I. Problem

(a) Background.

1. In recent years many anthropologists have been devoting considerable attention to a set of problems arising out of the fact that when groups of people with different cultures come into intimate contact with one another, subsequent changes are observed in the linguistic and culture patterns of one, or both, groups. So far, much more attention has been paid to the observed results of this acculturation process than to the process itself. The latter, of course, is exceedingly complex since it involves all the various readjustments in the customs, habits, attitudes, goals and motivations of the individuals through whom the emergent cultural and linguistic patterns that arise are mediated. For if there were no personal readjustments on the part of a series of individuals there would be no subsequent changes observable in the over-all culture pattern of any group. A deeper understanding of the acculturation process, therefore, demands an approach that is psychologically, as well as culturally and linguistically oriented. Yet so far even the most general psychological aspects of acculturation have received but scanty attention. (1)

2. One key problem already has been raised by studies in the field of personality and culture. For in this area of research it has now been clearly demonstrated that there are extremely intimate relations between culture patterns and the structure and dynamics of the human personality. Consequently, one may ask whether changes in personality structure and functioning

inevitably accompany all acculturation processes, or other kinds of cultural
change. (1) In other words, are changes in the personality organization of
individuals a necessary and intrinsic part of the realignments that acculturation
implies?

If so, how closely related are personality changes and different stages
in an acculturation process? Is there sometimes a lag between the outward changes
that the anthropologist uses to evaluate stages in acculturation and the actual
degree of personality change? Is there any relation between such a lag and the
success of psychological adjustment to new conditions? When it is said that mani-
festations of anxiety may be expected in an acculturation situation, is this be-
cause of tensions set up by such a lag?

On the other hand, can acculturation take place without radical changes in
personality organization? If so, does this point to some basic similarities in
the personality structure of two peoples, that may have escaped attention because
their outward manner of life appears to be different. Such a question might well
arise in any of the great continental areas where we must assume some set of
factors which, despite cultural differences, make an African Negro more like other
Africans than American Indians, and vice versa.

Finally, there is the question of the significance which rate of accul-
turation may have with reference to personality changes. If acculturation re-
quires adjustments that demand changes in fundamental personality structure, then
this question is one of prime significance. For such changes cannot be brought
about in much less than three generations.

Up until now the descriptive-historical approach has prevailed in ac-
culturation studies. Depending upon the available data a great deal has been

(1) We are not directly concerned with these other types of cultural change here.
But see E. Fromm, Escape From Freedom, 1941 and A. Kardiner, Psychological
Frontiers of Society, 1945, chap. XIV.
written about what happened under given conditions. More dynamic studies of
the acculturation process might eventuate if satisfactory answers to such
questions as those raised above could be obtained.

3. Although anthropologists have not developed precise measures of
the degree of acculturation in one group as compared with another, nevertheless
changes in culture due to acculturation are much easier to identify than changes
in personality. Especially in cases where the source of acculturation is our
own western civilisation it is possible to make very accurate statements about
culture traits and patterns that, in some American Indian tribal group, for
instance, are attributable to this source. And in cases where the aboriginal
culture is known it is also possible to characterise one group as more or less
acculturated than another group, in terms of the degree to which they have
departed from their old manner of life and approached the patterns of western
civilisation.

The psychological aspect of the problem arises in concrete terms when
we ask whether a people who have learned to speak English, who have given up
many of their aboriginal beliefs, who no longer live in aboriginal dwellings,
who wear modern clothes, who may attend Protestant or Catholic churches, whose
children attend school, etc., have, in the process of such radical readjustments
in their outward manner of life also undergone equivalent psychological changes.

Are such people completely different from their aboriginal ancestors
or, is there some demonstrable psychological continuity which is still a factor
to be reckoned with if we seek a deeper understanding of the mainsprings of
their behavior? Another way to state the question would be to ask at what point
we find a real psychological break with the past? Once we ask such a question
it is apparent that it involves many complexities, since it is conceivable that
there may be age and sex differences involved.

4. One of the intrinsic difficulties in attacking such problems has been the necessity of obtaining the kind of psychological data that can be employed to obtain a reliable collective picture of a group of individuals considered as a whole, or segments of such a group (women, men, children), as well as data on intra-group variability.

Another difficulty has been the necessity of establishing some kind of psychological base line from which changes in personality organization can be measured. It is obvious, of course, that direct psychological observations on native peoples in their purely aboriginal stage is practically impossible in the contemporary world. However, it is possible to make observations on distinct segments of a people who originally had the same linguistic and cultural tradition, but who now stand at different levels of acculturation. In such instances the least acculturated group can be taken as a psychological base line. If it also can be assumed that there is genuine psychological continuity between such a group and the people of an aboriginal period, then a still sounder basis is established for initiating a fruitful comparison with the more acculturated group.

