CHAPTER 9

Culture Change: Transformation and Continuities

INTRODUCTION: THE SIGNS OF CHANGE

Item: In the Spring of 1978 the Select Committee on Population of the U.S. House of Representatives conducted two weeks of hearings on population and development assistance. Expert witnesses presented testimony on a broad variety of topics, among them:

- Population, North–South Relations (between developed and developing countries), and the United States' stake
- Population Growth, Poverty, and Development: U.S. Interests, Programs, and Policies
- Developing Country Perspectives on Population and Development (Mexico)
- The South View of North–South Relations
- Population Growth—Stimulus for U.S. Production and Markets
- The Need for Agricultural Expansion in Developing Countries
- World Energy Prospects
- The Impact of Development Programs on Population Dynamics (with emphasis on the roles and status of women)

Item: In Brazil, the First Assembly of Indigenous Chiefs was called together by a Catholic Missionary group at Diamantina in the state of Mato Grosso on April 17, 1974. The representative of the Tapirapé addressed the group in the following terms, as translated by the American anthropologist Charles Wagley:

The ranches are surrounding us. The (land companies] are taking away all of our land. Why did the whites want to pacify us? Afterwards what is going to happen to us in the middle of whites working for the whites who want to take away our land? Is it meant that the Indians should have nothing and to put an end to the Indians? The Tapiraguia Company wants to take all of our land. It wants to give us a small piece of bush . . . which is not worth anything. Where we plant is good forest. The whites say, "Look, the Indian is not equal to us. Let's take away their land because they do not have guns nor machine guns, nor bombs, nor money. All they have are bows and arrows and clubs. Only these are for the Indians to use . . ." (Wagley 1977:125).

Item: A psychologist has written recently about development:

Development, as a concept in the social sciences, has often been used in the popular sense of simply becoming bigger, wealthier, and, at the extreme, more like the western world. The ethnocentric usage has been dismissed by many in the past few years . . . If education is to serve the "development" of an individual, group, or nation, it must start with the present state of affairs and work toward some valued future state. Imposed educational systems that make incorrect assumptions about initial behaviour and culture or choose non-valued states as the eventual goal cannot possibly contribute to "development." Therefore an accurate description of a wide variety of traditional behaviour is required, a clear statement of individual and cultural goals must be articulated, and a programme of moving between the two must be worked out . . .

The old assumptions about "cultural deprivation" cannot survive a framework in which education is viewed as development. Groups, armed with information about their own characteristic patterns of skills, may opt for a number of goals. If they choose to build upon the strengths they already possess . . . then such "reinforcing education" is development; and if they choose to strengthen those skills which are not high in relation to other groups, then such "compensatory education" is development. (Berry 1976:225-226, 227).

Item: A travel advertisement received in the mail says:

The Orient: Thailand/ Hong Kong/ the South Pacific Islands. Imagine the Orient of your dreams. Places with the most romantic names. Places that, not so very long ago, only truly intrepid travelers ever had a chance to see. Distant places and different cultures. Silent, robed monks worshipping unknowable gods in temples of incalculable age . . . Women jostling by with great burdens balanced on their heads (How do they do that?) Children climbing, scampering, carrying on like children anywhere . . . Waves caressing a Polynesian shore. Dancers prancing under the moon to the music of hollow-log drums. This is Paradise! . . .

New Guinea. A dark and mysterious island where Stone Age tribes survive, their rituals unchanged. You'll travel . . . to see the fearsome dance of the Mud-Men, to get a feeling for the South Pacific as the First European explorers found it centuries ago. You'll relax at some of the world's grandest hotels . . . We took your dreams to the most creative people in the travel business . . . and they conjured up a stupendous trip.

These four items, picked virtually at random from a variety of sources, allow us a glance at some of the many aspects of the dramatic social and cultural changes that are going on all around us. For example, development assistance is a major issue in the foreign policy of the United States. Public hearings by . . .
Congressional Committees, where numerous expert witnesses are questioned, serve not only to provide information for legislators but also to educate the public on matters of concern. In the titles of these hearings we see that development is perceived as related to population growth, and both are considered to have implications for the U.S. economy: its production, its markets, its raw materials, and its energy supply. The United States, like other industrial countries, has sought for many years to influence development in countries that are variously called “underdeveloped,” “developing,” or more recently, “South.” The Agency for International Development (AID) and the Peace Corps probably stand for “development” in the minds of most Americans, but there are a variety of other ways in which direct aid from the United States—including weapons, technical experts, and money—has had a major impact on the countries of the South.

Brazil is a major “developing” country that currently is experiencing rapid economic growth and social and economic dislocations associated with that growth. The Tapirapé are one of a number of small tribes of Brazilian Indians. In the 1940s they almost died out when their total population dropped to forty-seven persons. Unlike many other such tribes, however, they have come back from the brink of extinction as a result of the efforts of Catholic missionaries, so that in 1976 they numbered 130 people. Yet the Tapirapé, and others like them, are in the path of the last great land boom in the interior of Brazil. S. H. Davis (1977) has called the Indians “victims of the miracle” of the economic development of the Amazon region. The expansion that now is taking place involves both Brazilian and multinational companies who are seeking to bring land under intensive cultivation, raise livestock, exploit timber resources, and so on. For example, Georgia Pacific Company was granted a concession of 1,250,000 acres by the Brazilian government. To exploit their vast holdings, these companies import laborers from other parts of the country, so that a great movement of people is taking place.

Moreover, the Indians are not the only ones facing difficulties in the current situation. As Charles Wagley has noted:

The Brazilian Indian problem is basically a political problem. The future of the remaining tribes depends upon political decisions and political support ... Given the enormous problems which Brazil as a nation faces today, among them illiteracy, transportation, sources of energy, the sprawl of great cities, the production of basic foodstuffs, and the unequal distribution of income between the poverty stricken, and the middle and upper classes, it is doubtful whether the Brazilian government will give the Indian cause the support it deserves (Wagley 1977:303-304).

The Tapirapé are aware of some of the difficulties and dilemmas. They know that some Brazilians are worse off than they. They have begun to learn Portuguese and to acquire some of the skills of a modern society. When we look at the situation of the Brazilian Indians, it is clear that Berry’s concept of development is not being applied. The ends are not those of the people themselves, but are established by larger historical, economic, and social forces.

Indeed, the decimation and reduction of the Brazilian Indian population reported in the world press in recent years represents only the last act in a drama begun in the 1500s. Clearly, only in the minority of cases is there likely to be a situation in which “a clear statement of individual and cultural goals [is] articulated.”

Finally, what is one to say of a situation in which “traditional culture” and “underdevelopment” become the exotic attractions offered to tourists from the industrialized countries by “the most creative people in the travel business”? Tourism not only despoils the very attractions it seeks to present, it is also a singularly hazardous form of “development,” for it provides few new skills and goods to the people. Indeed, it may create a situation in which the “natives” who are employed by the tourist enterprises are seen as servants, and those who are not face the inflation that results from the influx of the money the tourists spend. At the same time, contrary to the illusions of many travelers, no understanding of traditional cultures is brought about, nor meaningful cultural exchanges, nor better relationships. For instance, tourists may be offered a theatrical version of rituals, which are emptied of traditional meanings, for the sacred is not acted out on cue for a foreign audience.

Implications for Psychological Anthropology. Psychological processes of all kinds are involved in sociocultural change, both as causes and as effects. Innovations that are introduced into a society require learning of the new and often also some unlearning of old ways. If learning is to be effective, there must be motivation, and often the motivation for learning the new ways is rooted in the traditional society. Transformations of culture and society, whether resulting from contacts among societies or from innovations arising within a society, may bring about significant and often dramatic changes in the attitudes and behaviors of individuals. They may also involve modifications in people’s sense of identity. Cultural transformations of the type illustrated in our examples undoubtedly create stresses of various kinds. Yet they also may bring opportunities, for some individuals, for the greater development of their potentials and greater expression of their personal qualities.

In this chapter we take a closer look at the psychological processes that are involved in sociocultural change, both as causes and as effects. The subject of social, cultural, and psychological change has appeared over and over again in this book. We have referred to it in a variety of contexts. Let us reconsider some of the topics that we explored earlier from the special perspective of this chapter.

CULTURAL EVOLUTION AND INNOVATION

In Chapter 2 we discussed the psychological evolution of humanity and the emergence of culture. We saw that culture was made possible by the growth of a capacity for culture, which included the potential for complex learning, for the development of language, and more generally, for the symbolic transformation
of experience. Hockett and Ascher (1964) referred to this radical and dramatic series of modifications as the "human revolution."

In seeking to understand our uniquely human manner of living, anthropologists often have placed great stress on the observation that culture is learned. Perhaps even more important is the fact that what is learned has first to be discovered or invented by someone and then to be transmitted to and shared by others. Every item in our cultural repertory is built on an initial act of innovation and then on a series of modifications in the course of time. Here it is interesting to realize that very early in the development of culture those artifacts that are related to the basic practical aspects of living, such as tools and weapons, reflect only a portion of the total culture.

Like utilitarian culture, symbolic cultures has very ancient roots. Alexander Marshak (1976) has analyzed an engraved ox rib found by the French prehistorian François Bordes. It dates from Acheulian times, some 300,000 years ago. The individual who made markings on this piece of bone lived in France before our species existed. Marshak describes the designs as "a series of connected festooned double arcs" forming a type of serpentine image. In later Mousterian artifacts he finds not one but a variety of symbol systems in different types of symbolic artifacts, including pendants and carved plaques with characteristic design patterns. These symbols reveal the existence of a complex cognitive capacity together with an ability for abstracting, for creating models, and for making objects that are quite different from those used in practical pursuits. Also, they required skills distinct from those needed to make tools for hunting or gathering, for butchering or building, and so on. The symbolic artifacts were nonutilitarian; that is, they were evidently not directly applied to practical ends. They may well have had symbolic significance and ritual uses meant to further economic activities, human health, or human and animal fertility. If so, they were applied to practical ends in what appear from our own perspective to be indirect ways.

The nonutilitarian, symbolic artifacts of the Upper Paleolithic reveal early evidence both of magico-religious practices and of art. The artistic value of these objects is evident in the great skill needed to produce them, in the splendid observation of nature they reveal, and in the striking transpositions of this observation that they exhibit. The magico-religious uses of these artifacts, however, can only be inferred from our knowledge of how such objects are used among recent ethnographic groups, or more ancient ones of whose actions and beliefs we have documented accounts.

