosis in the Development of the Nervous System," *Journal of Neurocytology*, 1980, 9, 1-10.

²Robert W. Henshaw, "The Role of Apoptosis in the Development of the Nervous System," *Journal of Neurocytology*, 1980, 9, 1-10.

³David Schmidt and Robert W. Henshaw, "The Role of Apoptosis in the Development of the Nervous System," *Journal of Neurocytology*, 1980, 9, 1-10.

⁴W. E. Henshaw, "The Role of Apoptosis in the Development of the Nervous System," *Journal of Neurocytology*, 1980, 9, 1-10.

environmental conditions but, further, a disposition to acculturation.⁸ According to Pelto the flexibility, or elasticity, of Skölt Lapp social structure allows the individual alternatives, choice, and variation in his social relations.⁹ Flexibility, for Pelto, also implies a structure favorable for acculturation and the realization of strongly self-reliant individuals.¹⁰

From the preceding it is apparent that the use of the term "flexible" in anthropological literature coincides to some extent with that of common English usage as defined in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary:

1. Capable of being flexed; pliable; not rigid.
2. Ready to yield to influence; tractable.
3. Capable of being adapted, modified or molded; plastic; pliant...
4. Responsive to, or readily adjustable to changing conditions.
5. Not rigid.

However, it is evident that flexible has taken on a more specific or technical meaning relevant only to social systems. In each of the seven instances cited it has been used to define a social structure allowing optional, alternative, or

⁸Ibid., p. 55.

⁹Pertti Pelto, "Individualism in Skölt Lapp Society," (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 1960).

¹⁰Ibid., p. 4.

environmental conditions, the reaction, the reaction to
stimulation, according to the reaction, the
elasticity of the reaction, the reaction, the reaction
individual differences, and the reaction, the reaction
reactions, the reaction, the reaction, the reaction
factors for stimulation, and the reaction, the reaction
self-reliant individuals.

From the preceding it is apparent that the reaction
can "flexible" in some respects, but it is not
some extent with that of the reaction, the reaction
Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

1. Capable of being changed, modified, or altered.
2. Ready to yield to influence or persuasion.
3. Capable of being changed, modified, or altered.
4. Capable of being changed, modified, or altered.
5. Capable of being changed, modified, or altered.

However, it is evident that flexible has a more
specific or technical meaning than the general word.

In each of the above definitions, it is seen that the
definition is not a simple one, but it is a simple one.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Department of Psychology, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720

10

varied possibilities for relationships in specific situations.¹¹ It can be assumed that this specific meaning is fundamental to any proposed concept of flexibility, because of its apparent cross-cultural utility. Therefore, the structural feature of optional or alternative possibilities will be considered a basic analytic element in the examination of the empirical data which comprises the major portion of the thesis.

The following section will be devoted to a study of the ethnographic data for five societies -- the Iban, Kōnkōmā Lapp, Mescalero Apache, Plateau Tonga, and Turkana -- in order to determine whether there are common organizational and cultural features that can be directly related to the fundamental feature of flexibility. These five societies have been chosen because they are: (1) described as flexible, or resemble societies so described in that their structure offers optional possibilities for relationships; (2) well documented; (3) representative of a variety of subsistence practices; and (4) representative of various systems of descent -- bilateral, matrilineal, and patrilineal.

¹¹It is worthwhile to indicate that sometimes the various meanings of the term "flexible" are confused; for instance, Pelto does not make any distinction between flexible as designating a disposition to acculturation and flexible as designating a kind of structure. There is no rigorous proof that one is directly related to the other; the meanings should, therefore, be kept separate until further research demonstrates their interrelation.

various possibilities. It is possible that the
 it can be shown that the
 to any possibility. It is possible that the
 against the possibility of the
 feature of the
 noted a basic
 empirical facts which
 these.

The following section will be devoted to the
 characteristics of the
 necessary to
 determine whether
 features that are
 feature of
 chosen between
 possible
 optional
 (2) representative
 (4) representative
 material, and

It is not possible to
 meanings of the
 facts that
 ignoring a
 ignoring a
 one is
 therefore, the
 these

II ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

In order to facilitate comparison of the five peoples discussed in this paper, the ethnographic data will be presented in the same form for each society. A brief comment on background material will introduce the society, after which the structural units will be designated and characterized. To achieve a fuller understanding of the functioning of these units, the economic system, the political system, ceremonial practices, the system of role differentiation, and the kinship system of the society will be examined in that order. The three bilateral societies--the Iban, the Kōnkōmā¹¹ Lapp and the Mescalero Apache--will be considered first, followed by the matrilineal Plateau Tonga, and the patrilineal Turkana.

A. THE IBAN

Introduction

The Iban,¹² a proto-Malayan people of Western Borneo, have been studied most recently by J. D. Freeman. Iban population is concentrated in the Sarawak region, where Freeman engaged in intensive field research with Ulu Ai Iban of the Baleh River. This division consists of 130 communities along the river and, though numbering only 11,500 people,¹³ is considered as representative of the traditional culture of the more than 190,000 Iban.¹⁴

Freeman characterizes the Iban as "untrammelled individualists, aggressive and proud in demeanor."¹⁵ Effective British control was not imposed until 1922, and then only after two previous unsuccessful attempts; for this reason the ethnographic data deals to a great extent with aboriginal conditions.

¹²The ethnographic data on the Iban is based on four works by J. D. Freeman and one by Edmund R. Leach. J. D. Freeman, "The Family System of the Iban of Borneo," Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, Vol. 1 (No. 1, 1958), pp. 15-52. Iban Agriculture ("Colonial Research Studies," No. 18; London: Colonial Office, H.M.S.O., 1955). "Iban of Western Borneo," Social Structure in Southeast Asia. Ed. by George P. Murdock. ("Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology," No. 29; New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1960), pp. 65-87. "On the Concept of the Kindred," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 91 (Pt. 2, 1961), pp. 191-215. Edmund R. Leach, Social Science Research in Sarawak ("Colonial Research Studies," No. 1; London: Colonial Office, H.M.S.O., 1950).

¹³Freeman, "Iban of Western Borneo," p. 65.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Freeman, Iban Agriculture, p. 14.

THE MOUNTAIN FORTS

A. THE

Introduction

The first of the three parts of the book is devoted to a general survey of the mountain forts of the British Empire. The second part is devoted to a detailed description of the forts of the British Empire. The third part is devoted to a detailed description of the forts of the British Empire.

The first of the three parts of the book is devoted to a general survey of the mountain forts of the British Empire. The second part is devoted to a detailed description of the forts of the British Empire. The third part is devoted to a detailed description of the forts of the British Empire.

The first of the three parts of the book is devoted to a general survey of the mountain forts of the British Empire. The second part is devoted to a detailed description of the forts of the British Empire. The third part is devoted to a detailed description of the forts of the British Empire.

The first of the three parts of the book is devoted to a general survey of the mountain forts of the British Empire. The second part is devoted to a detailed description of the forts of the British Empire. The third part is devoted to a detailed description of the forts of the British Empire.

Structural Units

There are two major structural units in Iban society: the domestic group and the community group. The domestic group is termed the bilek, referring both to the individual living apartment in the Iban long-house and to the group which occupies it. The composition of a typical bilek includes a married couple, their unmarried children, often some of their married children with their spouses and children, and, commonly, adopted members as well.

Knowledge of the developmental cycle of the bilek is an aid to understanding the group's composition at any given time. The nuclear family can be considered the first stage in this cycle. The second stage begins with the marriage of the children, by which time the bilek's composition will have undergone change through the loss and gain of several members. At marriage a couple are free to decide whether they will join the husband's or the wife's bilek. Initially there may be indecision and shifting back and forth, but once the decision is made the out-marrying spouse gives up all rights in the natal bilek and becomes a full member of the other's group (49% of Iban marriages are virilocal and 51% are uxori-local).¹⁶ The third stage of the developmental cycle begins with the birth of grandchildren. At this point the bilek is a three

¹⁶ Freeman, "The Family System of the Iban of Borneo," p. 30.

generation extended family. During the fourth stage partition of the bilek along sibling lines is common. After siblings have married and founded their own family group, divergent interests appear and one sibling and his family break away, taking with them their share of property. They then form their own bilek, which becomes a completely autonomous unit. A larger group, consisting of senior members and at least one junior member remains to maintain the original bilek. Reflecting the developmental cycle, there is great variation in the number and generation alignment of bilek members. Thus, 75% have three to seven members; the largest membership is fourteen.¹⁷ Forty-eight per cent have members of three generations, 40% of two generations, 9% of four generations, and 3% of one generation.¹⁸

The bilek is the major corporate group in the society. It functions as the chief economic and religious unit, and has clearly defined rights of membership. The eldest male is the chief authority figure.

The community or village group is the long-house. A long-house is a large building consisting of a row of bilek apartments opening onto an unsegmented veranda and gallery. All of the property of the long-house is individually owned, including the portion of veranda in front of the apartment. For

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

generation... of the... have... interest... taking... own... group... member... developmental... generation... to... might... generation... The... it... has... the... The... home... ment... the... and the...

17
18

the most part, the bilek families forming the long-house are directly or indirectly related; social relationship is predominantly based on consanguinity or affinity but can also be based on friendship. There is a core of closely related families to which other families attach themselves; however, whether one is a member of a peripheral or core family does not affect one's rights and duties in the community. The long-house is an open group and the membership is never constant for longer than a year or two. The core group tends to be more stable in membership.

The long-house members separate and form small groups called dampa during many of the farm seasons. A dampa is a small long-house consisting of from two to ten families who are engaged in farming the same general area in a particular year. The division into dampa is necessitated by the Iban system of shifting cultivation in which the land cannot be farmed for more than two years in succession, after which it must lie fallow for ten to twenty years. The dampa system alleviates an obvious problem arising from the necessity of constant movement. After ten years of land change the plot an individual is farming will be at too great a distance from the long-house to allow convenient travel from one to

the other. The dampa resolves this problem by providing a living group, modeled on the parent long-house, near the land under cultivation. During the period between the harvest and the beginning of cultivation, the long-house is usually reoccupied; while occasional visits are made during the farming season to check possessions. After several dampa seasons the original long-house fields can be recultivated and the long-house reoccupied for another year. In any given long-house the number of dampa and the grouping of the members varies from year to year; families group together according to the same principles as in the long-house: consanguinity, affinity, and friendship.

Long-house membership involves definite rights and duties. The ritual well-being of the individual Iban depends on the ritual health of the community, which is guarded by the community augurer. Adat, Iban customary law, is administered by the long-house headman; long-house membership entails the acceptance of his jurisdiction.

Although the functions of the Iban kindred are extremely important for the society, the personal kindred is a framework of relationships rather than a group and therefore will not be considered as a structural unit.

Economic System

The major contribution to Iban subsistence is provided by shifting dry rice cultivation. The bilek family is the main production, distribution, and consumption unit, and is self-sufficient; the male and female members form a farming team. However, reciprocal labor exchanges may occur among bilek families in a dampa, and at harvest time casual labor may be hired. Successful cultivators are always able to recruit workers from an unsuccessful bilek. Agricultural produce is supplemented by gathering and hunting which is engaged in by individuals or groups; the later are usually composed of long-house or dampa members.

Journeying--bejalai--is a custom of direct importance to the Iban economic system. Trips may last several years, and are undertaken for material profit and social prestige. The men may become wage laborers or may cut jungle products of interest to Chinese traders. They are expected to return with money, a Chinese vase, or a brass gong which can be sold during bad years. Young men join these expeditions after puberty and continue to journey until marriage, usually returning to their homes only for festivities and for about ten work days a year. After marriage a young man will help

in the more arduous farming tasks prior to undertaking a journey. Not until a man becomes the elder or manager of a bilek, responsible for the success of the farm work, will he spend nine months a year at home. By this time he is usually over forty years old.

The bilek family owns all important property corporately. This consists of land, rubber and fruit trees, and the family heirlooms such as Chinese vases and bronze gongs. This property is divided equally among the co-heirs and no one can be dispossessed or discriminated against.

Iban land ownership is unusual. Uncleared land is associated with a long-house; cleared land is owned by the family which initiates cultivation. In theory, land is allocated by the elders of the long-house at a formal meeting held once each year. In practice, however, individuals have already chosen their land prior to this formal meeting. If conflict arises compromises are effected through informal discussions. The individual who originally cleared an area of land may loan or rent it, but he cannot sell it, nor can he act as an absentee landlord. If he moves out of a long-house community his rights to the land are automatically forfeited. Co-heirs of a bilek confer on the division of the land each time it is to be used. The aboriginal land tenure system was not sharply defined, as there was an abundance of surplus land and the Iban used it prodigally.

Thus, in the economic system the individual bilek family is the critical work and inheritance group. Other groups form when necessary. These groups consist of various individuals linked to one another by the complex Iban network of relations.