5. From this angle of approach the relations between acculturation and personality changes may be investigated by taking the following steps.

(a) The selection of two representative samples of a people with the same linguistic and cultural background, but also, in the chosen instances, show wide difference in level of acculturation.

(b) The collection of relevant psychological data from the chosen populations.

(c) A detailed analysis and comparison of the data secured in the less acculturated group with that obtained in the most acculturated
group, with special attention to similarities and differences in personality organization and functioning.

Assuming an adequate sample of the population of both groups, with respect to age and sex, such an analysis, systematically undertaken should reveal the similarities and differences which exist in

(1) the over-all personality picture of both groups and the range of variation in each;

(2) the similarities and differences between the adult males of both groups, and adult females of both groups and males compared with females;

(3) the children of one group as compared with the other had the developmental picture in the two groups when children at different age levels are compared.

(d) An examination of all the factors that may account for the similarities and differences.
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<tr>
<th>Berens River, Manitoba</th>
<th>Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1. Language</strong> Very few individuals speak any English. Constant need for interpreter. Of 151 Rorschach protocols obtained only 21 were secured without an interpreter. Newspapers and magazines not read, except in a few instances, as practically everyone is illiterate.</td>
<td>Very few individuals who cannot speak English (2). With two exceptions no need for interpreter. Rorschach and TAT records obtained without use of an interpreter. Even some middle aged Indians confess that they know little Ojibwa. Some attended the Government boarding school at Hayward early in this century. At this time children were punished for speaking Ojibwa. Many of the children are not even bilingual. In a large proportion of homes English is spoken, magazines and &quot;funnies&quot; read by young people.</td>
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<td><strong>2. Material culture</strong> Everyone wears moccasins: Younger men and women</td>
<td>The wearing of moccasins is unusual, except at the exhibition dances given for tourists. Even old men and women are seen wearing shoes in their own homes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Clothing all wear clothes equivalent to whites of their generation.</td>
<td>Swings for infants</td>
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<td>b. Cradle-board use in many families</td>
<td>No cradle-boards seen.</td>
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<td>c. Houses Many up-river families live in birchbark covered dwellings in summer and do all their cooking on an open fire. Wood burning stoves in log houses.</td>
<td>All families live in frame houses all the year around. Wood burning or kerosene stoves in every house.</td>
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<td>d. Radios None in possession of Indians</td>
<td>Many families have radios (and keep them turned on continuously)</td>
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<td><strong>3. Knowledge of mythological characters and myths</strong> Everyone familiar with</td>
<td>Most children do not know Ojibwa myths at all. But they are familiar with &quot;The Three Bears&quot; etc., and other stories they have heard in school.</td>
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<td><strong>4. Tobacco</strong> Men and women smoke pipes, but regular cigarette smoking is unusual.</td>
<td>Old men smoke &quot;Standard&quot; but younger men won't smoke it because they consider it a sign of being &quot;old fashioned.&quot; Younger men smoke cigarettes rather than pipes. So do girls, none of them smoke a pipe. Individuals have brand preference in cigarettes.</td>
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5. Dancing  Ceremonial and square dancing only.

6. Economic  Hunting remains the chief occupation of men and the aboriginal system of family hunting grounds survives. Furs are traded for staples like flour, tea, tobacco and articles of clothing. Very little money circulates. During the summer some men at the mouth of the river work for the commercial fishing companies. There is no tourist trade.

7. Religion  Some Indians remain unchristianised. But most of them are formally affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church or a Protestant Church. But aboriginal beliefs and ceremonies are still adhered to as well. Conjuring, e.g., is still practiced.

8. Treatment of Illness  Belief in sorcery persists as well as the idea that wrong doing is punished by illness. Confession is necessary to help promote a cure.

Young people seldom join in dances given as exhibitions even for fun. But do attend dances of a modern type given weekly at school. It is said that many of the young people do not know Indian steps.

Hunting and fishing are incidental, although in the spring muskrats are trapped. The system of hunting grounds has long since disappeared.

During the summer both men and women engage in various jobs made available by the tourist trade. About thirty women and girls work in a factory opened in 1946 for the manufacture of electrical appliances. Some men have the Reservation and work in cities for the winter. Women make and sell bead work for the tourist trade. Supplies are purchased at local stores for each.

Only a handful of individuals retain aboriginal beliefs. These center in the Sidewisin which is still carried on. Most of the Indians maintain active church affiliation, about half being Catholic and half Protestant.

There is no conjuring.

Belief in sorcery still exists and certain corresponding remedies (e.g., the sucking doctor who removes a material object from the patient).

No evidence of confession as an aid to cure.

Resident physician at the Indian agency.