Great creative capacity and innovative vision are shown in these ancient symbolic artifacts. Yet in focusing on cultural change we must not lose sight of the important elements of tradition and continuity. Marshak points out, for example, that serpentine designs represented a durable design tradition throughout the Upper Paleolithic, a tradition practiced by many generations of artists.

In considering the evolution of culture in our earlier discussion we stressed the differences between the ways of life of small bands of hunter-gatherers and those of larger populations who raise crops and domesticated animals. Contrasts between groups at these different levels of subsistence economy and sociocultural complexity involve not only differences in livelihood and group organization but also in child-training practices, typical personalities, and certain characteristic aspects of the culturally constituted behavioral environments. In our earlier review of these materials we were concerned with establishing contrasts among types of contemporary groups. Essentially, we drew a set of static pictures, because we did not ask one crucial question: how can we account for the change from one level to another?

Prehistorians do not, as a rule, study culture change as a psychological problem. They do not have access to the kind of evidence that would allow them to do so. Yet it is clear that in each instance some individual man or woman did something new. Someone accidentally discovered the possibility of doing something differently, and then—and this step is crucial—exploited and built on this discovery. Or else someone experimented, by trial and error, finding new ways of doing tasks that had to be done.

In other words, to get from the state in the prehistory of humanity when all groups were foragers to the stage in which some moved on to other types of ecological adaptations, we must deal with the cognitive processes that are involved in innovations. These processes include discovery and invention, learning and borrowing, and acceptance, or rejection of newly introduced deviations from old ways. Anthropologists studying modern groups have given some attention to this subject, but the earliest and most significant innovations have not been available to us for direct investigation. For example, virtually all species of plants that are cultivated at present and all animal species that are raised now were domesticated a very long time ago. Although new breeds and strains have been developed, additional wild species have been domesticated. At present, we are able to study how additional groups of foragers take over patterns of horticulture or pastoralism, or how they resist such transformations. We are not able to study the old discoveries being made anew. That is to say, we know more about the circumstances involved in adopting new ways by acquiring them from other societies, than about how the original dramatic innovations took place.

However, we may be sure that among the significant elements were cognitive processes that concerned the application of familiar knowledge to new situations. It is then not surprising to think that the simplest horticulture was, as it is often now, in the hands of women, for as gatherers women acquired detailed and important knowledge of plants, which could be used in modifying the conditions under which root plants, for example, could be propagated. On the other hand, it is also to be expected that men are everywhere involved in working with large animals, for as hunters they acquired knowledge that could be useful in the domestication of the animals.

The subject of early innovations has received serious consideration by scholars other than prehistorians. The French cultural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, in his book *La Pensée Sauvage* (1962), translated into English as *The Savage Mind*, distinguished two forms of human thought: a "wild" or "`
ticated" form, which is primary in all human beings, and a "domesticated" or civilized form, which is the special product of civilization and which has given rise to science. This form is secondary, and, in a sense, artificial. It is also quite recent. The radical innovations of the Neolithic, for example, must be understood as resulting from the workings of the primary or "wild" form of thought. As Lévi-Strauss points out, the many specific inventions of that age are still basic to our own way of life. They involved transforming wild plants into cultivated varieties, wild animals into domesticated breeds, clays into pottery, and countless other highly technical innovations. The inventions and discoveries that made such transformations possible required a particular series of psychological characteristics, among which he lists the following:

A truly scientific attitude, an assiduous and always wide awake curiosity, an appetite for knowledge for the pleasure of knowledge, since only a small fraction of observations and experiments (of which we must suppose that they were inspired first and foremost by a taste for knowledge) could give practical and immediately useful results (Lévi-Strauss 1962:23, translated by Bourguignon).

Such an attitude is still the basis of contemporary folk knowledge, including folk remedies for human and animal ailments, the observations of hunters (as we saw among the !Kung), and the traditional skills of generations of mothers, cooks, handymen, and artisans. (Jacks-of-all-trades are called bricoleurs in French, and this term has come to be associated with Lévi-Strauss' "wild" variety of thought). Although, then, this "wild" approach permits innovations, it is also linked to a good deal of traditionalism and conservatism, for innovation involves risk, and only under certain circumstances can societies, as well as individuals, afford to take risks.

The contrast between the "wild" and "domesticated" mind points to important differences between two types of thought, but an approach that stresses oppositions does not help us to understand how the one could have evolved from the other. The British social anthropologist Jack Goody, in The Domestication of the Savage Mind (1977), attempts to do precisely that. He argues that to understand contrasting types of thought it is necessary to consider differences in the means of thought and of communication. For Goody, the crucial change that led to a transformation of thinking was the development of writing and literacy. He goes on to remark that " 'Traditional' societies are marked not so much by an absence of reflective thinking as by the absence of the proper tools for constructive rumination" (Goody 1977:44). Goody sums up his argument with the statement that writing

courages special forms of linguistic activity associated with developments of particular kinds of problem-raising and problem-solving, in which the list, the formula and the table played a seminal part. If we wish to speak of the "savage mind," these were some of the instruments of its transformation (Goody 1977:162).

PERCEPTION, COGNITION, AND CULTURE CHANGE

Much of the literature we reviewed in Chapter 6 deals with differences between traditional and Western or westernized, groups. This literature includes a broad range of investigations, and concerns such diverse matters as color sorting and color vocabularies, field dependence and field independence, susceptibility to optical illusions, and so on. In this connection some researchers, for example G. Jahoda, have pointed to the advantage that subjects have who are literate and who have acquired familiarity with graphic representations.

One example we did not discuss in detail earlier refers to differences in depth perception. Following up a number of earlier studies, Kilbride and Robbins (1969) tested several groups of people among the Baganda of Uganda. Subjects were presented with drawings, which they were asked to interpret. Both urban individuals and somewhat acculturated rural people were found to make a larger number of correct identifications than traditional, rural individuals, that is, they were more likely to use cues to depth in pictorial representations. The process of acculturation, in other words, includes a new-found skill in interpreting two-dimensional representations of three-dimensional objects. A survey of the new urban or urbanized environment will show quickly how widespread graphic
representations are in this setting, ranging from signs and billboards to movies, and from labels to tracts and newspapers. Under these circumstances the new skills have strong survival value in what is, in fact, a new culturally constituted behavioral environment. Literally, this new world looks different to the acculturated Baganda than to his traditional brother.

If Wober is correct and we may indeed speak of different sensotypes in accounting for the differences in the perceptual skills of human groups, then westernization, or acculturation to a Western life style, appears to require, or to bring with it, a modification of sensotypes for many of the peoples of the world. This transformation takes place, as Goody argues, by means of the introduction of new modes of communication, especially literacy and other forms of graphic representation, such as drawings, photographs, films, and television programs. Schooling plays a major role here. These new modes of communication also bring about changes in interpersonal and intergroup relations. For example, it is now possible for a man who leaves his village to remain in touch with his relatives by means of letters; he is no longer lost to his community, perhaps suddenly to reappear at some distant point in time. Relations with the past and, potentially, with the future are also modified. Consequently, altered conceptions concerning distances in space and time are brought about by the new means of communication.

Part of the process of westernization or modernization involves the learning of new information and new skills. Moreover, as individuals acquire new ideas they must find ways of coming to terms with them, either integrating them into their existing world picture or reworking their world picture to accommodate them. In the process, they may modify the new material, or both the old and the new, in order to arrive at some coherent behavioral environment. M. J. Herskovits (1948) has referred to the cognitive processes involved here as retention, reinterpretation, and syncretism. Retention involves the maintenance of an old cultural trait or pattern, such as an object, religious belief, or practice, in a new cultural context. For example, the type of house found in rural Haiti is identical with that seen in many parts of the West African countryside. Reinterpretation, however, involves a transformation of some kind.

Let us consider, for instance, what happened when people from a number of different West African societies were brought to many parts of the Americas as slaves. In Haiti, they quickly were taught some rudiments of Catholicism. They were able to make sense of these new teachings only in terms of what they already knew, their own traditional beliefs and rituals: Thus, they interpreted or reinterpreted baptism as a kind of protective rite. On the other hand, African gods and Catholic saints were identified with each other or "syncretized." Because St. Patrick was said to have chased the snakes out of Ireland, he was thought to be associated with snakes and therefore identified with the Dahomean snake spirit, Damballah; because St. James the Elder was said to be a great warrior, he was identified with Ogun, the warrior spirit of the Yoruba; and so a great number of other spirit entities were paired with saints. From the contributions of the two religious traditions, those of West Africa and those of Europe, there arose the hybrid religion of Haitian vodou. A similar process occurred in other parts of the Americas, in Cuba, and Jamaica, Trinidad, and various parts of Brazil. On the other hand, Europeans, who observed these emergent religions, interpreted them in the light of their own tradition and saw in them the work of the Devil. For instance, the French eighteenth century missionary Father Labat (1724) describes some cases of Afro-American spirit possession trance that he observed on the Caribbean island of Martinique. He tells us not what he saw, however, but what he thought he saw, with the observations filtered through his own culturally conditioned perceptions: these people, he says, are so fearful of the Devil that when he appears to them they fall into convulsions like epileptics. Clearly, understanding among people of different cultural backgrounds is severely handicapped.

DIFFUSION AND ACCULTURATION: TRANSFORMATIONS OF OBJECTS AND IDEAS

Innovations consist to a large extent of transformations of preexisting objects, practices, or ideas. They are either elaborations or modifications of materials available within a given cultural tradition or, perhaps more frequently, modifications of cultural elements acquired through contact with other groups. This fact has long been known to anthropologists, and it has frequently been rediscovered.

Boys looking for work in a Peruvian market center. Children who must work have little time for school.
Peruvian Indian women in their characteristic brightly colored wool skirts and hats. Their clothing shows cultural diffusion of styles. On the church steps.

Shopping for cloth.

For example, Edward Sapir pointed out as long ago as 1916 that, "properly speaking, no [cultural] element originates at a specific point in time, but is imperceptibly connected by a process of gradual change, with another element or with other elements lying back of it" (Sapir 1949 [orig. 1916]:413). He notes, furthermore, a matter of great psychological relevance: when groups borrow from each other, cultural elements vary in what he terms their "conceptual detachability." For example, the maximum detachability might be found in a tool or implement; the detachability of a myth plot might be greater than that of the ideological system of which it is a part, and so on. Cultural elements that are thus separated from their traditional context will acquire new meanings and significance when they are embedded within a new context. That is to say, in psychological terms, they will be "understood" differently.