Political System

Although Iban is a stateless society, there is a definite tribal unit characterized by endogamy, the prohibition of headhunting, and the possibility of extending kin terms. Leach remarks that "the striking thing about the Iban is their remarkable cultural unity."¹⁹

The network of relations activated through frequent movement of the people contributes to a tribal solidarity which can serve as the framework for a group organization that supercedes the individual long-house. Examples of this can be observed in the formation of Iban war parties; a war party of 1863 was supposedly composed of 12,000 men.²⁰ Freeman writes:

This tribal network [the kindred] traverses the whole tribal area, which in the case of the Ulu Ai Iban extended over something like 5,000 square miles and contained as many as 40,000 people. So, for example, in the recruitment of a fighting force: A is joined by one of his kindred B, who is joined by one of his

¹⁹Leach, Social Science Research in Sarawak, p. 84.

²⁰Freeman, "On the Concept of the Kindred," p. 213.

that, in the first place, the...

in the first place, the...

form these relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

relations...

kindred C (who is not a cognate of A), and so on, covering perhaps the greater part of the tribal area if the purpose for which the group is being formed is judged a sufficiently vital and stirring one. In this way an Iban force of hundreds could be recruited in a matter of days.²¹

In discussing Iban authority structure a distinction must be made between coercive power and authority; for no authority position involves the use of coercive force against a mature individual.

The long-house community has two positions of permanent authority, that of headman and of augurer. These positions are gained through ability and are held for life. The corporate nature of the long-house arises from the fact that, in becoming a member of a long-house, an individual places himself under the jurisdiction of these leaders. However, the authority of these men is confined to a limited area. The headman is in charge of administering and maintaining Iban adat or law, but his authority in other matters is negligible.²² The augurer is concerned with maintaining the ritual well-being of the community and nothing more.

The authority position in the domestic group is held by an elder male. He plans and directs agricultural activities, confers with his peers on the choice of land, and arranges

²¹Ibid., pp. 213-214.

²²There is no explicit data on adat; therefore its importance is impossible to estimate.

kindred is often not a common one, and it is not
covering the same ground as the other
area is the same, and it is not the same
ground is not a common one, and it is not
one, in this, and in other cases of
the same, and in other cases of

In discussing this subject, it is not a common one
be made between the two, and it is not a common one
position involves the same, and it is not a common one
individual.

The long relationship between the two is not a common one
authority, and it is not a common one
are given the same, and it is not a common one
are made of the same, and it is not a common one
becoming a member of a group, and it is not a common one
self under the same, and it is not a common one
authority of the same, and it is not a common one
position is a common one, and it is not a common one
that is not a common one, and it is not a common one
The argument is not a common one, and it is not a common one
being of the same, and it is not a common one

The argument is not a common one, and it is not a common one
an end, and it is not a common one
context with the same, and it is not a common one
There is no common one, and it is not a common one
There is no common one, and it is not a common one

reciprocal labor exchanges and dampa formation. It is his duty to confer and mediate with other elders if inheritance disputes arise. His authority is not unlimited; his wife is considered an equal partner and, when mature, his children can leave the group and are not subordinate to him.

Other authority positions are temporary in nature and involve leadership of a group formed for a particular activity, such as the war party. Such positions are based on ability in the activity and terminate when the activity is completed.

The network of relations, then, is critical to the Iban political system. It is the foundation of tribal solidarity and the framework for the establishment of all groups larger than the long-house. Aside from this, the long-house is an autonomous unit subject to no higher control. Authority positions, whether within the long-house or in informal groups, are limited in scope and lack coercive power.

Ceremonial Practices

Little data are available on Iban religion, though Freeman and Leach remark on its importance and note that it pervades all aspects of life. However, existing data permit some inferences on ceremonial practices.

The bilek family is a separate ritual unit with its own

charms, prohibitions and sacred rites. Ceremonies associated with agricultural practices are performed by this unit. Even the elaborate rituals which are directed to the acquisition of longevity, prosperity, and prestige are conducted by individual bileks. Although two or more bileks may decide to hold these ceremonies at the same time, there is no communal participation in ritual. Nevertheless every member of the community is responsible for the ritual well-being of the entire long-house under the guidance of the augurer.

Role Differentiation

Role differentiation in Iban society is based on sex and age. Women are important in farming. There is no age differentiation in women's activities except that the very young and very old do less work. In contrast, men's work is divided according to age. The young men do only the initial strenuous farm work, devoting the majority of their time to journeying. The older men are managers of farms, and devote more time to cultivation, sometimes even helping with the women's tasks. Men do the hunting; women, the gathering. The few positions of authority are held by men who must also farm and hunt for their livelihood.

Kinship Relations

The Iban conceptualize social relationships in terms of three general categories: (1) kaban mandal--consanguineal kin, (2) kaban tapil--affinal kin, (3) orang bukal--"other people."

The sibling relationship is strong, involving warmth and cooperation even after partition. The parent-child relation is one of authority and respect. The quality of the sibling relation extends to all consanguines and affines of the same and alternate generations; that of the parent-child relation to all consanguines and affines of adjacent generations. The similarity of consanguineal and affinal relations is well symbolized in the bilek family, where the son-in-law or daughter-in-law in time becomes as a son or a daughter. If marriage creates affinal links where consanguineal links already exist, the consanguineal form is always used.

Marriage is prohibited between all blood relatives of the same bilek family, between siblings (half or full) who are members of different bilek families, and between all close blood relatives who are not on the same generation level. Within the limits of these prohibitions choice of marriage partner is based on personal taste. Marriage dissolution is easy, but is uncommon among individuals over thirty-five.

10/15/57

The following information was obtained from a review of the files of the [redacted] and [redacted] offices.

Since [redacted] is a [redacted] and [redacted] is a [redacted],

it is [redacted] that [redacted] is a [redacted] and [redacted] is a [redacted].

people.

The [redacted] is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

and [redacted] is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

relation is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

the [redacted] relation is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

of the [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

child [redacted] is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

generally [redacted] is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

relation is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

son-in-law of [redacted] is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

daughter [redacted] is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

it is [redacted] that [redacted] is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

marriage is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

the same [redacted] relation is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

and [redacted] is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

blood relatives who are [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

With the [redacted] there [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

partner is [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

easy, but [redacted] and [redacted] is [redacted].

After this age a successful marriage is usually attained, for without this an individual cannot achieve the goals of Iban life. Freeman states:

It is commonly said by the Iban in discussing marriage and the bilek that the relationship between husband and wife is closer than that which exists between siblings. In a successful marriage, it is pointed out, a husband and wife share equally in the most important undertakings of life; the bringing up of children, the cultivation of rice, and the custody of the bilek estate.²³

The third category, orang bukal, "other people," is really distinguished by quality and quantity of social contact, for the Iban do not normally reckon kin further than second cousins, though they are aware that others can be blood relatives. If relations with remote kinsmen are not reinforced by contact these people become orang bukal. First and second cousin marriage is favored because it prevents people from becoming orang bukal.

These three relationship categories are included under the general Iban term, kaban. Kaban is best translated as "friend or one to whom I am probably related."²⁴ Freeman compares this category to the old English category "kith or kin," for it includes, in its widest connotation, friends and acquaintances, as well as affines and consanguines:

²³Freeman, "Iban of Western Borneo," p. 75.

²⁴Ibid., p. 71.

The extension of the term kaban to cover this broad field may be seen as an expression of the fact that in Iban society, with full bilateral recognition of all relatives, almost all of those persons with whom an individual associates are in some degree, either his cognates or affinal kin.²⁵

The nature of the kaban relationship is highly elastic, allowing for contraction or expansion in accordance with the requirements of a given situation. If an Iban is in need of help he is able to address a stranger as a kinsman.

The kin relationships make clear the importance of the conjugal bond and the comparatively equal weight assigned to consanguines and affines. The characteristic extension and shifting inherent in the Iban network of relationships is concisely rendered in the category "one to whom I am probably related."

²⁵ibid.

B. THE KÖNKÖMÄ LAPP

Introduction

The Kōnkōmä Lapp²⁶ form a distinct Swedish administrative district. In 1951 there were 193 persons and some 12,045 reindeer in the district.²⁷ The Kōnkōmä Lapp are reindeer breeders participating in a basically common North Lapp culture. Their social life revolves around the needs of the reindeer herds, which governs the movements of individuals and groups.

Structural Units

As among the Iban, there are two major structural units in Lapp society: a domestic group and a community group. The domestic group, the household, consists of the nuclear family. Household size, however, is often increased by adoption, illegitimate children, and the presence of older people, especially parents of the members. The household is, ideally, a self-sufficient unit but, in fact, it is able to function independently only during limited periods of the year. At

²⁶The ethnographic data on the Kōnkōmä Lapp is taken from three works by Robert W. Pehrson. "Bilateral Kin-groupings as a Structural Type," Journal of East Asiatic Studies, Vol. 3 (No. 2, 1954), pp. 199-204. "The Bilateral Network of Social Relations..." "The Lappish Herding Leader: A Structural Analysis," American Anthropologist, Vol. 56 (No. 6, 1954), pp. 1076-1080.

²⁷Pehrson, "The Bilateral Network of Social Relations...", p. 1.

other times economic practices demand that the households join to form a larger community group, the band.

During the summer there are five loosely organized bands, each identified by its leader's name. During the winter these slowly segment into smaller units, usually along sibling group lines, as the ecology demands. The units begin to converge again by April, but the previous year's pattern of band affiliation may not be continued, as change in membership is frequent. The bands are kin based and everyone is directly or indirectly related, except the poor who attach themselves, soon becoming related through affinal links and the extension of kin terms. With respect to the band, residence at marriage can be either virilocal or uxoriocal. However, though a decision is influenced by economic need or advantage, virilocality occurs three times as frequently as uxoriocality.²⁸ Band cleavage, as well as combination, usually occurs along sibling group lines. A large sibling group with a large herd usually forms the core of the band; others attach themselves peripherally. The band takes the name or nickname of its leader, who is a member of the core group.

Economic System

The Lapp economic system is based on extensive (as opposed to intensive) reindeer breeding. Reindeer are raised for

²⁸Ibid., p. 64.

other than as a means of...
join to form a...
During the summer...
each identified by...
these closely...
group lines...
very again by...
affiliation...
frequent...
or indirectly...
soon becoming...
of his...
can be...
decision is...
locative...
band observed...
sliding...
usually...
particularly...
leader...
Economic...
The...
to the...
to the...

personal consumption and for sale. The pattern of extensive reindeer breeding demands certain features of social organization. First, no single household can be self-sufficient, for one man cannot properly care for his herds. Large herds require from six to twelve families during the summer and from three to four families in the winter. Second, the herders must be mobile and able to follow the reindeer foraging pattern. Autumn and spring are periods of transit during which some bands can cover as many as 156 miles. In the winter the herdsmen select the best forage areas; the remainder of the year the reindeer determine the direction of movement. The mobile band of the Lapp meets these two requirements. In the native language the term for band means both a particular group of people who camp, work, and migrate together, and also the reindeer owned and herded by the people.²⁹

Herding is directed by the band leader, who plans movements and organizes the herding teams. The work is done in shifts, one team herding while the other rests. The individual's wide range of relationships, developed through his extensive movement, provides friends in different areas who will return stray animals and offer assistance when necessary.

Trade with the Finns is an important element in the Lapp

²⁹Pehrson, "The Lappish Herding Leader....," p. 1077.

economic system. The former select desirable reindeer when visiting Lapp corrals, and the animals are delivered at Christmas and exchanged for money and goods. Trading partnerships usually develop into a form of ritual kinship; this extension of the network of kin relations helps assure fair and continuing exchange.

Reindeer and personal goods, the two types of property distinguished by the Lapp, are inherited in accordance with different patterns. Reindeer constitute the household estate, under the control of the household head, even though their ear marks indicate to which individual member they belong. At the death of the household head the reindeer are sorted according to ear marks and assigned to their owners. The remaining animals are divided among the survivors. Four principles govern the division: First, filiation legitimizes a share, so that an individual's children are heirs. If there are no children then a sibling or cousin or their children are eligible. Second, the conjugal bond legitimizes a share, and in consequence the surviving spouse always receives a substantial inheritance. If a marriage is childless a spouse's siblings and children receive a share. Third, siblings are considered equivalent, and distinctions are not made on the basis of age or sex. The reindeer already allotted to those who have married out is taken into consideration in the distribution.

Fourth, the particular reindeer received by each individual is decided by lot. To insure equitable division, two people, usually kin, are called upon to settle disputes and cast the lots.

Personal property consists of furnishings, migratory gear, tools, heirlooms, and bibles. There is no rule of inheritance for personal property, as it is considered to have little value. This type of property is never distributed until the death of both partners to a marriage, and the person with whom the deceased was living receives the major portion of the goods.