We may illustrate such transformations at the simplest level, that of material objects. For instance, Indian women of the Andean highlands wear long full woolen skirts in bright colors, which were introduced by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. They also wear felt hats, worn in Europe by men, introduced in the nineteenth century. However, such borrowing with transformation is a two-way street, for these Indians were also taught to knit, and among the things they make are white knit dance masks that are used to satirize Europeans. These woolen masks, with slight modifications, have been introduced into the United States as a commercial item; they are sold as ski masks!

Under certain circumstances, however, the object that moves from one society to another is modified less than the society itself. In a well-known and frequently cited and reprinted paper, Lauriston Sharp (1974 [orig. 1952]) traced the radical effects of the introduction of steel axes on the lives of the Yir Yoront of Northern Australia. Among other effects, as a result of the indiscriminate handing out of steel axes by missionaries to one and all, women as well as men, the relations between men and women were modified, as were those among traditional male trading partners through whom stone axes formerly had been acquired. Alfred Metraux (1959b), in a paper entitled "The Revolution of the Ax," has shown how equally drastic changes were brought about by this one tool in a number of the world's other traditional nonmetallurgical societies. Because a culture is a system of interrelated parts, modifications in technology have repercussions in psychology, in such areas as interpersonal relations, self-respect and self-perception, value systems, and motivation.

Material objects, however, are only one aspect of innovation and the transformations that are associated with it. We considered the modification of Christian elements in contact with African cultural features earlier, when we spoke of Haitian vodou and similar Afro-American religions. Let us take a closer look at what has happened to some of the African elements that were maintained in Haiti. Remember that this situation has peculiar features: whereas many tribal peoples were exposed to European influences in their own countries, Afro-Americans are descendants of people who were uprooted from their homelands and transported thousands of miles away, under the harshest conditions of slavery. There they
were brought together not only with European masters, but also with Africans from other tribal groups, with different languages and variant cultural traditions. Nevertheless, a remarkable number of the African ways survived. In Haiti, they survived in aspects of the language, in the types of houses built in the countryside, and in the music, but foremost in the religious beliefs and practices.

Unlike Cuba and Brazil, for example, where the slave trade continued until close to the end of the nineteenth century, Haiti became independent in 1804, and its contacts with Africa, as well as Europe, were broken off at that time. Among the changes we find in the Haitian religious tradition is that, compared with West Africa, there are few myths. That is, few full-length stories are told about spirits, their history, their exploits, about the origins of the world and of things as they are today, and so on. The spirits are known primarily through their behavior during rituals, when they are invited to appear and to possess individuals among the faithful. Each spirit has one or more names, a particular type of clothing, music, dance steps, and tastes in food and drink, as well as various special powers and interests. When we compare the names and attributes of the spirits of Haitian vodou with those of their West African counterparts, we see what changes have taken place in the ways in which the spirits are conceived and in the roles they play.

One of the most powerful spirits, both in Haiti and in Dahomey (West Africa), is Legba. In Africa he is the seventh and youngest son of Mawu-Lisa, the androgynous creator spirit. As the youngest, he is said to be the spoiled child. He is both a divine trickster and the messenger of the gods. Because he is a trickster, he sometimes gets the messages mixed up. Because of his special position, humans must address him first when they wish to speak to the gods. Legba also has strong sexual associations: persons possessed by this spirit dance with a large wooden phallus and mime intercourse with female bystanders during their dance.

In Haiti, too, Legba is a very important spirit. There, also, he must be approached before any of the other spirits can be called. Worshippers sing a song in which they ask, "Legba, open the gate for me!"—that is, open the gate so that the other spirits may come. However, he is no longer the youngest of the spirits, and he no longer dances with a wooden phallus. Instead, he is a very old man who hobbles about, and though he has a wooden stick, it is a crutch. As Alfred Métraux (1959a:360) has put it: "out of this most potent of the gods the Vodouisants have made an impotent old man who walks on crutches."

We cannot understand this drastic transformation if we look at Legba in isolation. In Haiti, the role of the phallic trickster still exists, but it now is found in a different context. It has been taken over by a spirit, or indeed a group of spirits, called Gédé. This name also exists in Dahomey, but there it refers to the mythical first ancestor of the people who originally lived at the place that later became the capital of the kingdom of Dahomey. In Dahomean mythology and ritual, however, Gédé does not play a significant role. The Gédé spirits in Haiti are associated with both fertility and death, with childbirth, with magic, and with means of warding off magic. They are represented as disreputable and poor, indeed the poorest of all. They live in the cemetery, and the dead are, in some sense, under their control.

It is tempting to speculate on the differences the beliefs about these spirits have undergone, and how they reveal what has happened to the people. Why is it that the young, spoiled child of the creator has become a lame old man? Why is death now linked so closely with fertility? And why is the trickster now a corpse and the representative of the poor?

To approach any understanding of these transformations we must remember that beliefs and rituals can be understood only within the total cultural and societal context, certain aspects of which they represent in symbolic terms. We must look at other gods, not only Legba and Gédé, and we must look at the society in which the beliefs and rituals function.

Some features of the changes are clearer. For example, there is no trace in Haitian belief of Mawu-Lisa, the androgynous Dahomean creator. At the head of the universe, as the Haitians see it, is Bon Dieu, the Christian God, of whom the missionaries speak, and who has little relationship to the African spirits, although they too are known by Christian names. Legba may be represented by St. Lazarus, who walks on crutches, or St. Anthony the Hermit, who is an old man. Gédé may be linked to a female saint, St. Radegonde, and all the spirits of the Gédé group are said to be the godchildren of St. Brigitte. Because Gédé is both death and the dead, his feast day is All Saint's Day (November 1) and the day before, which we know as Halloween. Gédé impersonators dress in black frock coats and stovepipe or bowler hats, and wear dark glasses, to cover the eyeless sockets of the dead. Their appearance parodies that of the wealthy. In the marketplace, they demand food and money, in a variation of what we recognize as "trick or treat." They joke and behave in a provocative, rude, and lewd manner.

Vodou, then, accommodates both Christian ideas, and African ideas from numerous tribal backgrounds. For example, earlier we saw a reference to Ibo-Léde of Ibo origin; Ogou, the Haitian god of war, is of Yoruba origin, and so on. There are also a number of Haitian spirits who are of local origin and who belong to a group called Péро. Legba has a Péro counterpart, called Carrefour, who is in charge of the crossroads, which are dangerous places, and who presides over powerful magic.

In part, then, vodou integrates European, African, and local elements. On the other hand, there is also a reflection in vodou of Haitian social reality. The major gods, such as Legba, Ogou, and many others are seen not only as powerful gods, but also in some sense, as similar to powerful people within human society. They may be light in skin color, have "good"—that is, non-negroid—hair, speak French, and have expensive tastes. Gédé, on the other hand, speaks the native Créole, drinks cheap liquor, eats from a gourd dish, is rough and vulgar in his
Catholic religious procession in a Peruvian Indian village, a tradition brought by the Spaniards: Men carry a statue and paper flowers through the village streets.

Women, children, and men crowd about the man who carries the image of the child Jesus.

HOW PERSONALITY AFFECTS CULTURE CHANGE

Robert LeVine (1976) has attempted to sketch a picture of personality characteristics typical of the agricultural peoples of sub-Saharan Africa and to show how these personality features are relevant to the adaptations Africans make to social and cultural change.

LeVine bases his discussion on three claims. First he claims that in spite of the diversity of local and regional cultures, societies throughout the African continent share a common “profile” of characteristics. Second, this common profile of cultural characteristics makes it possible to establish a generalized picture of certain common traits in African personality, because cultural rules become psychologically relevant when they reveal what kinds of behaviors and expectations people are “comfortable” with. That is, expectations that might appear stressful in our own society might seem appropriate to Africans. Our rules of behavior, to the contrary, might put them under stress. Third, LeVine claims that preexisting personality trends predispose the ways in which people respond to change.

LeVine lists seven psychologically relevant societal characteristics: social distance between persons of different age and sex; age and sex hierarchy; emphasis on material transactions in interpersonal relationships; functional diffuseness of authority relations; the tendency to blame and fear others when under stress; the relative absence of separation anxiety and related affects; and concreteness of thought. He shows how these characteristics have played important roles in the adaptations Africans have made to certain aspects of social change. For example, primary group relations are formal and structured by social distance between persons of different age and sex, so there is little of what we might call “closeness” between parents and children and between husbands and wives. Consequently
there is little separation anxiety when men go off to cities to work for prolonged periods of time, or when boys and young men go away to school. These absences have been accepted as reasonably tolerable and have caused relatively little family disruption, particularly when they have been accompanied by the fulfillment of traditional material obligations among kin. As LeVine states, “Families do not have to be residually intact in order to remain socially and psychologically real for their members” (1976:132). Moreover, because material transactions have been traditionally important to the fulfillment of social roles, LeVine argues, Africans have responded positively to economic incentives. Also, intergenerational differences in degree of acculturation have not been disruptive as they have been in many parts of the world, because the social distance that exists among members of different generations has made agreement on values and life-styles not a primary requirement for family harmony and cohesiveness; what matters a great deal more is that material obligations be met and deference to elders be offered. On the other hand, the stresses that have been caused by economic, cultural, and social change have led to increases in accusations of witchcraft and magical beliefs, consistent with the traditional tendency to blame and fear others when under stress. Finally, concrete patterns of thought have represented an obstacle to the success of Western schooling.

In this interesting discussion, LeVine omits two important psychocultural features that are widely characteristic of sub-Saharan Africa and that have had important repercussions among Afro-Americans: the widespread possession trance pattern and certain aspects of the position of women. Both of these features are relevant to change in Africa as well. We shall take a brief look at some examples.

Peter Fry, in his book Spirits of Protest (1976), reports on spirit mediumship among the Zezuru of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) among whom he worked in the 1960s. Here, as in many parts of Africa, spirit mediums play a significant role. They are possessed, at formal séances, by spirits of ancestors and ancient heroes, who reveal causes of illness, perform cures, and most importantly, identify witches. Historically, spirit mediumship in this area has had important connections with the political situation. Shortly after the arrival of the British, in the 1890s, the mediums supported and directed a rebellion. When it was defeated, the mediums lost much of their prestige, and the way was opened for the Christian missions. The rise of African political nationalism in the 1960s, which was accompanied by a rise in cultural nationalism, also involved an increasing rejection of Christianity. According to Fry, there was great popular optimism at that time concerning the imminent coming of majority rule in Rhodesia, this hope is not: manifested by “the spontaneous emergence of new spirit mediums” (p. 120). However, when African political parties were banned and when Ian Smith declared the independence of Rhodesia from Britain, a great reaction set in. Africans started to look for “sell-outs,” who were suspected of taking sides with the whites. This response was not all: now witches were being searched out and accusations were being made against them. Fry comments,

It seems that the battle with witchcraft was an attempt to control a situation which had got out of control; the conflict between white and black had been transmuted into a conflict between the ancestors and witchcraft (Fry 1976:121).

The ancestors here were represented by the spirit mediums, through whom they spoke. Fry goes on to say: “Now that political activity had been effectively repressed religion remained as an outlet for pent up hostilities generated by the colonial situation” (Fry 1976:122).

Spirit mediumship is an old institution, and as we have seen, it is widespread in Africa. It has taken on a variety of forms and has played important roles in numerous situations. Its use in a modern political situation is an indication of its viability and adaptability. Moreover, it has a significant psychological dimension: it taps the capacity for possession trance; it allows a supposed communication with ancestors, thus stressing continuity; it channels hostilities. We also see here the importance of a feature observed by LeVine: in a period of crisis, blame and fear are directed at others, and the witch and the “sell-out” are the perfect targets. Fry also notes that about half the spirit mediums he encountered were women, which points to the important religious, and in this case also political, role of African women.

In spite of their long separation from Africa in time and space, Afro-Americans have maintained a significant number of the psychocultural features LeVine lists. For Haiti, we may note the social distance among generations, and the deference offered by the young to the old. Material obligations play a crucial role in interpersonal relations, and even in relations with supernaturals, the material is of primary significance. For example, ancestors and other spirits must be fed, and those who do so acquire some degree of power over them in this manner. The tendency to assign blame to others and to fear them, in situations of stress, is evident in a great concern with witchcraft and sorcery, zombis and werewolves, and other such powerful nefarious beings. Vodou represents a clear continuation of African possession trance cults; it uses and encourages the traditional psychological capacity to experience possession trance. It shows the great role of women in such cults, to whom it also offers visible significant leadership roles. As the dominant force in the retail trade, women lead independent and self-reliant lives, for the money they earn is their own and they decide how to utilize it. This fact, too, represents a continuity of African—especially West African—patterns.

There are significant class differences in Haiti, which apply to the role of the African heritage, as to everything else in the economic, social, and cultural life of the society. As we say earlier (p. 184), Western-educated upper-class individuals, unlike the poor, are strongly aware of the multiple sources of the country’s heritage. For many individuals this represents a source of conflict; we have referred to this difficulty as “socialized ambivalence.” Such ambivalence is not unique to Haiti, however, but affects westernized individuals in many parts of the world, because they must make choices among their multiple traditions.
HOW CULTURE CHANGE AFFECTS PERSONALITY

LeVine, as we have seen, presents an analysis of an African culture profile and draws a picture of African personality from it. He then asks how the personality traits that he infers have affected the adaptations Africans have made under circumstances of social and cultural change. This approach is only one of several psychocultural perspectives on the study of change.

Another approach asks how the typical personality of a group has been affected by change, rather than how it has affected the reaction to change. We touched on this subject briefly in Chapter 5, when we discussed methods for assessing adult personalities typical of certain cultural groups. We reported there that Hallowell (1974 [orig. 1951]) had compared three levels of acculturation among Ojibwa (or Chippewa) Indians at different localities, using the Rorschach test for this purpose. He found clear psychological differences in the composite psychological portraits of the people at each of these three levels. Yet he also found evidence of continuities in the personality structure among the three levels. For example, at Level 2, he found that important readjustments in personality had taken place as a result of the new situation, and he suggested that such positive readjustments had been possible because economic and social change in this area had taken place relatively slowly, over an extended period of time. On the other hand, at Level 3, among the most "Americanized" of these Ojibwa, there remained little of the old way of life. Hardly anyone spoke the old language, and there was much psychological maladjustment to be seen in the Rorschach test and in the behavioral data that we were able to obtain. Level 3 is the group to which my informant Nelly belongs, whose life history I cited in Chapter 5. The Rorschach findings indicated that the elements of the old personality structure that remained in this group were not functional and did not permit the people to cope with the new situation. Specifically, children were brought up to be independent, in a way that befitted the old hunting way of life and that did not facilitate the type of cooperation necessary for life in the settled community on the reservation. Hallowell speaks of the typical personality structure of this group as showing a "kind of frustration of maturity" (Hallowell 1974 [orig. 1951]:352).

Adaptive Strategies

Hallowell, as we have seen, presented a single personality picture for each of the levels of acculturation he studied among the Ojibwa (or Chippewa) Indians. These pictures are, in fact, composites made up of test scores and interview materials. In this way, we see the predominant type that characterized each of the separate local groups. The differences between them are explained by the history of acculturation at each location and its impact on the people.

In their long-term study of another group of American Indians, the Menomini of Wisconsin, George and Louise Spindler found a highly differentiated population living on the reservation. Using sociocultural and economic criteria, they were able to identify five different groups or "acculturative categories" during the research period between 1948 and 1961 (G. D. Spindler 1955, L. S. Spindler 1962, G. D. Spindler and L. S. Spindler 1971). The five categories are: a native-oriented group; the Peyotists; transitional; and the acculturated people, divided by occupation into an elite and a low-status group. These five groups also occupy somewhat different positions on the economic ladder. During the period under discussion the native-oriented group maintained traditional religious rituals and many of the ways of the past. The Peyotists, members of the Native American Church, practiced a syncretic religion that combined many Christian and native elements, in addition to the use of the hallucinogen, peyote. In spite of the religious differences between them and the native-oriented group, and the antagonisms that derive from these differences, in many aspects of their culture the Peyotists were similar to the native-oriented. The transitional, on the other hand, were a heterogeneous category of people. For the most part, they had a traditional background but were moving toward non-Menomini society, and in many ways they resembled "poor whites" in their life-style. The acculturated people were a great deal more like the surrounding whites, of either the working class or middle class. As Louise Spindler (1977:80) puts it:

The life styles within these five sociocultural categories must be seen as coping strategies— as ways of getting along in a conflicted world. These coping strategies are changing as the world changes.

Figure 4

ACCULTURATIVE CATEGORIES. (FROM GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER, DREAMERS WITHOUT POWER. COPYRIGHT 1971 BY Holt, Rinehart and Winston, P. 5).
It is interesting that in psychological terms the five types of people are as different as they are in sociocultural characteristics. The greatest psychological differences, as might be expected, are to be found between those groups whose sociocultural systems are least alike, the native-oriented Menomini at one extreme and the elite acculturated at the other. The competitive, achievement oriented, self-gratifying behavior that is so highly valued in the dominant U.S. culture was tabooed and deviant in the past, among the traditional Menomini. Moreover, as Louise Spindler has shown (1970), it was punished by witchcraft, a sanction wielded by respected and powerful elders. The Spindlers conclude that, psychologically, "the adaptive strategy of the elites has made them like Whites" (Spindler and Spindler 1971:187). They add: "It is a commentary on the Whiteman cultural system that in order to 'make it,' the Menomini had to become like Whites . . ." (p. 189).

The Spindlers' work among the Menomini is important for their findings, their research methods, and the shift in their theoretical stance. Among the findings, there is the confirmation of a linkage between cultural and psychological change that was reported by Hallowell, whose influence the Spindlers acknowledge. The fact that it was possible to identify five major sociocultural and psychological groupings in a single reservation community constituted a genuine discovery. Clearly, the impact of white culture was not the same on all the people on the reservation.

Here a further important research result must be mentioned: Louise Spindler (1962) found that significant differences exist between the adaptations of men and women, in each of the five categories. Women experience less conflict and turmoil in the acculturation process than men do, as shown in life history interviews and test data. Combining the data for men and women distorts the picture. The Rorschach data for the Menomini also reveal this difference (Spindler and Spindler 1967). Because women continue to play traditional roles to a much greater extent than men, their roles and values are much less directly challenged by the acculturation process. In contrast, the men must, to a significantly greater extent, acquire new skills and new value orientations. Moreover, among the Menomini, even under traditional conditions, the roles of women were much more flexible than those of men. As a result, in the new situation they experienced much greater continuity in the expectations placed on them than was true for the men. This situation in turn often has resulted in a difference in degree of acculturation among spouses, which has heightened the conflicts experienced by the men.

The discovery of important sex differences in the acculturational experience of the Menomini helped the Spindlers to understand, if not to anticipate, an event that occurred in 1974. At that time, "a group of women . . . gained control of most of the leadership positions in the newly created reservation" (L. S. Spindler 1977:108). The Menomini reservation had been "terminated" by the federal government in 1961, but as a result of a long struggle, which was headed by a vigorous, well-educated woman, the community was given reservation status again in 1974. This woman, once elected chairperson of an important governing committee, appointed other women to key positions. L. Spindler suggests that the flexible role structure and the egalitarianism of the traditional society was conducive to, or provided the "conducive base" for, the modern development.

One of the implications of these findings is that, when we look at the psychological consequences of cultural and social change, we must ask more specifically: consequences for whom? There may be no reason to believe that the impact will be the same for all members of a community, and there is every reason to think that there will be differences for men and women. Another implication is that it is possible for more than one type of adaptation to exist in a given community. It may also be, as seems to be the case among the Menomini, that more than one type may be "successful," that is, not maladjusted. In the 1950s the acculturated and the native-oriented appear to have made the most successful adjustments. The transitionalis seem to have had the greatest difficulties. It is interesting that in some respects the transitionalis appear to resemble the dominant type found among the Lac du Flambeau Chippewa in 1946.

Considering the five acculturative categories as "coping strategies" means viewing the behaviors of the people not as the results of forces impinging on them, but as due to choices and decisions made by individuals who are confronted with practical problems. Louise Spindler (1978) has traced the evolution of this theoretical orientation, which focuses on what people do as opposed to what happens to them. It is interesting that this reorientation has come at a time when various movements in this country and around the world have given expression to a similar idea in political as well as social terms. The Woman's Movement represents one example. We hear of goals and strategies, of options and resources. Among American Indians, the 1970s have seen the development of a Red Power Movement and a reassertion of the value of traditional ways. Some of this movement has taken the form of political action, of lawsuits concerning treaty rights and land claims, and of demonstrations and pressures on a Congress that responds to a white backlash, would abolish all treaties. Another type of response has involved the revival of traditional religious rituals. Particularly in urban situations and in some of the areas of the Southeastern United States, some part-Indians have decided to assert their Indian identities. Such observations support the view expressed by the Spindlers that in situations of culture change, individuals are not merely on the receiving end, as it were, but are themselves actors who may, more or less explicitly, select "adaptive strategies."