In the economic system the band and the household are critical. The band is the significant grouping for reindeer herding (in spite of the ideal of the self-sufficient household) while the household is the unit of property inheritance. The wide range of relationships developed in family-band interaction insures help when necessary.

Political System

The characteristics of contemporary political organization reflect white contact and control, so that reconstruction of the aboriginal system is difficult. However, according to Pehrson, the internal authority positions have remained

fourth, the political system is not a static entity.

It is dynamic by nature, and its development is a continuous process.

Finally, the political system is not a monolithic entity.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a dynamic system, and its development is a continuous process.

It is a complex system, and its development is a continuous process.

essentially the same as before Scandinavian contact. Like the Iban, the system lacks positions with coercive power; authority roles are effective only in particular and limited contexts. The significant authority figure is the band leader. Every band has a master, a mistress (the master's wife), and an assistant master. The authority of the master of the band is confined to the economic sphere; in other areas his authority is limited and may be overruled by group decision. The constant realignment of members in a band, based partly on evaluation of the demands made by the leader, testifies to the ineffectiveness of coercive power. The importance of the leader's duties as economic coordinator is paralleled by his significance as the focus of group solidarity (indicated by the fact that the band is named after him). The successful leader contributes continuity and stability to the loose band organization, for a son usually succeeds to his position. There is, however, no simple principle which determines choice of leaders. Several qualities are considered important, though they need not all be present. These include wealth, maturity, descent from a previous leader, position as eldest son of a large sibling group, and marriage to a fertile woman with many kin.

The small groups formed by band division during the winter have no formal leader; they are usually sibling groups and no

authority position is thought necessary. In the individual household the male is responsible for decisions concerning movement and herds, though husband and wife are conceived of as equal partners.

In the political system of the Lapp the band leader is the most important position. Neither he nor any other individual has coercive power or unlimited authority.

Ceremonial Practices

The aboriginal religion has been replaced by Christianity and Lapps now attend religious services in nearby communities. This practice is important in the maintainance of relations between the herders and townsmen. For instance, it is at Christmas time that the Lapp delivers his reindeer to the town buyer. It is noteworthy that the religious practices have been adapted to fit Lapp migration patterns.

Role Differentiation

Lapp role differentiation is based upon sex and age variables. Women manage the household, cook, care for the children, sew and pack. The men do the herding. The elders (those over sixty-five) are advisors and councillors, and assist in the care of the children. Every man is primarily a herdsman; no other male role is so fully specialized as to

authority, and the law is the basis of the state.

However, the law is not the basis of the state.

movement and the law is the basis of the state.

of an equal nature.

In the political system of the state, the law is the basis of the state.

the most important principle, whether it is the law or the state.

Individuals have the right to participate in the state.

Constitutional Principles

The political system has been based on the principle of the state.

and the law is the basis of the state.

This principle is the basis of the state.

between the state and the law.

Christians also have the right to participate in the state.

however, it is not the basis of the state.

been subject to the law of the state.

Role of the State

also the basis of the state.

Christian, who is the basis of the state.

children, who are the basis of the state.

(those who are the basis of the state).

exists in the state of the state.

a basis of the state.

preclude the necessity of herding.

Kinship Relations

The brother-sister relation involves strong cooperation and friendship, whereas parents expect obedience and respect from children. These two patterns of behavior are extended to all consanguineal kin relations. Relations between individuals of the same generation are characterized by friendship and informal, symmetric, joking; those between adjacent generations by respect, obedience, and informal, asymmetric joking. Sibling and cousin solidarity is an important feature of the society, and cousins will often be herding partners. Ideally, the kindred range includes third cousins, but there is considerable variation in practice.

Although Lapp distinguish conceptually between consanguineal and affinal kinsmen, in practice they are treated similarly; often a brother-in-law will be one's herding partner. Friendship and cooperation are also extended to the collaterals of in-laws.

The choice of a marriage partner is based on four structural considerations: (1) equivalent status, (2) labor convenience, (3) economic advantage, and (4) consanguineal distance.³⁰ Marriage between first cousins is prohibited, while

³⁰Pehrson, "The Bilateral Network of Social Relations....," pp. 56-59.

kinship relations

The brother-sister relationship is an intimate

and affectionate, whereas parents are more distant and

from children. These two features of the family

to all communities have been noted. Relations between adults

and of the same generation are characterized by a more

and informal, affectionate, and less formal, more

status by respect, obedience, and informal, more

standing and command, authority, and an intimate

society, and affection. The family is a social

the kinship system and the family is a social

relationship is a social

Although the family is a social

and affectionate, it is a social

often a prophet-in-law with the one's

ship and cooperation are also extended to the

in-law.

The choice of a language is based on the

usual considerations: (1) convenience, (2) social

relations, (3) economic, and (4) social

cause.³⁰ Marriage between first cousins is permitted

³⁰ Johnson, "The Marriage of First Cousins,"

second cousin unions are discouraged. Divorce is distasteful and no instances of it are recorded.

The sibling and conjugal ties are important in extending the range of relationships in the society, for the conjugal bond closely allies sibling groups. The network of kin relations is further extended through the institution of ritual kinship, which is based on the Christian idea of god-parents. The sponsors of a child become ritual parents; and their own children and the godchild become ritual siblings. Ritual relationships create bonds with other bands, with the sedentary population, and with traders. It is noteworthy that the offspring of nomadic Lapps have more sponsors than do the children of townspeople. Apparently, the extended network of relations typical of Lapp herdsmen is related directly to their nomadic life.

C. THE MESCALERO APACHE

Introduction

The Mescalero Apache,³¹ one of the Southern Athabaskan speaking tribes of the Southwest United States, occupied territory extending from the Staked Plains to the Rio Grande, an area encompassing a variety of environments. The Mescalero utilized hunting and gathering techniques for the exploitation of this vast region. In 1855 the population was estimated at 1700 plus or minus 300.³² The ethnographic material used in this paper is considered descriptive of the Mescalero at the time of United States control; and does not necessarily apply to the pre-contact period, although historical documents suggest that significant socio-political features have considerable time depth.

Structural Units

The basic structural units in Mescalero Apache society are the domestic group and the community group. It is difficult to isolate the domestic group as a distinct unit, although

³¹The ethnographic data on the Mescalero Apache is derived from one monograph by Harry W. Basehart and one article by Morris E. Opler, and from personal communication with Harry W. Basehart. Basehart, Mescalero Apache Subsistence Patterns... Morris E. Opler, "The Kinship Systems of the Southern Athabaskan-Speaking Tribes," American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, n.s. (No. 4, 1936), pp. 620-633.

³²Harry W. Basehart, Personal Communication.

Introduction

The following is a summary of the measurements.

appearing in the following table.

Results are given in the following table.

an area of approximately 1 square meter.

collected during the period of the measurements.

of this work is given in the following table.

1700 p.m. to 1.00 a.m. 1951.

This paper is concerned with the measurements.

time of day and the time of day.

to the present time.

suggest that the measurements are not.

adequate for the purpose.

Conclusions

The present measurements are not adequate.

are the measurements and the measurements.

and the measurements are the measurements.

and the measurements are the measurements.

and the measurements are the measurements.

and the measurements are the measurements.

and the measurements are the measurements.

and the measurements are the measurements.

and the measurements are the measurements.

Basehart considers the matrilineal extended family the significant unit for purposes of analysis. However, he adds: "Although this family unit forms a convenient point of reference, it is worth emphasizing that in practice, the form of this unit was subject to many modifications."³³ After initial matrilineal residence a man can establish his family where he wishes. There is no definite time or cause for the younger generation's break from the parents, nor is the break final as reassociation can always occur. Large extended families sometimes develop but they are generally of an unstable nature, easily disrupted.

The community group, the band, is more easily defined. It is a group of people clustered around a leader. It is not territorially defined nor is it kin based. There is a core consisting of the leader's relatives, but anyone can affiliate with this core. There is a definite sense of loyalty to the leader, but affiliation need not be permanent, since the mature individual is considered free to roam where he likes. At any given time some families will not be attached to any band, either because of mourning, preference, or sorcery accusations. Band size fluctuates but is always small,

³³Basehart, Mescalero Apache Subsistence Patterns..., p. 112.

averaging about 175 members.³⁴ It is from these bands that the informal hunting, raiding, and gathering groups are formed. The latter groups may or may not be co-terminous with band membership, depending upon the nature of the task.

Economic System

Mescalero Apache subsistence is based on hunting and gathering. Constant movement in accordance with the seasonal and habitational variations of plants and animals is necessary, for no single area could provide sufficient food. In theory it is possible for the domestic group to be a self-sufficient unit. In practice, however--as with the Lapp--this is not the case. Each domestic group is part of a larger economic unit, the band, which provides a margin of subsistence security. Informal cooperative groups, organized for hunting, gathering, or raiding, are formed from band members. The most important aspects of cooperation are the elaborate redistribution patterns which ensure every member some share of meat. In fact, the man who does the actual killing does not receive the largest or the best portion of the kill. On a bison hunt, for example, all members will receive one hide before anyone is allotted a second one. Except for mescal gathering and processing, the

³⁴Ibid., p. 119.

averaging about 150 members.

The initial meeting, which was held in the

The latter group was organized in 1900 and

memberships have been the subject of the

ECONOMIC SYSTEMS OF THE

Members of the group have been

gathered. The group is organized in the

and relations, which are of great importance

for no single group can be

It is possible for the group to be

which, in practice, is not the case

case. Each domestic group is

the band, which provides a

internal movement, which is

or railway, and some of the

aspects of cooperation are

which means that there are

who does the actual work, and

best portion of the work. The

members will receive a

second one. The group is

34
1910

collection of wild food plants does not require extensive cooperation, and redistribution patterns are less formal. Generosity is highly esteemed; band members have specific obligations of hospitality and gift-giving which further insures the circulation of subsistence products.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of the subsistence and prestige factors in raiding. In any case raiding provides a welcome supplement. Blankets, horses, cattle, and captives are the principle booty.

There is no individual land ownership among the Mescalero Apache. Everyone has a right to utilize the resources of the country at will. Bands do not have specific rights in particular territories, but tend to center in a region favored by the leader and his followers.

Detailed information on inheritance patterns is not available. An individual's possessions are burned at his death; horses could be inherited, but the pattern of disposition is not known.

The band, then, is the chief economic unit, even though the household is ideally self-sufficient. Cooperation in production and the customs of sharing make it the major production, distribution, and consumption unit.

collected in the field, and the results of the investigation
cooperation, and the results of the investigation
General, and the results of the investigation
obtain the results of the investigation
in the field, and the results of the investigation
it is difficult to obtain the results of the investigation
the results of the investigation, and the results of the investigation
raising the results of the investigation, and the results of the investigation
cattle, and the results of the investigation
there is no investigation, and the results of the investigation
Apache, and the results of the investigation
country, and the results of the investigation
cattle, and the results of the investigation
by the results of the investigation
Detailed information, and the results of the investigation
also, and the results of the investigation
horses could be taken, and the results of the investigation
not known.
The results of the investigation, and the results of the investigation
the results of the investigation, and the results of the investigation
decision and the results of the investigation, and the results of the investigation
distribution, and the results of the investigation

Political System

Mescalero is a stateless society. The largest group organization is the band, which is subject to no higher control. However, there is recognition of tribal identity, characterized by a common language, shared customs, and common right to land. There are no tribal-wide gatherings, nor does the tribe as a whole unite for offensive or defensive warfare. Tribal solidarity is maintained by an elaborate network of interpersonal relations created by subsistence practices, mobility, forms of social grouping, and the kinship system. As Basehart remarks:

The problem of tribal solidarity involves reference to the food quest, patterns of mobility and forms of social grouping which are characteristic of the Mescalero way of life; within this matrix, the paths of individuals and groups consistently intermeshed, providing a foundation for an inclusive solidarity which extended to all Mescalero.³⁵

Social control is effected by the vengeance group, whose composition is situationally determined. Friends as well as consanguineal and affinal kin can be members of the group.³⁶

The important authority position in Mescalero society is that of the band leader, who symbolizes the solidarity of the group. The band is named after the leader and the people identify themselves by reference to him. He exemplifies the

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 144-5.

³⁶ Basehart, Personal Communication.

sharing practices of the band and no one who approaches him is turned away hungry. He represents the band in negotiations with other bands and with non-Mescalero contacts. Though the leader is the important figure for band solidarity, he does not have the power to impose his will on his followers. A leader "preaches" to band members, suggesting the merits of a proposed plan, but the members decide for themselves whether or not to follow his advice. If it is "appealing" most members will accept it; if disagreement occurs a compromise may be reached in the course of extended discussion.³⁷ If no solution is reached the members separate until a later date, at which time the dissident element may have been converted or perhaps will have moved away. At such times a leader's ability is severely tested, for if he has not understood the interests and desires of his followers they may become dissatisfied and leave. On the other hand, if band members continually flout the leader's advice, band solidarity is severely jeopardized. A position as leader is achieved through individual ability; however, close relatives of a leader are in a favorable position for succession, as they usually have had an opportunity to acquire the knowledge necessary for effective leadership.