As we observe acculturation going on before our eyes, then, we not only see the outcome, but we watch individuals making choices. This important level of analysis has been ignored when the stress was placed on the impact of change (or more generally, of culture) on the individual. A balanced picture must include both approaches, so that we can see, as for example in the life history materials the Spindlers presented for the Menomini, how some individuals come to be in a situation that enables them to make certain choices.

Another important point must be stressed here: research findings are necessarily affected by how the investigator conceptualizes the problems to be studied.
What we want to learn about will influence the methods of investigation we use, the questions we ask, and the types of answers we get. If we consider culture change a situation in which people are confronted not only with new problems but also with new options, we will want to look at the kinds of choices they make and the factors that influence the decision-making process. We shall then use research methods that give us information on these matters. For example, when Louise Spindler (1962) wanted to know about the roles Menomini women play and about the values they held, she developed a new tool, the expressive autobiographic interview technique (EAI), which was more structured than a full spontaneous chronological autobiography. The fact that different conceptualizations lead to the use of different tools and thus to different results means, strictly speaking, that we cannot make full comparisons between groups that have not been studied by the same methods.

How Much Continuity?

In spite of the comments we have just made about differences in research results that are produced by the use of diverse methods, there is ample evidence in the great quantities of psychocultural research that has been carried out over the past forty years to show that continuity exists even in the midst of change. The Spindlers have shown both change and continuity in a study that is in many ways different from their work among the Menomini. They investigated schooling in the German village of Schönhäusern in 1967-1968 and then again ten years later.

In this research they used a technique they designed, called the Instrumental Activities Inventory (IAI). It consists of a series of line drawings showing people in a great variety of activities. These drawings can be presented in contrasting pairs, such as working in a vineyard versus working in an office, so that expressions of preferences between urban and traditional village occupations and activities can be observed. It is interesting that the choices children made on this test correlated strongly with those they made in their actual life histories, when these were reviewed after a ten-year period. Moreover, the choices made on the tests in the 1977 study showed the same patterns as those discovered in the earlier investigation, in spite of the fact that there had been a sweeping reform of curriculum and textbooks in the intervening years. Moreover, both among rural children and those living in a more highly urbanized environment, there is a "romantic idealization of village-land-traditional life" (Spindler and Spindler 1978:5) "There appears to be a regional cultural complex ... that is persistent through time and that tends to homogenize the perceptions and evaluations by children, with the aid of the school" (Spindler and Spindler 1978:7).

Working in quite a different part of the world, Rhoda Métraux (1976) also has pointed to a phenomenon of psychocultural continuity. In her study, which was carried out in New Guinea, she addressed herself to a different level of personality structure, and she formulated her research problem in different terms. Her investigation was conducted among the Iatmul from 1967 to 1973; this group had been studied by Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead in 1938. A great many changes had taken place in this area during the intervening period, beginning with the Japanese occupation during World War II. This event halted much of the ceremonial life of the people, including male initiation rites. Since the early 1950s, children have been sent to school, and there has been some introduction of foreign ideas and objects. Yet, although there has been change in the Iatmul way of life, it has not been characterized by total rejection of traditions or total acceptance of the new.

In her research, Métraux used the Lowenfeld Mosaic Test, which consists of 256 small plastic tiles in five shapes, each in six colors. Subjects are asked to use these tiles in making designs of their own, and both the process of making the design and the end product are analyzed. Among the Iatmul, Métraux found important age differences in responses to this test. The young people used a naturalistic and experimental approach, whereas the old men used traditional ceremonial themes in working with the tiles. As experienced woodcarvers, they were used to visualizing a complicated design, producing it without a model or preliminary sketch. The process whereby both adults and children constructed the designs, says Métraux, was based in and reflected the dualistic handling of symmetry and complementarity, the principles that integrate Iatmul interpersonal relations, ceremonial themes, artistic production and world view at a deep level of cultural personality. This is one precondition for the survival of the social and cultural identity of the Iatmul (Métraux 1976:215).

New Guinea is particularly interesting for anyone wishing to study the psychological impact of social and cultural change. Many of its peoples were isolated until very recently, and they have been brought into intensive contact with the outside world in a short period of time. Perhaps the most detailed information is available on the Manus of the Admiralty Islands, on the edge of New Guinea. These people were first studied by Margaret Mead and Reo Fortune in 1928. They have been restudied several times by Mead and a number of other investigators. In her 1953 restudy of Manus, reported in New Lives for Old (1956), Mead had the opportunity of seeing people she had known as children at her first visit, twenty-five years earlier. In the old-style Manus society, they had been happy, carefree, nonanimistic youngsters. However, under the traditional system, such a positive childhood typically was followed by a period of stress and strain that followed the arranged marriages, which entailed severe financial obligations and debts for the young men. For the young women, living in the homes of their new husbands' families imposed great restraints, for they were poorly prepared for the rules of propriety that they now were expected to respect. Because of their debts and the scarcity of resources, the young men fell into the typical patterns of hostile competition, which made enemies of childhood friends.

As a result of World War II and its aftermath, Manus society underwent profound transformations. Among the changes were the abandonment of the
system of arranged marriages and the financial obligations associated with them. The concerns with property and guilt, which had made the Manus veritable prototypes of the Protestant Ethic, also were gone. Mead was interested to discover that the youngsters she had known, now grown to adulthood, had not acquired the typically harsh and unpleasant personalities she had been acquainted with in members of their parents’ generation. No longer forced into competitive positions with their agemates, they had been able to maintain their childhood friendships and their open and pleasant personalities.

Manus culture had been changed in part under the impact of foreign (U.S. and Australian) influences, and in part under the forceful charismatic leadership of one man, Paliau. The new social arrangements were based on a rejection of much in the traditional culture, including beliefs in severe and punishing ghosts and a morality of scarcity. The outside world had impressed on the Manus a notion of plenty, and interestingly, a morality of sharing. The picture of modern society that had served the Manus as a model for the reconstruction of their own is a curious one. It is, one might say, not U.S. and Australian culture, but only an “export” variety of it, for it was presented to the Manus by their contact with U.S. Navy personnel, and with life on Australian-owned and managed plantations. The Manus therefore now lived in barrack-style housing, days began with flag raisings and roll call, property was widely shared, and so on. In some respects the competitive, striving, property-conscious, traditional Manus had been a great deal more “Western” in their outlook on life than this collectivistic noncompetitive society that developed out of the contact situation.

One aspect of this restudy of the Manus, then, concerns the sources of the ideas the Manus used in restructuring their society. Their image of industrial or Western society was mediated by specific types of contacts and by Western products. These sources were a great deal more important in effecting changes than the actual conditions in the industrialized societies that sent out the products and the emissaries. This statement applies not only to the Manus but also to the great number of peoples around the world whose ways of life are altered under the impact of Western influences.

There is also another important implication here, which concerns a theory of personality development. Mead’s restudy of the Manus suggests that adolescence is a crucial period in individual development. Presumably, the parents whom Mead knew as adults in 1928 had had childhood experiences similar to those Mead was able to observe at that time. As a result of the drastic disruptions they experienced at marriage, we are told, they were transformed into quarrelsome and competitive, striving individuals. Their childhood, as seen through the evidence of their own children, did not make such personalities inevitable. Indeed, when the next generation of young people did not have to go through the same kind of disruptions they had experienced at marriage, the harsh personalities did not develop. A single type of childhood, consequently, may give rise to different kinds of adult personalities, depending on what follows this childhood. The importance of this finding cannot be exaggerated.

In spite of the appearance of radical discontinuity between the old culture and the new among the Manus, as described by Mead, more recent work has shown that, in fact, the situation was more complex. Theodore Schwartz, who first went to Manus with Mead in 1953, returned to the area for further research several times over the following twenty years. Somewhat to his surprise, he discovered that the break was not so complete after all. He found that access to the new culture was blocked in part by economic factors, and for those who remained in the villages, by social factors. Even among the generation most exposed to westernization, Schwartz found significant continuities in beliefs and attitudes. As he puts it:

In spite of their having been kidnapped by an alien culture, perhaps the early years, the afternoons, and the school holidays sufficed for their induction at the deeper levels of their culture (Schwartz 1976a:230).

Culture Change and the Life Cycle

Culture change may have an impact on psychological development at various points of the individual development cycle. In Mead’s restudy of the Manus, there is evidence that changes in adult role requirements had their most important effect on the transition from childhood to adulthood, leading to a new typical adult personality. In other cases, we have evidence concerning different points in the life cycle at which important changes are introduced. For example, as we saw earlier, Draper (1975) notes the difference in the work load of women among sedentary and foraging groups of Kung. This difference, in turn, had an effect on the work assigned to young children, and on the pressures toward responsibility and obedience that were placed on them as a result. Leiderman and Leiderman (1977) report on the effects of economic change on both infants and young children among the Kikuyu of highland Kenya. Traditionally, women were aided in child care by female relatives, including their younger sisters, or their own children. Nowadays, Kikuyu are eager to send both girls and boys to school, so that child nurses, when they are used, tend to be very young (below seven). Whether or not such youngsters are used as infant caretakers will depend on the economic level of the family, the size of the family, and the mother’s responsibilities. The community under study was divided into several economic levels, and these levels were seen to be related to the mental and motor development of infants. Moreover, for the second half of an infant’s first year of life, its mental development is also statistically significantly related to the age of the caretaker. We find then that social and economic change affect not only the role of women, but also, through the emphasis on schooling, the roles of children. These two roles together, in turn, affect the differential development of infants.

There are some cases, however, in which changes in child training are part of a total planned revision of a way of life. The most clearly controlled example is the Israeli kibbutz (Spiro 1958). In this instance, young people at the turn of the
CRISIS CULTS AND REVITALIZATION MOVEMENTS

Observers of the dramatic impact that contact with Western societies has had on traditional peoples have been impressed with a certain type of widespread response: the frequent development of vigorous and, at times, aggressive ecstatic religious movements, seeking to resolve the pressing problems of a harsh present.

Probably the first anthropological study of a phenomenon of this type was James Mooney's (1965 [orig. 1896]) report, *Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*. The Ghost Dance of 1890, and an earlier form of the same movement in 1870, represented a reaction of the Indians of the Plains, and regions further to the West, to the destruction of their way of life as a result of white settlement of the area. The Ghost Dance religion, propagated in 1890 by the prophet Wovoka, held that the Indian dead would return, and they would bring back the old way of life, while the whites and their culture would be destroyed. The Indians had to undertake various rituals, principally ritual dances, to promote this coming of the end of the current state of affairs. In the dances, people went into trance states during which they had the experience of speaking with their dead relatives. As the religion spread among the tribes over large distances, its visionaries became quite different in character; there were innovations as the acceptance by men of agricultural work, which traditionally had been a woman's responsibility, and the emergence of women as agriculturalists, were no longer viable. There was much drinking and great arguing and factionalism among them. There was much drinking and factionalism among them.

Mooney himself recognized that the Ghost Dance religious movement had resulted from oppression, poverty, and dissatisfaction. In the years since Mooney wrote his historic report, hundreds of religious movements in response to acculturative pressures have been described. La Barre (1971), who has published an extensive review of the vast literature concerning these movements, speaks of them as "crisis cults." He says that they are "new projective sacred systems" that result from "culture shock and the strains of acculturation" (La Barre 1971:4). In fact, La Barre sees such reactions to distress as a basic source of the development of all religions, and he therefore called his book on the origin of religion *The Ghost Dance* (La Barre 1970). Among the most frequently cited examples of crisis cults are the so-called "cargo cults" of Melanesia, in which the people believe that the whites, again, will disappear and the ancestors will bring the people wealth, in the form of trade goods or cargo. Other well known examples are the religion of Iroquois prophet Handsome Lake, and the Ras Tafari Movement of Jamaica. Historians speak of "millenarian" or "chiliastic" movements (Lanternari 1963, Thrupp 1970). Their studies range from the Middle Ages and the Age of Reformation to the religious background of the Taipei Rebellion of China in the middle of the nineteenth century.

One of the most systematic approaches to such cults is that of A. F. C. Wallace, who coined the term "revitalization movements." He defines these cults as "deliberate, organized attempts by some members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture by rapid acceptance of a pattern of multiple innovations" (Wallace 1970:188). Notice that there is no reference to religion here; indeed, Wallace considers some secular revitalization movements, such as the Communist Revolution and the development of the social system of the Soviet Union. However, his principal interest has been the religious revitalization movement that he studied among the Iroquois Indians.

According to Wallace, every revitalization movement is preceded by a state of social and personal disorganization and intense dissatisfaction. Such conditions prevailed among the Iroquois of New York State at the end of the eighteenth century. They had suffered military defeat by supporting the losing side in the American Revolution. They had lost much of their land, and they had suffered social as well as economic disaster. Their old ways, in which men were warriors and women horticulturalists, were no longer viable. There was much drinking and great arguing and factionalism among them.

The new religion was launched by Handsome Lake, a Seneca chief who himself had become a drunkard. He had had a vision, which proclaimed that he and his people must give up their evil ways, and stop drinking, quarreling, and practicing witchcraft. Following this vision, over a period of time, a complex code of life for a new society was revealed to him. It included such revolutionary, shocking innovations as the acceptance by men of agricultural work, which traditionally had been the responsibility of women. It is remarkable that as a result of his visions, Handsome Lake himself reformed and, as the phrase has it, became "a new man," and equally remarkable that the message was received with enthusiasm by the Iroquois, whose way of life was drastically and profoundly altered by it.

Considered as cultural innovation, the Code of Handsome Lake, and the society that resulted from it, clearly do not consist of totally new elements, but rather represent a regrouping of both old and new features. It is important to recognize, for example, the great influence exerted by a group of Quakers who were then living among the Iroquois, and whose way of life helped to provide a model for some of the new patterns.

On the individual level, Wallace believes the prophet experienced the visions as the direct result of his personal crisis. The visionary trance state, for Wallace, is a "mazeway resynthesis," that is, a spontaneous, stress-induced reorganization...
such cures constitute dramatic resolutions of conflicts and experiences of mental illness is influenced by a psychophysiological model of stress and also by case histories of spontaneous cures of individuals who experienced psychotic episodes. In fact, such cures constitute dramatic resolutions of conflicts and experiences of maturational and psychological transformation.

In some respects, Wallace's view is similar to that of certain specialists who speak of the significance of "conversion" experiences. For example, the British psychiatrist, William Sargant, considers what he calls "possession" (that is, altered states of consciousness) to be transforming, healing experiences on the individual level, and he sees such transformations being used for religious or political ends in both conversion and brainwashing (Sargant 1959). Of course, on the group level, there can be "revitalization" only when a potential prophet or leader, having experienced a private crisis, is able to attract a significant number of followers; that is, the prophet's vision of a new way of life must correspond closely enough to that of other members of the group, and the prophet's need to lead and reveal the truth must correspond to the group's willingness to follow. Revitalization then is not merely, or even always, a religious process, but it is always a significantly political one.

Wallace's analysis has been questioned by Theodore Schwartz (1976b) on the basis of his own studies of Melanesian cargo cults and, specifically, cults among the Manus. He argues that even though such a theory is plausible there is no direct evidence of heightened levels of stress among people who engage in cult behavior. In fact, for the Melanesians he knows, Schwartz suggests that stresses—at least, certain kinds of stresses—have been reduced since the time of their grandparents, prior to massive culture contact: native warfare has come to an end, new means of settling conflicts and disputes exist, and modern medical services deal with diseases that caused fear and danger in earlier times. He also argues that in order to understand the cults, more attention must be paid to the followers, and not simply to the cult leaders. Schwartz observes, moreover, that the apparently sudden "revelations" are actually a long time in the making; presenting them as sudden communications from supernaturals should be seen primarily as a cultural way of phrasing matters to maximize the chances of getting support for what appear to be radically new ideas. In the case of the Manus, Schwartz says, it is the "contact culture"—the mixture of the old and the new that resulted from contacts with other societies—and not the traditional culture, that represented the context in which the prophecies and revelations had to be meaningful and acceptable.

Schwartz goes on to suggest that cult behavior does not involve pathological states such as coma and convulsive seizures during which visions are received. Rather, cult behavior mimics these states, it uses them as models for means of communication with the supernatural. Therefore, he says, cult behavior, including visionary states, is properly speaking, pathomimetic rather than pathological. However, he does not explain why such pathological states are chosen as models for communication with supernaturals.

The question Schwartz raises requires some further distinctions. To Wallace, the prophet Handsome Lake was a man in a state of personal disorganization who cured himself through a sudden transforming experience. This experience, it would appear, was successful largely because he was able to acquire followers and achieve the status of prophet and respected leader. It may well be that not all prophet-leaders go through such crises, although many apparently do. Mother Ann Lee, who founded the Shakers, and of whom we spoke in Chapter 8, represents a somewhat different example of a similar pattern. However, gaining followers is a crucial element in the process of self-actualization. The history of mental illness is strewn with the wrecked lives of unsuccessful prophets. On the other hand, there may be shrewd political leaders whose behavior is merely patterned on that of "true" visionaries.

Two further important distinctions must be made: if, following Wallace, we see the first visionary trance experience as a genuine reorganizing, restructurizing, transforming psychic event, it cannot truly be termed pathological; indeed, it should be more properly spoken of as therapeutic, although it is, admittedly, part of a sequence of pathological states. In other words, hearing voices is pathological only for the failed messiah, not for the successful one, if the future career of the prophet is to be taken into consideration. Furthermore, Schwartz' concern is not with the leaders and their original inspiration but with followers. However, Wallace, too, distinguishes between the mazeway resynthesis of the prophet and what he terms "hysterical conversion" of the followers (Wallace 1970). Still, the trances and visions the followers repeatedly experience during cult rituals may be something else, for here the patterning and routinization of what may originally have been a unique personal event already has set in. Suggestion, expectation, and ritual methods of trance induction all play their role here, and there is no need to postulate acute social and personal stresses to account for the institutionalized occurrence of ritual trance states. To the extent that they are patterned on coma and convulsions it may well be appropriate to speak of such states as "pathomimetic." Jilek (1974), in his discussion of the revival of the guardian spirit ceremonial among the Salish, similarly makes a distinction between a pathological and a pathomorphic state, a term which corresponds closely to Schwartz's pathomimetic.

Both Schwartz and Jilek consider psychiatric disorders as models for ritualized altered states of consciousness. Gussler (1973) has suggested that an ecologically produced nutritional deficiency disease also may play such a role. She has pointed to the striking similarity of symptoms exhibited by sufferers of pellagra and sufferers from a disease that the Southern Bantu say is caused by spirit possession.

Two Examples.

In the present context, it is interesting that conditions in which society and culture require dramatic reorganizations frequently are associated with cults and movements that have a number of common characteristics. Among these features are strong leaders, whose authority may be bolstered by claims to supernatural
followed. That the physiological arousal of the ecstatic state follows a clear curve of augmentation. After a great peak of excitement, periods of continuous prayer, accusations was great fear. At the same time, tension developed between the minister and the flock. Accusations were reported and conversion were reported and healing through prayer and laying on of hands took on great importance. The closer the end of the world was felt to be, the greater the level of anxiety; people begin to have visions of the Devil, and there was great fear. At the same time, tension developed between the minister and the flock. After a great peak of excitement, periods of continuous prayer, accusations by individuals in trance against others, and so on, exhaustion set in, and with the help of emissaries from the central religious body, the group was set right and told that they had been misled by the Devil. A disintegration of the group followed.

Goodman, who offers an account of these events in fascinating detail, suggests that the physiological arousal of the ecstatic state follows a clear curve of augmentation and attenuation, which can be observed through the analysis of individual ecstatic utterances. The upheaval, as a group movement, follows a similar sequence. She accounts for this parallel through the observation that most of the participants learned to produce glossolalia at about the same time, reached a maximum excitement at the same time, and felt the letdown simultaneously as well. The emotional and physiological arousal that had powered the upheaval was exhausted.