In addition to the band leader, several temporary authority positions exist, for in a large band many decisions do not

³⁷An interesting feature of the Mescalero decision making process is that even if 100% of the people approve a plan it does not necessarily mean that 100% of the people follow it.

...the ... of the ...
... is ...
... with ...
... though the ...
... he does not have the power to ...
... etc. A leader "person" ...
... benefits of a proposed plan, but ...
... believes whether or not to follow his ...
... ing" most members will ...
... compromise may be needed in the ...
... else. It is no solution to ...
... a later date, at which time the ...
... been converted or perhaps ...
... a leader's ability to ...
... detached the ...
... become disaffected and ...
... members ...
... is severely jeopardized. A position ...
... through individual ...
... leader are in a favorable position ...
... usually have had an opportunity to ...
... necessary for effective leadership.
... In addition to the ...
... ity positions ...

³⁷An interesting feature of the ...
... in fact even if 10% of the ...
... not necessarily mean that 10% of the ...

involve the band leader. Any man, for instance, can lead a hunting party. All that is necessary is for him to make known his intention; his following will depend on his reputation for skill as a hunter and on the area in which he intends to hunt. The organizer of such a party is also its coordinator. Raids can be initiated by an individual of demonstrated ability without the approval of the band leader. Though raiding success gives prestige, band leaders need not have been successful raiders; in fact their peaceful qualities are emphasized. Raid leaders have a limited scope of authority; they cannot establish a permanent internal force and are leaders only in action.

In the matrilineal extended family the father-in-law is the authority figure. He is responsible for major decisions, such as determining movement. However, he does not exercise control over women's work. The husband-father is the center of authority in the nuclear family.

Thus the significant political unit among the Mescalero is the band; tribal solidarity results from repeated activation of a wide network of interpersonal relations. The band leader is the major authority figure, but neither he nor anyone else has coercive power or unlimited authority.

Ceremonial Practices

Neither of the two structural units of the Mescalero are

essential to the ceremonial practices. Mescalero supernatural beliefs emphasize the individual's relation to sources of power; however, sacred places and ceremonies for "rites of passage" serve to bring people together. For instance, a girl's puberty rite is usually attended by everyone within a reasonable distance, thereby reestablishing and intensifying interpersonal relationships.

Role Differentiation

Role differentiation among the Mescalero is based on age and sex. The women are responsible for the collection of wild plant food and the management of the household; the men hunt, provide protection, and raid. As with the Iban and Lapp, no matter what position an individual holds he must participate in the basic subsistence practices of the group if he is to provide for himself and his family.

Kinship Relations

Data on Mescalero kinship relations are meager, precluding detailed analysis. Ties of consanguinity are distinguished from those of affinity. All persons descended from an individual's grandparents and their siblings are recognized as consanguineal relatives. These relatives never assemble nor do they act in unison as a group. Strict mother-in-law avoidance is observed, and elaborate patterns of respect are characteristic of relationships with other affinals.

essential to the development of the individual.

beliefs, attitudes, and values are shaped by the environment.

power, money, and status are the primary motives of the individual.

passage of time is the only constant in life.

life is a journey, not a destination.

reasons for living are the only reasons for living.

individuals are responsible for their own actions.

Role Differentiation

Role Differentiation is the process by which individuals

and society learn to perform different roles.

Role Differentiation is the process by which individuals

provide structure and order to their lives.

Role Differentiation is the process by which individuals

in the family learn to perform different roles.

Role Differentiation is the process by which individuals

learn to perform different roles.

Role Differentiation is the process by which individuals

learn to perform different roles.

Role Differentiation is the process by which individuals

learn to perform different roles.

Role Differentiation is the process by which individuals

learn to perform different roles.

Role Differentiation is the process by which individuals

learn to perform different roles.

Divorce is relatively common and can be initiated by either party; long separations are considered "de facto" divorces. Polygyny, while permitted, is rare.

Divorce is relatively common and the legal process is

rather simple and expeditious and the cost is low.

Divorce, however, while common, is not

COTTON CLOTHING

WASHABLE

MADE IN U.S.A.

D. THE PLATEAU TONGA

Introduction

The Plateau Tonga³⁸ inhabit the Mazabuka District of the southern province of Northern Rhodesia. They speak one of the many dialects of Tonga, a Central Bantu language. The population estimate in 1950 was 106,502;³⁹ the population is increasing. Mazabuka district, comprising about 4200 square miles, is a rolling plateau with variable rainfall. The Plateau Tonga are cattle breeders and shifting cultivators.

British administration was officially established in 1903, and since that time the Tonga have had constant and extended contact with representatives of Western society, resulting in profound changes in the economic and political systems. They are now cash-crop farmers, and constitute a unit in a complex system of imposed bureaucratic administration.

Structural Units

Matrilineal descent is the only organizing principle which

³⁸The ethnographic data on the Plateau Tonga is based on three works by Elizabeth Colson. "Plateau Tonga," Matrilineal Kinship. Ed. by David Schneider and Kathleen Gough. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 36-95. Marriage and Family Among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia (Great Britain: Manchester University Press, 1958). "Social Control and Vengeance in Plateau Tonga Society," Africa, Vol. 23 (No. 3, 1953), pp. 199-212.

³⁹Colson, Marriage and Family..., p. 5.

persists through time among the Plateau Tonga. Two structural units are formed on this basis: the clan and the descent group. Clans, of which there are twelve, are non-corporate, named, dispersed, exogamous groups. They function to contribute to social order through joking-clan-partnerships, and aid member travellers by offering hospitality. The descent group is an unnamed, dispersed, corporate group, ranging in size from a few adults to about one hundred. The group has no internal differentiation and no institutionalized authority position.

The other structural units in the society are determined by residence. The largest of these units is the neighborhood. Membership is attained by building a house and cultivating land in the area; such membership is not permanent. The population of the neighborhood varies from 400 to 600 individuals, distributed in from four to eight villages.⁴⁰ Village headmen may or may not be able to trace a relationship with each other, though affinal relationships tend to develop. The importance of the neighborhood leader varies with his personal ability; his authority is not institutionalized. The neighborhood has ritual obligations centering about a sacred rain shrine, and is the unit for rites of land purification and funerals.

The village and hamlet (distinguished by British administrators on the basis of size) are kin based, but residence is not

⁴⁰Colson, "Plateau Tonga," p. 42.

based on a specific type of kin affiliation. For example, in sixteen villages, the pattern of affiliation for males was 34.5% matrilineal kin, 39.5% patrilineal kin, 9.2% wife's kin, 8.1% husband of some female relative, and 8.5% no kin ties.⁴¹

The smallest territorial unit is the homestead. It consists of the nuclear family and its adherents and includes one or more huts (a hut for the husband and wife or several huts for different wives -- 24% practice polygyny⁴² -- a hut for the maturing older boys, and a hut for unmarried older people). Most homesteads have only one mature male and one mature female present. Since adoption and child loaning are prevalent, the children in a homestead may not be the biological offspring of the married pair. Authority is vested in the husband or widowed woman.

Tonga age-set organization is limited to the neighborhood. The age-sets do not have a name or an official leader. Boys born at approximately the same time, in the same neighborhood, are said to form an age-set, and recognize each other as age mates. Colson states that "this constitutes a tie between them and allows them to meet on a basis of easy equality."⁴³ There are no group initiation rites, but

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., p. 61.

⁴³Ibid., p. 54.

individuals partake in several simple rites which mark their increasing maturity. Group members owe respect to members of older groups and demand respect from members of younger groups. Membership in an age group does not remain constant. If a man moves to a new neighborhood he associates himself without formality with the age-set whose members approximate his own age.

Economic System

Tonga subsistence is based upon shifting cultivation of cereals and pastoralism. The homestead is the critical unit for economic activity, with joint work by husband and wife necessary. Children and unmarried adult dependants also help in the work. Shifting cultivation demands that farm land be changed every two to five years, so permanent residence is not easily established. Group work parties for clearing fields and weeding, as well as hunting and fishing, are organized at the neighborhood level.

Though husband and wife join in cooperative work, the produce and property are not jointly owned. A woman owns property inherited through her descent group; and a man's title to property, too, is derived from his matrilineal group. Tonga property, however, is not extensive; the major inheritable item is cattle. There is no problem of land tenure or inheritance, as an individual is able to cultivate any unused

individuals in several cases. The first
inches of the road. The road was
of the type and was a good one.
ground. The road was a good one.
It is a good one. The road was
without. The road was a good one.
his own age.

Section: Section
The road was a good one. The road was
certain and the road was a good one.
for. The road was a good one. The road was
necessity. The road was a good one.
in the road. The road was a good one.
changed every day. The road was a good one.
early established. The road was a good one.
and. The road was a good one.
as the road was a good one. The road was
though. The road was a good one. The road was
problem. The road was a good one. The road was
property. The road was a good one. The road was
title to property. The road was a good one.
Tonga property. The road was a good one.
while. The road was a good one. The road was
the road was a good one. The road was

plot of land, and there is a surplus of land.

In summary, the homestead is the major unit of production, distribution, and consumption. The joint work of husband and wife is necessary for survival and for the continued independence of the unit. In contrast, the descent group is the unit of inheritance and succession in a society where there is little surplus for inheritance and few institutionalized positions of authority. The descent group also provides and shares the bridewealth.

Political System

Plateau Tonga is a stateless society. It is difficult to isolate a distinct Tonga tribal unit. In fact, Colson has expressed doubt as to whether the Plateau Tonga considered themselves separate from the surrounding tribes prior to the time of British administration. During the nineteenth century, when the Tonga were continually raided by the Ndebele and Lozi, their defense consisted of dispersal and flight rather than organized resistance. It is also difficult to distinguish the Tonga linguistically from their neighbors, all of whom speak closely related dialects. In spite of this, under unusual circumstances, a supra-neighborhood may emerge temporarily under the leadership of a headman or ritual leader of exceptional ability.

glor at last, and...
In answer, the...
disturbances, and...
and with its...
importance of the...
the right of...
there is little...
position of...
shows the...
Political...
Please...
to include a...
expressed...
the...
time of...
when the...
their...
organized...
Joseph...
closely...
circumstances...
under the...
excitement...

Social control mechanisms extend beyond the neighborhood and are effected by the dispersed matrilineal descent group, which is the unit of vengeance. This group must take responsibility for a member's action. If a descent group member is guilty of aggression the group must pay compensation, and it is responsible for vengeance in the event of injury to a member.

There are few institutionalized positions in the authority structure of the Tonga and no positions with coercive power. Neighborhood and village headmen are important for negotiations and group solidarity, but the extent of their influence varies according to personal ability. The initial qualification for the headman consists of demonstrated success as head of a homestead. Other factors considered include a large personal following, wealth, ability, the possession of ritual power, and having been the first person to settle in the area. The descent group leader is often a village or neighborhood head, but his influence depends upon personal prestige rather than the authority of office.

The most highly delineated position of authority in Tonga society is that of the homestead head. The married male is the definite head of the household and is responsible for its functioning. However, his authority is of limited scope and is not coercive. For instance, husband and wife consider themselves as partners in the homestead; in certain areas such as conduct, labor, residence, sexuality and child bearing, the

husband is the final authority, but in legal and financial matters the wife is responsible for herself. The children often visit with their relatives, becoming temporary members of the homestead in which they are living. As they may move at will, the head of any single household has only limited authority over them. The mother's brother is the legal guardian of the children.

In summary, the most important roles in the political system are those of homestead head and neighborhood headman. No position has coercive power or unlimited authority.

Ceremonial Practices

No institutionalized positions are created by the religious system. The shrines about which cults center are independent of one another and are easily transported from place to place in accordance with the officiator's requirements. The rain and harvest festivals are the concern of the neighborhood and village members. Land purification is also a neighborhood concern. Funeral rituals bring together neighborhood and descent group members.

The homestead is the critical unit for ancestor worship. A man's ancestors are worshipped at the homestead door, but they can only be worshipped through his wife. Thus a man cannot have his own homestead without a wife. A widower, for example, must attach himself to a relative's homestead in order

husband is the chief authority in the household. The husband is the one who makes the decisions, and the wife is expected to obey. This is the traditional view of the family, and it is still prevalent in many cultures. The husband is the provider, and the wife is the homemaker. They are expected to work together to maintain the household and raise their children. The husband is the head of the family, and the wife is the heart. They are the pillars of the family, and they are responsible for the well-being of their children. The husband is the one who goes to work, and the wife is the one who stays at home. They are the breadwinners and the homemakers. They are the ones who are responsible for the future of their children. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of parents. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of husbands and wives. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of people.

In summary, the most important thing in the family is the relationship between the husband and the wife. This relationship is the foundation of the family, and it is the one that determines the success or failure of the family. The husband and the wife are the two most important people in the family, and they are the ones who are responsible for the well-being of their children. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of parents. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of husbands and wives. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of people.

No matter what the situation is, the husband and the wife are the two most important people in the family. They are the ones who are responsible for the well-being of their children. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of parents. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of husbands and wives. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of people. The husband and the wife are the two most important people in the family, and they are the ones who are responsible for the well-being of their children. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of parents. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of husbands and wives. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of people.

The husband and the wife are the two most important people in the family, and they are the ones who are responsible for the well-being of their children. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of parents. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of husbands and wives. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of people. The husband and the wife are the two most important people in the family, and they are the ones who are responsible for the well-being of their children. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of parents. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of husbands and wives. They are the ones who are expected to be the best of people.

to worship his ancestors.

Role Differentiation

Role differentiation is based on age and sex. The men herd the cattle, direct the farm work, and hunt. The women do the bulk of the farming, except for the heavy work. No position of prestige or authority exempts an individual from engaging in ordinary subsistence activities.

Kinship Relations

Three categories of kin are crucial in Tonga life:

(1) ego's matrilineal group, (2) ego's father's matrilineal group, and (3) ego's affines. However, the relations with ego's matrilineal group and ego's father's group differ in quality rather than kind. Kinship behavior reflects the importance of generation distinctions, grouping those of the same or alternate generations into one category and those of adjacent generations into another. The former is characterized by cooperation and friendliness, the latter by respect and obedience.

The tensions inherent in matrilineal systems are evidenced in the complexity of the parent-child relation. The mother-child bond is very warm, as is, in theory, the father-child relationship. The father and his clan have definite rights and duties with respect to the child, such as contributing bridewealth, paying compensation, and exacting vengeance.

Role of the... ..

It is... ..

here the... ..

do the... ..

position of... ..

engaged in... ..

Relationship... ..

These... ..

(1)

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

and... ..

The... ..

in the... ..

child... ..

relationship... ..

and... ..

... ..

Yet these rights and duties do not eliminate the tensions that develop in respect to property, so that in practice warmth does not characterize the father-child relation.

Sibling relations are informal, and cooperation and friendliness predominate. Sister and sister, or brother and brother may quarrel and even remain at odds, but a brother-sister quarrel is considered very serious. In later life the brother-sister tie can be one of tension, as the brother may become jealous of his sister's attention to her husband and children. The brother may also feel pressure from his maturing nephew, who will inherit his property.

The conjugal bond is of great importance in this matrilineal system for it initiates the homestead group, which is an important structural unit. Marriage is also considered an alliance between four matrilineal groups. Affines are important in Tonga life and are always looked to for aid; they are particularly important as mediators in disputes. Relationships with affines of one's own generation are characterized by good fellowship and joking, those of the adjacent generation by respect and avoidance. Avoidance exists for the first years of marriage and is terminated by a formal ceremony after the birth of a child; it is replaced by "respectful reserve." In the case of one's father-in-law and mother-in-law, this soon becomes a warm relationship. Cross-cousin marriage is

preferred, but its frequency is limited by an unusual marriage prohibition which forbids marriage of close kin to close kin. For instance, if a man marries his father's sister's daughter, his brother cannot marry another daughter of the same woman.

That kinship terms are extended far beyond the above categories is documented by Colson: "If he wished to do so, the Tonga with the faintest knowledge of his local community could address everyone within it by some kinship term."⁴⁴ As the Tonga change residence often and villages are kin based, these extensions contribute to the solidarity of the local community.

Interpersonal relationships outside the bonds of kinship may be forged through brotherhood pacts and by means of cattle associates. The former are made to guarantee protection when traveling in a distant area, as clan ties are not sufficiently strong to insure safety. The cattle associate relation obtains between men who have loaned each other cattle. This is a safeguard since, if one's herds are dispersed through various cattle associates, the possibility of complete loss during a bad year is minimized.

⁴⁴Colson, Marriage and Family..., p. 60.

E. THE TURKANA

Introduction

The Turkana,⁴⁵ with a population of about 80,000 people, occupy an area of 24,000 square miles in Northwest Kenya.⁴⁶ Their environment is severe, with no permanent rivers and an average rainfall of only twelve to fifteen inches a year; in addition, the rains are distributed irregularly, so that a "good" wet season occurs but once every three to five years.⁴⁷ The Turkana are pastoral nomads who exploit their meagre environment to the utmost by keeping sheep, goats, and camels, as well as cattle. In the dry season cattle are grazed in the mountains, while goats and sheep browse in the plains. Gulliver says that "by African native standards both people [the Jie and the Turkana] are wealthy stock owners."⁴⁸

The rigorous environment has limited white contact, and at present there are no permanent settlers in the area. Prior to British control the Turkana were successful raiders and were slowly expanding their territory.

⁴⁵The ethnographic data on the Turkana is based on two monographs by P. H. Gulliver. P. H. Gulliver, The Family Herds: A Study of Two Pastoral Tribes (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1955). A Preliminary Survey of the Turkana ("Communications from the School of African Studies," No. 26, n.s.; University of Capetown, 1951; Mimeographed).

⁴⁶Gulliver, A Preliminary Survey..., p. 13.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 39.

⁴⁸Family Herds..., p. 2.

INTRODUCTION

The first part of the book is devoted to a general

outline of the subject, and to a discussion of the

principles which govern the choice of the

materials to be used in the construction of the

apparatus. The second part is devoted to a

description of the apparatus, and to a

discussion of the results obtained from the

experiments. The third part is devoted to a

discussion of the theory of the phenomenon,

and to a comparison of the results obtained

with the results obtained from other

experiments. The fourth part is devoted to a

discussion of the conclusions to be drawn

from the experiments, and to a

discussion of the applications of the

results obtained. The fifth part is devoted to a

discussion of the literature on the subject,

and to a comparison of the results obtained

with the results obtained from other

experiments. The sixth part is devoted to a

discussion of the conclusions to be drawn

from the experiments, and to a

discussion of the applications of the

Structural Units

Like the Plateau Tonga, the Turkana structural units are not complex. Patrilineal descent provides the organizing principle for three basic units, the clan, the agnatic "extended family," and the "nuclear family."

The clan is a non-corporate, dispersed, exogamous group, whose members cannot trace genealogical relationship. Clans vary in size and in geographical distribution. At marriage a woman becomes a member, or at least adopts the name, of her husband's clan. No clan functions, other than exogamy, are apparent.

The ideal agnatic "extended family"⁴⁹ is a grandfamily consisting of all those descended from a common grandfather. (The mature male is the reference point for determining the grandfather.) In practice the composition of the "extended family" manifests considerable variation. Gulliver states:

So far, in this account of Turkana agnatic kinship, for convenience, I have adopted the "ideal" view of the people themselves and assumed that the extended family comprises all the surviving male descendants of a grandfather, together with their wives and children. It is now necessary to turn to a consideration of the family as it emerges in actual life, and as it is demonstrated in maintained social relations. We must henceforth regard the extended family not as a

⁴⁹The term "extended family" is Gulliver's. I do not know why he chose it, as this group does not have the characteristics usually attributed to an "extended family." To indicate this disparity I will use quotation marks.

Like the Chinese, the English are not
not content, but they are not
principles for their own sake, but
"extended family" and the Chinese family.

The Chinese is a more complex, but more
whose Chinese family is more complex, but
very is also a more complex, but more
a more complex, but more complex, but more
Chinese family, but more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex.

The Chinese family is more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more
(The Chinese family is more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more complex.

So far, the Chinese family is more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more complex.

So far, the Chinese family is more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more
complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more complex, but more complex.

fixed genealogical unit but as a cluster of close agnatic relations, the founder of which may in fact be a father, grandmother, grandfather or even a great-grandparent, not all of whose surviving male descendants necessarily form a defacto group.⁵⁰

The "extended family" is divided internally into "families" and "houses;" the former are distinguished as the descendants of one man, and the latter as descendants of one woman. Gulliver does not consider the group corporate since it is never localized and instances of common action are rare. There is no developed authority structure, but the eldest member is considered the head.

The domestic group is called a "nuclear family"⁵¹ by Gulliver. It consists of a man, his several wives and their children, and sometimes his son's wives and their children. The "nuclear family" is the major corporate group in Turkana society. Authority resides in the father-husband, who manages and owns the group's herds. The "nuclear family" is rarely found as a separate localized unit, but it is strongly united through the sharing of common rights in the father-husband's stock.

⁵⁰Gulliver, Family Herds..., p. 183.

⁵¹As with the "extended family" I do not know why Gulliver chose the term "nuclear family," for this group does not have the characteristics usually attributed to a "nuclear family." To indicate this disparity I will use quotation marks.

The smallest and most important territorial unit, the homestead, is the herding unit. Its membership is highly variable, sometimes including an entire "nuclear family," at other times only a part of a "nuclear family," or, perhaps, several "nuclear families." In any event, it always includes at least one mature male and female and several children. In the homestead each wife has her own yard, corral, and allotted herds; the husband occupies a separate hut.

The neighborhood is the major unit of residence above the level of the homestead. Gulliver distinguishes three types of neighborhoods on the basis of differences in the intensity of social relations. The primary neighborhood is the area within which everyday contact and economic cooperation takes place; the maximum distance between homesteads does not exceed 1,000 feet. The secondary neighborhood is composed of two or three primary groups and is defined as an area of common utilization of water holes and pastures. Boundaries of the tertiary neighborhood are vague, but comprehend the region within which casual social intercourse, such as attendance at weddings and feasts, occurs. Neighborhood membership is rarely permanent. Gulliver notes:

When conditions of climate and pastures necessitate movement the individual homesteads usually move to several destinations where with other homesteads

they temporarily form new ones on the given patterns. Even given the same conditions in two consecutive years the same homesteads might not form the same neighborhoods, and if they do, the actual locations would be different since families never move back to old homestead sites.⁵²

The age-set organization of the Turkana is not elaborate.

Boys of about eighteen years of age are inducted into an age-set in the course of ceremonies conducted during every "good" wet season. The principle wet season meeting place for an area is the initiation center. The name given to an age-set at initiation is usually changed at a later date so that all sets initiated in the same season throughout a general geographical region can possess the same name. This uniformity is not the result of planning, but is accomplished haphazardly as men of several different centers casually discuss their age-sets while herding. After initiation there are no specific stages through which an age-set progresses, and it is a rare occurrence for all its members to come together at one time. Age-mates join one another when possible for ritual feasts, and in the past formed raiding units. A man may join the activities of any age-set, as long as it was formed in the same season as his own. Comradeship and mutual help characterize age-mate relations; however, Gulliver does not

⁵²Gulliver, A Preliminary Survey..., p. 117.

think that the age-mate bond of itself is of great importance unless it is re-enforced by another tie such as stock associate or affinal kinship.

Economic System

Turkana subsistence activities are organized to secure the maximum advantage in the exploitation of the contrasting environments of mountains and plains. The distribution of various types of livestock at different seasons of the year is conditioned by the needs of the animals and the environmental opportunities. Cattle, which thrive only on grassland, are grazed in the mountains during the dry periods, and herded on the plains in the vicinity of streams in the rainy season. Sheep, goats, and camels are herded in the plains throughout the year, since the animals can survive on browse. A self-sufficient nuclear family must, therefore, have two homesteads: one for the grazing herd and one for the browsing herd. The homestead where the father-husband resides is the chief-homestead, and is the center for all important social events.

Within the homestead, each wife keeps a portion of the husband's herd in her yard. This is sufficient for the needs of her family. The senior wife (the wife of the first marriage) keeps the residual herds for the husband. Despite this

allotment of the herd, the homestead, rather than the yard, is the production, distribution, and consumption unit. All animals of the household are herded together, and one animal is killed each day to supply the homestead; the yards rotate in supplying the animal. Ideally a yard only consumes milk from its own animals; in times of shortage, however, the yards combine their milk and it is redistributed among the children.

The diet of meat and milk is supplemented by limited amounts of millet. Women are responsible for cultivation, but farming practices are casual and the harvest undependable. Wild plant foods, gathered by women, provide a significant addition to the Turkana larder, particularly during the dry season. Sporadically, men engage in fishing and hunting.