Quite a different situation is represented by the Umbanda cult of Brazil. Here we observe a type of religious movement that has its basis in a syncretism of a variety of religious traditions: Catholicism, Afro-American cults, the Spiritism of Allen Kardec imported from France, and some ideas of American Indian origin. The specific contribution of each of these elements appears to vary among cult centers and perhaps in different regions of Brazil, as described for example by Pressel (1973, 1974) for São Paulo and by Lerch (1978) for the city of Porto Alegre, in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. In Umbanda there appears to be a gradual modification and evolution to integrate many divergent elements into the patterns of belief and practice. Central to these beliefs and practices are possession trance experiences of mediums, who are consulted by clients about various types of problems. The cult plays somewhat different roles for the mediums, who are mostly women, for the leaders, some of whom are men, and for the clients who may be potential mediums. Pressel sees Umbanda as a Brazilian folk religion that expresses the basic themes and values of this developing society.

One of the most interesting aspects of this religion is that many beliefs of African origin, including some of the identities of the possessing spirits, have been taken over by Brazilians of other ethnic origins. Spirits include a category known as "old blacks," that is, spirits of dead slaves. These spirits are known for their great wisdom and patience and their willingness to help with long-term problems. Others are spirits of Indians, and still others spirits of wicked persons, who are often foreigners." Pressel (1973) suggests, represent an emergence of a new Brazilian identity.

Umbanda is not a rapid, short-lived movement of revitalization or crisis, in spite of the fact that it has a good deal in common with such cults and movements, particularly its use of possession trance states. It lacks a prophet or leader, and a well organized program or series of revelations. Rather, it attempts to resolve the daily problems of health and family harmony, of livelihood and personal autonomy. For many women, it provides an area of legitimate independence and activity outside the home, as well as means of personal advancement (Lerch 1978). Finally, it represents a symbolic statement of a new Brazilian identity in terms of a truly local world view and religious synthesis. Spiritism of a type similar to Umbanda in many respects also flourishes in Puerto Rico and among Puerto Ricans in New York. As we saw in Chapter 8, it has become a major source of help for Puerto Ricans in distress, particularly in the area of mental health.
Some Implications

Considerations of crisis cults and revitalization movements have brought us back to subjects treated earlier, altered states of consciousness and problems of mental health. These three themes are intimately linked. Revitalization movements play an important role not only in the reconstitution of distressed and disrupted societies in periods of rapid change, but also in the reorganization and reintegration of disturbed individuals.

How we understand such religious movements will depend on the conceptual scheme we use to study them. We spoke earlier of La Barre's concept of "crisis cults." For him, they are responses to an acute or chronic problem that is unresolved by secular means. Moreover, he sees religion in general as an adaptation to the inner world of man, his unresolved problems and inner needs (La Barre 1970:44). The cults, in his view, do not deal directly with practical problems but transpose the issues of the "real" world to the realm of fantasy. On the other hand, if we look at the same activities within Wallace's scheme and approach them as revitalization movements, we shall be concerned with their political intents and results, as well as with the psychological starting points and dynamics, with regard to both leaders and followers. Yet both La Barre and Wallace will require us to look at the state of the society in question just prior to the beginning of the crisis or revitalization movement. Why does the society have to be reorganized? Why does a more satisfying way of life have to be created? What constitutes the crisis? Why is it that the previously operating safety valves, such as witchcraft accusations or periodic wars, no longer suffice to prop up the social order?

Such cults or movements, then, may be said to constitute "adaptive strategies" for entire societies, as well as for their leaders and their individual members. In addition to asking why such cults appear in certain societies at given points in time, we also want to know why certain individuals join and others do not, and why some appear to select a religious solution to their problems, whereas others seek direct economic or political action.

In our own society, where there has been a rapid growth of diverse religious groups and where a variety of religiously based alternate life-styles have been launched, young people seeking solutions to problems of identity often "shop around" among several such groups over a period of time. For example, oriental derived religions, such as Krishna Consciousness (Duner 1976) or Meher Baba (Robbins and Anthony 1972), as well as Neo-Pentecostalism (McGuire 1976) often have been reported to act as halfway houses for young people trying to break drug habits. Yet by the time many of these people have reached their late twenties, they have settled down to a job and a family, and leave drugs, communes, gurus, and vigorous religious exercises behind as part of the process of growing up in U.S. middle-class society.

IDENTITY: ETHNICITY, RELIGION, SEX, AND CHOICE

In this chapter our emphasis has been on change resulting from culture contact and acculturation, especially on the impact of Western industrial society on the psychological adjustment of people in the developing world. American Indians represent a somewhat special case, for they constitute enclaves of traditional or semi-traditional cultures within one of the world's most highly industrialized societies. Ours is also a society that, in spite of its multiple heritage and its verbal emphasis on freedom of choice, offers a single model of success, a single set of values and goals. As we saw earlier, in the Spindler's discussion of the Menomini, American Indians, to be "successful," at least in terms of the white society, must, in a sense, abandon their Indian identity. This loss of identity has long been the fate of immigrant groups in the United States. Yet the model does not always work, for not all minority members are able to take on the identity that is proposed to them. For example, Berreman has noted that Aleuts have adopted many of the values proposed by white society, many of its perspectives and behaviors, yet they are prevented from reaping the rewards these bring to whites "because they are ineligible for membership in their reference group" (Berreman 1978:30). Aleuts would have to become members of white society, not merely persons following its patterns or striving for its goals.

Perhaps in response to the civil rights struggle of blacks in the 1960s and to their efforts at revaluing their ethnic and racial identity, there has developed in this country a great concern with ethnicity. In the 1970s, ethnicity and ethnic identity have become significant social and political issues, and subjects of scholarly interest (for example, De Vos and Romancucci-Ross 1975). As a result our concerns in this country parallel those that have come to the fore in other parts of the world.

In the past for most people everywhere ethnic, religious, and sexual identity were ascribed statuses. People knew who they were. In a world of rapid change, great transformations, and great migrations, this is no longer so. Group membership and ethnic, religious, and even sexual identity have become problematic, matters of choice, reaffirmation, or redefinition. The American Indian Movement, with its pan-Indian emphasis, tends to reduce the great cultural differences among the great variety of tribal units and to create a single American Indian identity in contrast to that of the white.

Nation states traditionally have been built up through the unification of regions, the centralization of governments, and the absorption of immigrants. These processes have included the development and imposition of a single national language at the expense of local variants or minority languages, disparagingly called "dialects." In Africa, for example, we still see this process of nation-forging at work. How long will it be before one is a Nigerian rather than an Ibo, a Yoruba, or a Hausa? Yet at the same time, in the old nations of Europe, we see that
regional languages are being revived, and old customs fostered. People fear the loss of their traditions; even when the traditions have been transformed into ceremonial observances and rituals into performances, they acquire a special value as symbols of group identity.

A word must be said about sexual identity. As a result of medical technology it is now possible for some to opt for a change of sex, to decide to be a woman rather than a man, or a man rather than a woman. Also, it is possible nowadays in the United States to assert one's identity as a homosexual or "gay" and to speak of "sexual preference" as others speak of "religious preference" or another type of choice. In this context, homosexuality is treated as a matter of life-style, not as a biological or psychological necessity. In addition to such variants on sexual identity, we also find a redefinition of roles of the sexes. This redefinition is a broad social process, with many significant social, economic, and political implications, as well as psychological aspects. Of particular interest is a process used by the Women's Movement, termed "consciousness raising." This concept derives from Marxism, and in important respects it resembles religious or political conversion. It involves a change of one's perception of oneself, and of one's life experience, needs, and goals, as well as a reappraisal of others. Conscious choices of ethnic, religious, or political identities often follow along similar lines.

Identity choices, changes, redefinitions, and reevaluations are crucial elements of the process of culture change. Sometimes they are clear outcomes of previous changes; sometimes they are best understood as leading to further changes. In either case, they are links in a long causal chain, not single independent events. Furthermore, individuals do not shape their identities simply by making rational decisions, weighing alternatives and their advantages and disadvantages. Unconscious and irrational processes are likely to be at work, of which the individuals themselves are likely to be unaware, as well as practical factors. Some of the psychological aspects can be studied best when we compare persons who have basically similar backgrounds yet who make different choices of group affiliation. A choice that may be full of potential for self-realization for one individual may constitute an irrational, self-defeating attempt at resolving internal conflicts in another.

Ethnic, religious, or even sexual identity may be a matter of individual affiliation and transformation, or it may involve minority groups within a larger society. When groups are involved, we may be dealing with social, political, or religious movements. In that case, we must ask about the difference in the perspectives of the leaders and the followers: what needs are to be satisfied, what ends are to be gained, what means are to be used? For the leaders, and often for members as well, the drive for power, for authority, or for financial gain must not be overlooked.

The problems of personal identity that we have touched on briefly in these pages are major issues in the present-day world. They involve powerful symbols about which social and political forces cluster. They deserve our serious attention and careful study; we must consider their psychological dimensions as well as their economic and political aspects, which may appear to be more obvious. They are clearly relevant to the subject of development: the Amazonian Indians, of whom we spoke earlier in this chapter, find that their identity is destroyed as tribal lands are transformed into large corporate holdings and groups are dispersed; rural migrants become urban shanty town dwellers on the margins of large cities in Third World countries; migrants from the countries of Southern Europe and Africa to the industrial centers of the North, find their identities challenged and transformed.

Summary

In this chapter we have focused on the psychological implications of culture change. However, this very large subject has not been restricted to this chapter. Rather, it appears throughout the book for most of our topics deal with social and cultural change, in one context or another. Even when the topic is not mentioned explicitly, it must be remembered that most of the societies studied by anthropologists in the twentieth century have had their traditional ways of life modified through contacts of various kinds—even the most isolated societies, and even those groups who have attempted to resist change or, in extreme cases, to reverse its direction. Consequently, whether the topic of the chapter was socialization, personality assessment, or perception and cognition, to mention just three, the data, for the most part, could have served for our final chapter on change. The selection of the research reports for review in any of these contexts, as opposed to that of change, is necessarily arbitrary. There has been therefore also some overlap and partial repetition of materials in the various chapters.

In the present chapter we began by returning to our earlier discussion of cultural evolution and of innovation in its psychological dimension. Innovation, as we saw, may be the result of inventing or discovering objects or behavior patterns, or borrowing them from other groups. In either case, cognitive processes are involved. Acceptance of new patterns entails motivation and learning, and often the unlearning of old ways as well. Innovations, whatever their source, create both opportunities and stresses, because they require a reorganization of habits and of understandings, and also because we are dealing with social systems, not with a simple inventory of traits. One change leads to another, and the simple introduction of one element, such as the steel axe among the Yir Yoront of Australia, may have far-reaching consequences for the total way of life of the group, and indeed, for its very existence. This idea of the entanglements of cultural elements carries a clear lesson for those who would engage in planned change or "development," for the planning rarely goes far enough, and the remote repercussions of a single "simple" change rarely are evaluated fully in advance of decision making.