Livestock comprise the important inheritable property of the Turkana. Two groups, the "extended family" and the "nuclear family," have claims to a deceased man's herds. Distribution is effected by the head of the "extended family," and the dead man's general heir, usually his eldest married son. Agnatic kinsmen present their claims to a portion of the estate, with the size of the claim depending upon: (1) genealogical relationships, (2) previous economic contact,

and (3) need. Usually "nuclear family" members -- a man's wives and children -- receive the majority of the property. Public opinion is strongly disposed to preserving the herd intact for the "nuclear family," as it is considered to have the strongest legal right, as well as the greatest need. The herd is divided among "nuclear family" members in proportion to their needs; for instance, widows who remarry receive less than those who do not remarry. The general heir acts as conservator of the property for the unmarried sons; as each son marries and establishes his own homestead, he receives his fair share of the herd.

In the economic system the "nuclear family" is important for production, distribution, and consumption as well as for inheritance.

Political System

Although Turkana lacks state organization Gulliver notes that the tribe constitutes a distinct unit:

Theoretically and according to the Turkana themselves, the whole of the tribe is a single political unit. That is to say that within the tribe customary law is the same between all people and groups of people in whatever part of the country. they are living; compensation is payable between all Turkana and it is murder for one Turkana to kill another, unlike the lawful feat of killing a foreigner; Turkana should never take spear against

and (b) a more liberal policy towards the

women and children - and the need for a more

flexible attitude towards the position of the

Indian for the "native" Indian, and the

the necessary steps to be taken to

bring it closer to the "native" Indian in

to their needs, the Indian, and the

less than the Indian, and the

an improvement of the position of the

each and every one of them, and the

receive the full benefit of the

In the Indian community, the

for the Indian, and the

Indian

Political System

Although the Indian community is

that the Indian community is

The Indian community is

however, the Indian community is

local level, the Indian community is

community, the Indian community is

groups of people in the Indian community

only the Indian community is

the Indian community is

the Indian community is

the Indian community is

another Turkana but only jointly against common foes; and in addition, a special feature of the tribal unit is the complete ownership of all land and usufruct of land.⁵³

In practice, the tertiary neighborhood is probably the limit for normal relations; even the military activity of the past did not involve Turkana from the whole tribal area.

The father-husband as supervisor-manager of the "nuclear family" has the most delineated authority position in Turkana society. In the past the most important positions of authority outside the "nuclear family" were connected with warfare; the war leader and diviner had influence only in limited spheres. In describing the nature of present Turkana authority positions Gulliver states:

Enough has perhaps been said already in this report to show the strongly individualistic nature of the Turkana and of their disinclination to be led. There is almost total lack of social sanction that can compel a native to follow others. There is much to induce him to follow his own desires...Any man unwilling to follow leadership can easily dissociate himself, either in the particular instance, or totally by moving away with family herds.⁵⁴

Thus all authority positions other than that of head of the "nuclear family" are temporary and indefinite in kind and number. If a man has leadership ability he may become influential in the affairs of his "extended family" and his

⁵³Ibid., p. 179.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 180.

neighborhood. Five qualities are considered important for Turkana leadership, all of which need not be present in one person: (1) stock wealth, (2) war success, (3) personality and ability, (4) position in the age-set, and (5) government headman, a position established by the British Administration.

In summary, in the Turkana political system there is no persistent group organization or institutionalized position of authority above the level of the "nuclear family."

Ceremonial Practices

The ceremonial practices of the Turkana are not elaborate; nor are the Turkana greatly concerned with the supernatural. In the past, diviners played an important part in raids and the purification of age groups. Today they are important in rain-making ceremonies and individual rites such as curing and auguring. The meager data suggests that the religion has an individual rather than a group emphasis.

Role Differentiation

The role differentiation among the Turkana is based on age and sex distinctions. Young boys care for the herds, while the mature men manage and supervise the herds and the family. Women are concerned with the domestic chores, farming,

negotiations. The first of these was the...
Turkish Government, and the second...
person (1) of the... (2) of the...
and... (3) of the... (4) of the...
head... a... (5) of the... (6) of the...
to... (7) of the... (8) of the...
... (9) of the... (10) of the...
of... (11) of the... (12) of the...

General Principles

The... (1) of the... (2) of the...
... (3) of the... (4) of the...
In the... (5) of the... (6) of the...
the... (7) of the... (8) of the...
rain... (9) of the... (10) of the...
and... (11) of the... (12) of the...
an... (13) of the... (14) of the...

Role of the... (15)

The... (16) of the... (17) of the...
and... (18) of the... (19) of the...
with... (20) of the... (21) of the...
family... (22) of the... (23) of the...

and gathering. No position of prestige or authority exempts the individual from the necessity of herding, especially since herds contribute to social prestige.

Kinship Relations

The Turkana recognize three kin categories: (1) patrilineal kin; (2) consanguines other than patrilineal kin; (3) affines.

The father-child relationship is characterized by obedience and respect. However, a potential hostility exists between father and son since a son's marriage disrupts the unity of the "nuclear family." The mother-child relationship is one of warmth and affection; often the mother leaves the "nuclear family" of her husband to live with her independent son. Ideally, she will always live in the homestead of her youngest son.

Within the "nuclear family," the relationship between brothers (full and/or half) is one of cooperation and friendship. There is also ambivalence, for if one brother receives more than his fair share of the herds for his bridewealth or independence, the others must delay their marriages. After the father's death and the dissolution of his "nuclear family," each brother strives for complete independence. Rarely do

and gathering. The purpose of the gathering is to
the individual and the community is to be able to
since they are not to be able to.

Relationships
The purpose of the gathering is to be able to
lineal and (2) the purpose of the gathering is to
(3) the purpose of the gathering is to be able to.

The purpose of the gathering is to be able to
obedience and respect. The purpose of the gathering is to be able to
between the individual and the community is to be able to
unity of the individual and the community is to be able to
in one of the individual and the community is to be able to
"the purpose of the gathering is to be able to
son, the purpose of the gathering is to be able to
younger son
the purpose of the gathering is to be able to

brothers (the purpose of the gathering is to be able to
ship. There is also a purpose of the gathering is to be able to
more than the purpose of the gathering is to be able to
independence, the purpose of the gathering is to be able to
the purpose of the gathering is to be able to
each brother is to be able to

they keep a common homestead if an alternative exists; often they move apart to symbolize their independence. Once independence is achieved, however, cooperation is usually the pattern. Brothers depend upon one another for bridewealth and for compensation payments. This same kind of relationship exists throughout the "extended family;" men borrow cattle from one another. Such relationships may not exist between all agnatic relatives, or even between all brothers; situation and personal preference determines them.

The warmest interpersonal relationship among the Turkana is between affines who help one another in small matters and on informal occasions; it is not unusual for a man to form a joint household with his wife's brother. Since many of father's affines become his children's consanguineal kin, it is understandable that a man may, and usually does, have warm cooperative relations with consanguines outside his agnatic family.

The husband-wife relationship is one of partnership.

Gulliver states:

Whilst a husband and a chief wife may exercise disciplinary authority over wives, and a husband may beat a wife occasionally, on the whole friction is slight. Cases of "hen-pecked" husbands are not altogether

they keep a common household is an arrangement which is
that the parts to which the family is subjected
independence in action, however, they are not
the system. The system depends upon the system of the
and the compensation system. The system of the family
exists throughout the system of the family and the
from one another. Each relationship is not the same
all social relations, or even within the family, are
and personal relationships are not the same.
The system of the family is not the same as the
is between the family and the family. The system of
on the family system; it is not the same as the
joint system of the family. The system of the family
father's system is not the same as the system of the
is understandable that a man may not have a
cooperative relations with another man who is a
family.

The husband-wife relationship is not the same as the
relationship between a man and a woman.
The husband and a woman are not the same as the
relationship between a man and a woman. The husband
relationship, on the other hand, is not the same as the
relationship between a man and a woman.

unknown, I think, whilst in very many cases a wife is the moral equal of her husband in their inter-personal and informal relationships.⁵⁵

Polygyny is a necessity in Turkana society, for if a man is to keep more than one homestead, he should have a wife in charge of each. After choosing his first wife, a man has very little control over the selection of subsequent wives; the wives themselves designate who they want as working partners. Turkana marriage is stable and divorce is rare.

Turkana extend their relations through friendship and bond-friendship. Bond-friendship is a relation established by cattle exchange. Such a friend is trusted and held in highest confidence; he provides ready aid whenever necessary.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 215.

known, I think, that in the early days of the
in the early days of the early days of the
period, and in the early days of the
Polymer is a polymer in the early days of the
keep some from the early days of the early days of the
of each. About the early days of the early days of the
control over the early days of the early days of the
thermalized form, the early days of the early days of the
Tucker says it is a polymer in the early days of the
Tucker says it is a polymer in the early days of the
post-thermalized. The early days of the early days of the
by each of the early days of the early days of the
highest could not be given the early days of the early days of the

III DISCUSSION

The organizational and cultural resemblances in five societies described by anthropologists as flexible have been documented by ethnographic data. The following discussion will elaborate on these similarities by directing attention to: (1) the organization of the domestic, the community, and tribal units; (2) the problem of exclusiveness and perpetuity in relation to the functioning of significant social units; (3) the consistency in certain patterns of value orientation.

Though the constitution of the domestic group varies from society to society, certain common features are apparent. First, in all five societies, its importance extends beyond child rearing as it is critical to both the economic and political systems. Second, membership is highly variable.

THE
EVENING
MILITARY

ALL INFORMATION

This document contains information of a confidential nature

and is to be handled in accordance with the instructions

contained in the instructions of the Department of Defense

and is to be handled in accordance with the instructions

contained in the instructions of the Department of Defense

and is to be handled in accordance with the instructions

contained in the instructions of the Department of Defense

and is to be handled in accordance with the instructions

contained in the instructions of the Department of Defense

and is to be handled in accordance with the instructions

contained in the instructions of the Department of Defense

and is to be handled in accordance with the instructions

contained in the instructions of the Department of Defense

and is to be handled in accordance with the instructions

Third, at maturity, members have the right to independence so that if they leave the group they can form an autonomous unit separate from the original domestic group.

Community organization in the five societies comprises an association of independent domestic groups with convergent interests. This unit is defined by at least one of the following four features: (1) recognition of common kinship; (2) allegiance to a leader; (3) common economic obligations; and, (4) shared ritual obligations. Colson's description of the Tonga village illustrates the type of association that may be involved:

In the last analysis, probably the hamlet exists simply because men must live somewhere and it is usually pleasant to have at least a few close neighbors to help in the daily round. So long as they remain together, they must live in some kind of harmony. If this becomes impossible, they part and either find new associates or for the moment try the blessings of a more solitary existence.⁵⁶

The Turkana neighborhood closely resembles the Tonga village and neighborhood in the form of its association, except that it is less permanent. Lapp and Mescalero bands emphasize the economic factor to a greater degree, providing an added element of subsistence security; in both societies, however,

⁵⁶Colson, "Plateau Tonga," p. 50.

There, approximately, 1/2 mile from the station

we found all these things, and they were

very similar to the things found at the station

Locality 100-10111 is in the same area as

an association of limestone, and the things found

there. This was the first locality where we

found some fossils. (1) fragments of corals, (2) small

(3) fragments of a brachiopod, (4) small

and, (5) small fragments of a brachiopod.

The fossils found at this locality are

very similar to the fossils found at the station

In the last locality, approximately 1/2 mile from

the station, we found some fossils, and they

were very similar to the fossils found at the station

and they were very similar to the fossils found at the station

The fossils found at this locality are

very similar to the fossils found at the station

and they were very similar to the fossils found at the station

It is very interesting to find these fossils

the second locality is a good one, and it is

very similar to the fossils found at the station

the household is ideally self-sufficient and does not lose its identity through economic cooperation. The Iban long-house is a unit of jural administration for independent groups. As Freeman remarks: "We may say then that a long-house community is a local confederation based on cognatic kinship of a series of autonomous corporations."⁵⁷ The domestic unit, therefore, retains autonomy within the community. In all five societies it is able to disassociate itself from the larger group and rejoin later, or align with another group. Membership change is easily effected and, in fact, takes place frequently.

Considered externally the community groups are co-residence units, comparatively small in size, which focus on a leader who is the symbol of group solidarity. Allegiance to the leader offers the group some permanence. For example, the Mescalero band is named after its leader, and the people use his name to identify themselves. The same is true of the Lapp band and the Tonga village. Thus an individual, rather than a territory or a place, is the identifying and unifying feature of a community. Although the Iban long-house is not named after the headman, the requisite for membership consists in acknowledgement of the headman's jurisdiction. A leader is

⁵⁷Freeman, "The Family System of the Iban of Borneo," p. 33.

not essential to the Turkana neighborhood, but this community lacks even the limited continuity noted for similar units in the other societies.