When we look at the place of innovation in the context of cultural evolution, of the distance we have come from small hunting and gathering bands of a rare
animal species to the teeming billions of humans in the single interrelated world of the final quarter of the twentieth century, we appreciate the implications of human creative capacity to construct novel culturally constituted behavioral environments.

In the context of such considerations we looked at the contrast made by Claude Lévi-Strauss between the "savage" and the "civilized" mind, and at Jack Goody's incisive analysis of the importance of literacy in the process he terms "the domestication of the savage mind." This analysis has great significance, for it sheds important light on the differences between traditional (oral) and modern (literate) societies, and on the transition from the one to the other. From a psychological perspective, it means that literacy is an important aid in thinking, or better, in the development of characteristic thinking processes.

In the course of what is variously called "development," "westernization," or "modernization" schooling plays an enormous role. It is one of the ways in which perception and cognition are altered significantly when peoples of different cultures meet. There are other important factors as well. One of the most important is religious conversion. A third factor, often historically the first, is the introduction of new goods. All of these factors contribute to the restructuring of culturally constituted behavioral environments. Among the cognitive processes at work are reinterpretation and syncretism, which lead to the emergence of contact cultures, selective combinations of the old and the new.

Culture contact leading to large-scale modifications in ways of life, most particularly those of a dominated group, is spoken of as acculturation. What has been the impact of acculturation, as a special form of culture change, on the typical personalities of people at the "receiving end"? Wherever this subject has been studied, it has been shown that there is both change and continuity. On the one hand, the preexisting cultural and personality patterns have influenced the reaction of people to cultural change. Africans, as LeVine suggests, have reacted to change in ways that might have been predicted from pre-change patterns. Change, for them, often has not been disruptive; indeed, it often has been highly positive. In our chapter on methods we referred to another study by LeVine, in which he compared children's dreams in three West African cultural groups. The dreams related interestingly to pre-change cultural differences among the three groups, revealing differences in their need for achievement and in their actual realization of upward mobility and striving. LeVine's investigation was based on the work of the psychologist David McClelland (1961, McClelland et al. 1971), who sees the need for achievement as a major driving force for economic development.

In addition to asking how pre-existing patterns have affected people's reactions to change, we have also received some evidence of what has happened to people as a result of change, that is, how the impact of change has modified typical personality patterns in certain societies. A third approach to the relationship between change and personality patterns is illustrated by the work of the Spindlers among the Menomini. Here we reported that they found different types of results in a single reservation community. Rather than speaking simply of the effect of change and perceiving individuals as passive recipients, they came to view people as using different "adaptive strategies" in their responses to change. They also found that sex was an important variable to be considered in studying cultural change and its consequences.

Yet another approach to the study of personality patterns and culture change that we reviewed stresses the continuity that exists in the midst of change. Often we are misled by external appearances into seeing more transformation in the attitudes, values, life orientations, and thinking of people than has actually occurred. In this connection it is important to ask at what point in the life cycle changes affect individuals. What are the implications of changes in the mother's work loads, not only for the mother but also for her children? What are the implications of schooling, not only for the children who are sent to school, but also for other members of their families?

A major theme, of which we have become aware as a result of the developments in our own society in the 1960s and 1970s, has been that of religious responses to social change: crisis cults, revitalization movements, and the like. They, too, may be seen as adaptive strategies, ways of seeking solutions to troubling problems. In religious conversion, a solution may be sought not by changing society, but by transforming the self. By changing one's identity, by being "reborn" in the United States, or by developing one's mediumistic capacities in the Umbanda cults of Brazil, one changes one's relationship not only to the universe, but also
to members of one's own society and family. On the other hand, where society is to be reorganized as well as the individual, we may, in fact, be dealing with political movements of renewal and transformation.

Our final subject in this chapter concerned the relationship between sociocultural change and definitions of identity in ethnicity, religion, and sex. We have touched on this general subject elsewhere in this book. For example, in Chapter 5 we spoke of the "socialized ambivalence" among upper-class Haitians, who are torn between various possible sources of identity definition. In Chapter 8 we discussed Jilek's study of modern spirit dancing among the Salish Indians. This movement has revalued their Indian identity for these people and as a result has provided them with a powerful psychotherapeutic system to deal with "anomic depression," a disturbance related to their conflicts over being Indians.

Redefinitions and reevaluations of ethnic, religious, and sexual identity are at the heart of many social movements in the contemporary world. Their psychological implications deserve serious attention and study.

NOTES

1. There is no question here of a biological deficiency; it is merely a matter of learning. More acculturated individuals show that this learning is within reach of those who undergo some exposure to graphic representations with perspective.

2. Loring and Otto (1976) suggest how women in the United States can make rational decisions about the choices—or adaptive strategies—that are open to them.

An Overview and a Look Ahead

We began this book by asking: what is psychological anthropology? We have covered a lot of ground in this volume, both literally and figuratively speaking. We have referred to a large number of cultures, and we have reviewed a long span of time. Although most of the peoples we have spoken of were studied within the last fifty years, we also took a broad, panoramic view of human behavioral and cultural evolution. In terms of theory, we have dealt with the history of psychological anthropology, from its modest beginnings as culture and personality in the 1920s and 1930s to its present greatly enlarged scope. It is to be hoped that this book, as a whole, has offered an answer to our original, deceptively simple question.

What does psychological anthropology have to offer, and to whom? Have we discovered anything? Are there some lessons to be learned? And taking stock, can we say where we are headed in psychological anthropology? What new turns is our complex and lively field taking?

As we look back from the present multitude of questions, it appears that the earliest problems were phrased narrowly: what relationship is there between "culture" and "personality"? This question derived in part from the discovery of culture, from the realization of the great role it plays in human life, and from the dawning appreciation of its enormous diversity. In part also it derived from the impact of psychoanalysis and personality theory on the thinking of U.S. anthropologists. Cultures were palpably different, and so, it seemed, were the personalities associated with them.

The impact of this discovery still is not established fully, although "anthropology" has become a household word in the United States, and persons identified as "anthropologists" have been known to figure in TV scripts. For
example, G. A. Miller writes: "Unfortunately, most psychologists are poorly prepared by education or acculturation to understand the mental processes of people living in relatively static, traditional cultures . . ." (1971:ix). Commenting on American efforts to contribute to the development of Third World countries, George Foster remarks:

The enthusiasm of many technical specialists and of the equally numerous, less well-trained professional do-gooders sometimes terrifies me. The blind ethnocentrism of many Americans . . . takes my breath away. When I see an earnest American greeting a foreigner with a bone-crushing fraternity-type hand-shake, meanwhile fixing him with a beady stare, under the assumption that he thereby connotes sincerity, I blanche (Foster 1962:260).

Psychological anthropology has taught us that there is a very broad range of differences among cultural groups in attitudes, values, perceptions of the world and of themselves, and ways of dealing with, and experiencing emotions. Cultural patterning extends to personality and interpersonal relationships. Relativity is not merely skin-deep. We cannot assume that what psychologists have learned in this country holds true of people in other cultures, without testing that assumption. Psychological anthropology, then, has acted as a testing ground for psychological theories developed in the West. The result has been that our concept of cultural relativity has been confirmed, but we have also learned to place it in perspective. There is a common human nature that underlies the variations we observe.

Because psychological anthropologists have restudied some of the same groups over a period of many years, we have been able to discover what happens in the course of time, when there have been major social and cultural changes. The Manus, first studied by Mead in 1928, and restudied periodically since 1953, have presented us with a fine example of the interrelationship of psychological and sociocultural changes. We no longer need speculate about such relationships by attempting to reconstruct the culture and society of the past; we see it going on before our eyes.

We also have gained in methodological sophistication. We now have long-term studies, restudies, replications, simultaneous coordinated studies of several carefully selected societies, cross-cultural statistical (holocultural) investigations, and some studies that combine complex intracultural analysis with holocultural techniques. Our generalizations are now in the nature of hypotheses that have been tested, rather than descriptive or intuitive assertions.

Psychological anthropology, then, has contributed to psychological and psychiatric theory. It has contributed also to our understanding of our own society and of developments within it. Most notably, cross-cultural studies of altered states of consciousness have made it possible to place the burgeoning cults and movements and the U.S. fascination with getting "high" into a comparative context.

We can recognize still another gain of a more practical nature. Medical anthropology and educational anthropology, two applied fields that have developed over the last few years and are gaining in importance, have derived to a significant extent from the earliest work in culture and personality, which dealt with socialization and with mental health and its cultural implications.

In theoretical terms, there have been other changes. The field has expanded enormously. Many of the topics treated in this book, such as behavioral evolution, perception and cognition, and altered states of consciousness, were not significant concerns in 1954, when J. J. Honigmann published the first textbook in this area. In addition, we have become aware of the importance of variables we did not dream of then: in particular, the biological and ecological factors that appear to play an important role in psychocultural development. For example, we now have studies that link aggression with hypoglycemia (Bolton 1978) or possession trance with nutritional deficiency disease (Gussler 1973). It is such novel experiments in the formulation of problems that bode well for the future of our specialty.

For a number of years, psychological anthropology was overshadowed by the growth of new interests and new subdisciplines in anthropology, ranging from ecological anthropology to symbolic anthropology. In the meantime, however, rather than witnessing a decline of interest in our field, we have seen a great diversification of concerns and of approaches. The field has now emerged with renewed force and vigor. A Society for Psychological Anthropology was formed in 1977, with its journal, *Ethos: the Journal of Psychological Anthropology* was launched in 1978; and in that same year, *The Making of Psychological Anthropology* (G. D. Spindler 1978) was published. Spindler's volume presents a major assessment of the field in the words of a number of its long-term practitioners, who review their own contributions, shedding light on the growth and development of their thinking. The impact of this book on anthropology and neighboring disciplines, and on students considering a career in anthropology, may be considerable.

At the end of our introduction to psychological anthropology, we see that it is a field of challenge and importance, concerned with real people confronting the problems of living in the contemporary world. Psychological anthropology, after some fifty years, is alive and well and looking forward to a prosperous future.