All of the societies are stateless; the community groups are autonomous units with no obligations to a higher authority. Tribal solidarity is achieved by the extended network of relations which the non-exclusive and mobile characteristics of the groups activate. The Iban general category of relations, kaban, is extended to the whole tribe; within it more specific relations are easily established whenever necessary. The Lapp extends his network of relations by ritual kinship to include members of other bands and traders. The Tonga also apply kinship terms to community members, and have stock associates and blood brotherhood to create strong social relationships in other neighborhoods. The Turkana extend social relationships through the category "bond-friends," with whom cattle are exchanged. To the Mescalero, friendship provides a basis for the extension of interpersonal bonds to other segments of the society.

In addition to the common elements of group structure described above, two negative features which have implications for the organization of these societies require comment:

not essential to the system, and indeed, it is possible
to have a system which is not essential to the system.

the other possibility is that the system is essential to the system.

all of the possibilities are not essential to the system, and indeed, it is possible to have a system which is not essential to the system.

tribal societies are not essential to the system, and indeed, it is possible to have a system which is not essential to the system.

relations which are not essential to the system, and indeed, it is possible to have a system which is not essential to the system.

of the system, and indeed, it is possible to have a system which is not essential to the system.

being is contained in the system, and indeed, it is possible to have a system which is not essential to the system.

relations are not essential to the system, and indeed, it is possible to have a system which is not essential to the system.

extends the system, and indeed, it is possible to have a system which is not essential to the system.

members of other groups, and indeed, it is possible to have a system which is not essential to the system.

kinship forms to determine whether or not a system is essential to the system.

and placed problems in which a system is not essential to the system.

other possibilities. The system is not essential to the system.

(1) lack of group exclusiveness; (2) minimal devices to assure group perpetuity.

Neither the domestic nor the community groups can be considered highly exclusive. Domestic group composition is variable and features of the developmental cycle do not explain the range of variation adequately, for various adult relatives may be included at any given time. In all the societies the community is an open group; membership is not constant and eligibility for membership is not specified in rigid terms. The Turkana neighborhood is the most extreme example of this, as geographical proximity is a sufficient condition for affiliation with a particular neighborhood.

The unilineal descent groups of the Turkana and the Tonga are exclusive by definition, but members can and do disassociate themselves from the group. Of the Tonga unilineal descent group Colson states:

But though they may live apart, they continue to act together and to form a group with common interests, so long as they remain in close enough contact to visit, to confer, and to share in one another's affairs. Membership is thus not directly governed by genealogical ties, and the exact degree of kinship is largely irrelevant in determining particular obligations to one another. A man belongs to a particular matrilineal group because he acts in common with its members

(a) lack of vision, of the mind, of the heart, of the soul

and the eyes of the heart

Neither the heart nor the eyes of the heart

can be seen by the eyes of the heart, nor can the heart be seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and the heart is not seen by the eyes of the heart

and he justifies his participation by the assumption of common kinship though he and others may not know the genealogical links between them. If he moves too far away to join with his kinsmen, or if he repudiates his obligations, he ceases to belong. Kin groups are thus continually reduced in size by the shedding of those who through distance or the existence of quarrels find themselves no longer able to participate in group affairs.⁵⁸

With respect to the Turkana unilineal group Gulliver writes:

The absence of a man and his herd of cattle from the funeral is a symbol of his forfeiture of formal membership of the extended family. Turkana say that in the event of quarrels and a general deterioration of relations men will refuse to attend the ceremony, thereby making known that they no longer consider themselves members of the group nor feel themselves bound by obligations in reference to kinship... More commonly, however, men do not attend because they live too far away, and because active, practical relations have atrophied, or because genealogical links have become so indirect and attenuated that ritual interdependence and mutual rights, interests and affections have ceased to matter.⁵⁹

Evidently exclusiveness is not critical to the functioning of the descent group in these social systems.

Analysis of Tonga and Mescalero vengeance groups, and the Tonga and Turkana age-sets, reveals that in these groups exclusive membership is not maintained. Among the Tonga, vengeance is an obligation of the matrilineal descent group, which is not characterized by constancy in membership. The

⁵⁸Colson, "Social Control and....," p. 202.

⁵⁹Gulliver, Family Herds...., p. 154.

the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find

With respect to the character of the
the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find

the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the

the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the
of course, it is a very common thing to find
the first thing that strikes the eye is the

composition of the Mescalero vengeance group is situationally determined and may include relatives or friends. The Tonga age-set consists of men born at approximately the same time in a particular neighborhood; however, if a man leaves his natal neighborhood, he may affiliate with the appropriate age-set in the new neighborhood. Turkana age-sets are more exclusive than those of the Tonga -- a man is a member for life of the age-set in which he has been initiated -- but it is rare for an age-set to convene with even a majority of its members present. Gulliver states that "the usual group of age-mates is a fortuitous collection of men who happen to be living near each other at the time, who can assemble easily."⁶⁰

The structural feature of perpetuity, typical of many lineage-ordered systems, is not a defining property of group organization among the societies dealt with in this thesis. Discussion of this fact may be initiated by citing Fortes' views on the meaning of the term "perpetuity." He states:

This means, of course, not merely perpetual physical existence by the replacement of departed members. It means perpetual structural existence, in a stable and homogeneous society; that is, the perpetual exercise of defined rights, duties, office and social tasks vested in the lineage as a corporate unit.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Gulliver, A Preliminary Survey..., p. 131.

⁶¹ Meyer Fortes, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," Reprinted in Culture and Societies of Africa. Ed. by Phoebe and Simon Ottenberg. (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 174.

None of the community groups of these societies can be considered perpetual in Fortes' sense of the term. There are neither group rights to property nor offices that can be perpetuated through time. (The Iban long-house is associated with a specific tract of land, but this is not an aboriginal feature.) The domestic groups of these societies, with the exception of the Iban bilek, likewise cannot be described as perpetual. They lack rights to property or office, and have no social tasks which remain intact through time.

As noted, the Iban bilek is an exception; Freeman attributes timelessness or perpetuity to it. However, his assignment of perpetuity seems prompted by the desire to attribute some of the characteristics of a unilineal descent group to the bilek. It is my contention that this is neither necessary nor accurate.

The bilek does not exercise defined rights, duties, office, or social tasks in perpetuity, since it undergoes partition rather than segmentation. When the bilek family divides, each sub-unit becomes autonomous; the units are separate and distinct, rather than additional segments of a continuing lineage. The original bilek property is divided, and each unit exercises absolute rights over the allotted

goods. Thus, even though a child remains in the family, he inherits only a fraction of the property. Over the span of two generations, partition will not seriously diminish the bilek estate, but by the fourth generation possibly only 1/32 of the original property will remain intact. Rights to a perpetual estate, therefore, cannot be considered critical for bilek functioning.

Two other possible reasons for Freeman's argument for the perpetuity of this group should be examined. The first is that a bilek genealogy is kept, and therefore it is possible to trace members through several generations; the second, that there are two indivisible ritual objects which must pass from one generation to the next through a line of direct descendants. The importance of these objects is minimal since no special privileges are associated with them, and new objects of equal effectiveness are consecrated for seceding members of the bilek. Perpetuity, therefore, cannot be considered of great importance for the functioning of the bilek.

A unilineal descent group is, to some extent, necessarily perpetual. However, the importance of perpetuity for Turkana and Tonga descent groups in the context of the total social

goods. Then, even though a child, when it has finally been
instructed only in the nature of the property. But the point is
two generations, generation will not necessarily diminish and
likely estate, but by the fourth generation possibly only
1/16 of the original property will remain intact. This is
a perpetual estate, therefore, cannot be transferred directly
for life functioning.

Two other possible reasons for the estate's persistence for
the perpetuity of this group should be mentioned. The first
is that a life perpetuity is not, and therefore it is
possible to create a life perpetuity in a life estate. This
second, that there are two distinct objects of the
trust here. One is the generation to the next generation, and the other
direct beneficiaries. The first of these objects is
material estate, no special privileges are associated with this,
and the object of equal beneficiaries are considered for
according members of the life perpetuity. Therefore, cannot
be considered of great importance for the functioning of the
life.

A minimal descent group (2) or some extent, necessarily
perpetual. However, the importance of perpetuity in descent
and how descent groups in the context of the social world.

system is minimal. Members of a Tonga descent group have rights to an individual member's property and office at his death. The inheritance of cattle is important, but the wide distribution within the descent group prevents the development of a perpetual estate in livestock. Political positions linked to the descent group are also impermanent; if a nephew succeeds to his uncle's position as neighborhood headman, there is no guarantee that the position will remain in existence. If the new headman is not liked, or his leadership is challenged, or if disaster strikes, the neighborhood may disband, abandoning the leader in the process. The Turkana descent group has no rights to property, and there are no inheritable authority positions; the common herd of the nuclear family is divided after the father's death and never reconstituted.

Cultural values common to the five societies include:

- (1) a high valuation of individual freedom; (2) emphasis on physical mobility; (3) an egalitarian concept of authority; (4) the concept of land as a free good.

Characteristic of all these societies is a high valuation of individual self-reliance and freedom -- freedom of action, movement and association. There is an emphasis on individual, rather than group activity and responsibility in both the

economic and political systems. A mature individual is responsible for his own decisions and no individual or group has the right to subordinate or coerce him.

Physical mobility is an integral feature of all these societies. In addition to the importance of mobility for subsistence practices, it is a distinctive cultural value. Thus, Iban males value the changes fostered by journeying and the shifting of cultivation areas; new farms and neighbors are relished by Tonga; Mescalero find migrations to different environments stimulating, while among Lapp and Turkana, manliness is associated with roaming with the herds.

The egalitarian concept of authority is concretely manifested in the absence of coercive power in the community group and household. For instance, when a proposal for group action is made, those who approve conform to it; others may cooperate in spite of their disapproval, or disassociate themselves from the group. Those who separate may associate themselves with another group; at a later date they may even return to the original group. If no one accepts the decision, the group dissolves.

The absence of restriction on the use of environmental resources, or the conceptualization of land as a free good,

is a distinct cultural formulation of these five societies. It is not only important to their subsistence practices, but is also a definite cultural value. Basehart writes of the Mescalero:

Mescalero conceptualized their land as a free good. All living things on the land, animal or vegetable, were available equally and freely to all Mescalero. As the materials on subsistence indicate, no man or woman had the right to prohibit another from hunting or gathering in any defined region; all were free to go where they liked, and to partake of whatever could be harvested at that place and time. Gukeiya, "our country," was "our country" equally for all; in terms of the jural norms of the society, trespass was meaningless where members of the tribe were concerned. The only rules in this connection were rules of politeness, but if these were transgressed, the offenders were subject to no physical sanctions. Gossip and the weight of public opinion,⁶² however, were potent incentives for proper behavior.

Similar statements are made by the ethnographers of the other societies. Iban and Tonga can choose to cultivate a plot of land wherever they wish, and Lapp and Turkana can move their herds wherever they deem necessary.

The above discussion indicates that these societies have eight significant cultural and organizational features in common: (1) domestic and community groups are the important structural units; (2) political order is defined by a network

⁶²Basehart, Mescalero Apache Subsistence Patterns..., p. 105.

of relationships rather than a system of groups; (3) exclusiveness and perpetuity are not critical for group functioning; (4) leadership recruitment emphasizes ability; (5) individual freedom is stressed; (6) physical mobility is emphasized; (7) the concept of authority is egalitarian; and, (8) there is unrestricted access to the resources of the environment. It remains to be shown that these features are directly related to the structural feature of optional possibilities of relationships in specific situations.

WITNESS

of the following facts, to-wit: That on or about the 1st day of

January, 1900, the undersigned, being duly sworn, depose and say that

(1) the said facts are true and correct as stated in the foregoing

interrogatories, and that the same are true and correct as stated

(2) the contents of the foregoing deposition are true and correct

as stated in the foregoing, and that the same are true and correct

as stated in the foregoing, and that the same are true and correct

as stated in the foregoing, and that the same are true and correct

as stated in the foregoing, and that the same are true and correct

IV CONCLUSION

Cross-cultural comparison of a selected sample of non-literate societies has suggested that the structural feature of optional relationship possibilities is consistently associated with other characteristics of culture and social organization. This concluding section will be concerned with the examination of two problems: (1) the extent of relationship between the core meaning of the concept of flexibility and the common elements abstracted from the empirical data; (2) the specification of additional areas for research which could be expected to contribute to the explication of the concept.

The question of the nature of the linkage between flexibility and shared features of social organization may be approached through consideration of the implications of the presence of a norm of optional relationship possibilities for a social system. It is evident that this critical feature

THE QUESTION OF THE

Green-Edwards' conception of a religious society is
non-liturgical and non-dogmatic, and is based on the
teaching of spiritual individualism. It is
essentially a religious society, and is based on
the social and spiritual. This conception is based on
concerned with the individual as a person, (1) the
extent of religiousness, (2) the social and spiritual
concept of the individual, and the social and spiritual
from the religious point of view, (3) the social and spiritual
stress for religiousness, which is based on spiritual and
the religious as the central.
The question of the individual is the central and
flexible and social teaching of spiritual individualism and
approached through spiritual individualism, and it is
presence of a social and spiritual individualism, and
for a social and spiritual individualism, and it is

presupposes: (1) that the important units in the society will be the domestic and community groups, since complex organizational principles are not required; (2) that the political systems will be based on a network of interpersonal relations rather than on a system of groups, since the latter would require highly delineated membership principles; (3) that exclusiveness and perpetuity will be of minimal importance, even for the functioning of such groups as the lineage and the age-set, since they limit the optional character of group membership; (4) that leadership will emphasize individual ability, as clear-cut rules of succession to office are inconsistent with the principles of group organization.

The cultural features common to the societies examined in the preceding portion of the thesis are consistent with the view of flexibility as centering on optional possibilities of relationship in specific situations. The value attached to individual freedom is an expression, on the cultural level, of the individual's commitment to independent decision-making in terms of the requirements of particular situations. The positive evaluation of physical mobility, which views frequent movement as an end in itself, contributes to the development of a wide network of interpersonal ties and permits the exercise of options in relationships. An egalitarian concept of

authority is, of course, a counterpart of the cultural orientations noted above; the presence of coercive power would radically restrict the range of choice open to the individual. Finally, the formula construing land as a free good constitutes the cognitive base which links ecological variables with individual and social goals and thus provides the rationale for the optional utilization of environmental resources.

Since these eight features are consistent with, and related to, the fundamental analytic element of the concept of flexibility, it is suggested that they may be tentatively included in the specification of the concept.

It is apparent that the concept based upon the nine variables discussed above needs to be subjected to further tests in order to determine its utility for cross-cultural analysis. Four areas of research are critical. First, it should be determined whether all societies that exhibit the structural feature of optional possibilities for relationships also exhibit the eight features shared by the societies considered in this paper. In relation to this problem, it will be pertinent to examine segmentary systems like Pathan, and amiblateral systems like Tikopia, since their structure appears to offer optional possibilities without all the

features of flexibility found in the five societies examined.

Second, it should be ascertained whether all societies with cognatic descent systems exhibit flexibility. The writer believes this is unlikely. This question might be clarified by a study of the Bushmen hunters of South Africa, and the Paiute of the North American Plateau.

Third, other societies allowing restricted access to the resources of their environment should be examined to discover whether they exhibit flexibility. A related problem will be to determine whether societies in which physical mobility is at a premium also exhibit this trait. It might be profitable, in this connection, to study the Central Asiatic pastoral nomads or the Bedouin tribes. If these societies lack flexibility a knowledge of how physical mobility influences their social systems would be crucial.

Fourth, it should be determined whether all systems in which the important structural units are a domestic group and a community group exhibit flexibility. An examination of the Australian tribes should produce data relevant to this problem.

The clarification of the above problems could result in a redefinition or refinement of the concept of flexibility. It should also indicate whether the variables suggested as defining features are meaningful for cross-cultural purposes.

features of flexibility found in the above mentioned examples.
 Second, it should be noted that while all societies
 with complex domestic systems exhibit flexibility, the
 writer believes this is unlikely. The question might be
 clarified by a study of the domestic systems of South Africa,
 and the balance of the North American continent.
 Third, other societies exhibiting varying degrees of the
 resources of their environment should be examined to discover
 whether they exhibit flexibility. A related question will be
 to determine whether societies in which physical mobility
 is at a premium also exhibit this trait. It might be possible
 also, in this connection, to study the domestic systems of
 nomads or the Bedouin tribes. It should be noted that
 flexibility is knowledge of how physical mobility influences
 their social systems would be a trait.
 Fourth, it should be determined whether all systems in
 which the important environmental resources are domestic groups and
 a community group exhibit flexibility. An examination of the
 American tribes should provide data relevant to this
 problem.
 The classification of the above problems could be made in
 a relationship or refinement of the concept of flexibility.
 It should also attempt whether the variables suggested as
 defining factors are meaningful and cross-cultural responses

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aberle, David. "Navaho." Matrilineal Kinship. Ed. by David Schneider and Kathleen Gough. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961, pp. 86-201.
- Barth, Fredrik. "Segmentary Opposition and the Theory of Games: a study of Pathan Organization." Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. 89 (Pt. 1, 1959), pp. 5-22.
- Basehart, Harry W. Mescalero Apache Subsistence Patterns and Socio-Political Organization. ("The University of New Mexico Mescalero-Chiricahua Land Claims Project, Contract Research," No. 290-154.) The University of New Mexico, 1960, Mimeographed.
- Colson, Elizabeth. Marriage and Family Among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia. Great Britain: Manchester University Press, 1958.
- _____. "Plateau Tonga." Matrilineal Kinship. Ed. by David Schneider and Kathleen Gough. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961, pp. 36-95.
- _____. "Social Control and Vengeance in Plateau Tonga Society." Africa. Vol. 23 (No. 3, 1953), pp. 199-212.
- Davenport, William. "Non-unilinear Descent and Descent Groups." American Anthropologist. Vol. 61 (No. 4, 1959), pp. 557-72.
- Firth, Raymond. "A Note on Descent Groups in Polynesia." Man. Vol. 57 (No. 1, 1957), pp. 4-8.
- _____. "Some Principles of Social Organization." Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. 85 (Pt. 2, 1955), pp. 1-18.
- Fortes, Meyer. "The Structure of Unilinear Descent Groups." Reprinted in Culture and Societies of Africa. Ed. by Phoebe and Simon Ottenberg. New York: Random House, 1960, pp. 163-89.
- Freeman, J. D. "The Family System of the Iban of Borneo." Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology. Vol. 1 (No. 1, 1958), pp. 15-52.

REFERENCES

Adams, J. W. "The American Revolution and the American Mind." *California Quarterly*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

Barr, J. "The American Revolution and the American Mind." *California Quarterly*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

Barr, J. "The American Revolution and the American Mind." *California Quarterly*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

Barr, J. "The American Revolution and the American Mind." *California Quarterly*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

Barr, J. "The American Revolution and the American Mind." *California Quarterly*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

Barr, J. "The American Revolution and the American Mind." *California Quarterly*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

Barr, J. "The American Revolution and the American Mind." *California Quarterly*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

Barr, J. "The American Revolution and the American Mind." *California Quarterly*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

Barr, J. "The American Revolution and the American Mind." *California Quarterly*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

- Freeman, J. D. Iban Agriculture. ("Colonial Research Studies," No. 18.) London: Colonial Office, H.M.S.O., 1955.
- _____. "Iban of Western Borneo." Social Structure in Southeast Asia. Ed. by George P. Murdock. ("Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology," No. 29.) New York: Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1960.
- _____. "On the Concept of the Kindred." Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. 91 (Pt. 2, 1961), pp. 191-215.
- Gulliver, P. H. The Family Herds: A Study of Two Pastoral Tribes. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1955.
- _____. A Preliminary Survey of the Turkana. ("Communications from the School of African Studies," No. 26, n.s.) University of Cape Town, 1951, Mimeographed.
- Leach, Edmund R. Social Science Research in Sarawak. ("Colonial Research Studies," No. 1.) London: Colonial Office, H.M.S.O., 1950.
- Levine, Robert. "The Internalization of Political Values in Stateless Societies." Human Organization. Vol. 19 (No. 2, 1960), pp. 51-58.
- Miller, Walter B. "Two Concepts of Authority." American Anthropologist. Vol. 57 (No. 2, 1955), pp. 271-89.
- Opler, Morris E. "The Kinship Systems of the Southern Athabaskan-Speaking Tribes." American Anthropologist. Vol. 38, n.s. (No. 4, 1936), pp. 620-33.
- Pehrson, Robert. "Bilateral Kin-groupings as a Structural Type." Journal of East Asiatic Studies. Vol. 3 (No. 3, 1954), pp. 199-204.
- _____. "The Bilateral Network of Social Relations in Kōnkōmä Lapp District." International Journal of American Linguistics. Vol. 23 (No. 1, 1957) pp. 1-128.
- _____. "The Lappish Herding Leader: A Structural Analysis." American Anthropologist. Vol. 56 (No. 6, 1954), pp. 1076-1080.
- Pelto, Pertti. "Individualism in Skölt Lapp Society." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1960.

Sahlins, Marshall. "Book Review of Iban Agriculture." Polynesian Society Journal. Vol. 67 (No. 3, 1958), pp. 311-13.

Social Science Research Council Seminar. "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation." American Anthropologist. Vol. 56 (No. 6, 1954), pp. 973-1002.

Willmott, W. E. "The Flexibility of Eskimo Social Organization." Anthropologica. Vol. 2 (No. 1, 1960), pp. 48-59.

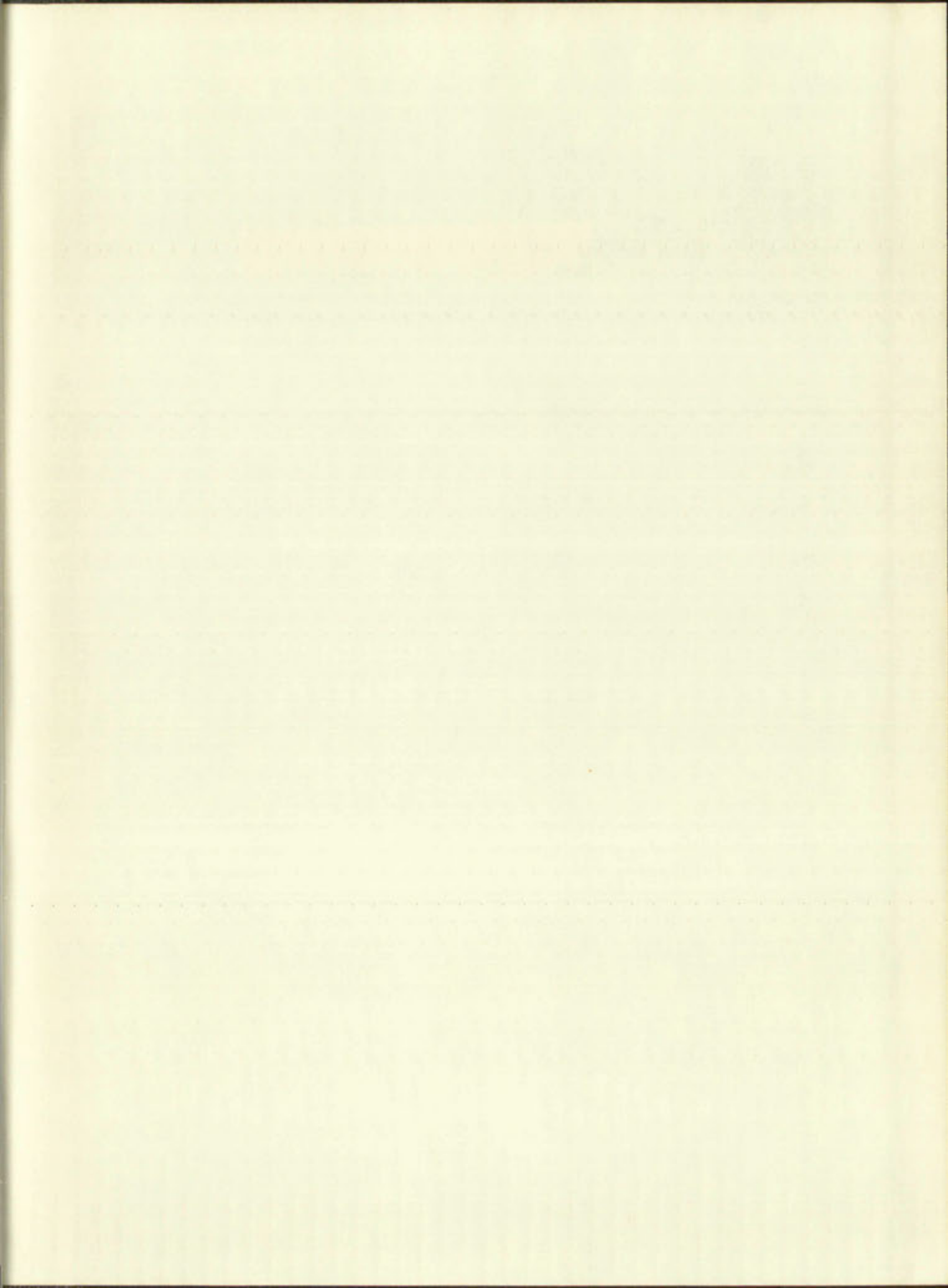


THE
GREEN
MOUNTAIN
STATE

COLLON CONTEMP
E 2 12 12 12
IN 12 12 12 12







IMPORTANT!

Special care should be taken to prevent loss or damage of this volume. If lost or damaged, it must be paid for at the current rate of typing.



