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INTRODUCTION

The following tales might best be called "MYTHS FOR MODERNS." Authors were directed to utilize traditional folklore motifs in the construction of myths which relate to contemporary social and political realities.

Best of luck, Levi-Strauss!

Editor
As we fluffs of fiber float along in the beams of light, as we do every day, we all dutifully perform our acts of allegiance. We all look alike. We all float at the same speed. Since my act is a simple one, catching bits of dust, I seem to have more time than the others to look around and notice things. I watch the others float by but none of them really look at me. They seem to be all too preoccupied with their acts. I can't help but think that there is something else, something more meaningful for me to do. I grow annoyed with my position and the apparent apathy of the masses. I must stop someone and see if they feel the same.

"Excuse me, Sir Fluff, do you have a moment?" I asked in search of some advice.

"No, Sir Fluff, we must perform our acts...no time to stop!"

More annoyed by the lack of interest, I was determined to get a response. I stopped another.

"Fellow Fluff, do you know the purpose of your act?"

He hurriedly replied, "No time to think, just perform!"

SUCH INDIFFERENCE!!! Certainly some fluff among us feels as I do. I noticed an elder coming. Perhaps he can help. I confronted him directly.

"Please, Sir Elder Fluff, could you tell me our purpose?"

"Young Fluff, every fluff knows our purpose is to maintain the system of fluff's order."

"Yes, Sir Fluff, but why can't I perform a more meaningful act?"

"You are young, you must be patient. Maybe you will get a different act. We must all do as we are ordered."

"But why, if I can think of meaning, can't I perform meaningful acts?"

"You are not here to think, only to act."

"But that cannot be right for me. Is it wrong to dream of better things?"

"It is not right to think of difference. It is against the order. Change will only make for chaos. You must not show doubt in the system or you will be labeled an agitator and outcast from the masses!"

"Sir Fluff, would outcast be worse than this meaningless existence? I must find purpose. Is there no purpose?"
"Young Fluff, why don't you accept things the way they are? If you don't, no other fluff will accept you!"

"I cannot accept things this way because I'm sure there must be a better way. Why can't we change them. If I can think of better, why can't I make it real?"

"There is no reality but the systematic order of the fluffs. It is the way it has always been and the way it will always be. You cannot be apart of it - if you cannot accept it. I must label you an outcast. It is my duty. You have until the end of the beam of light to decide."

"BUT WHY?" I screamed, "Doesn't any fluff value thought? You perform your acts without wondering if they are good or right!!"

The other fluffs began to notice me now because I was causing such a commotion. Some glanced at me and murmured, "Agitator", but none of them stopped their acts. As I floated closer to the end of the beam of light, I felt desperate. What can I do? Where can I go? I MUST BREAK AWAY FROM THESE WALLS OF CONFORMITY!!
Once long ago Great Eagle and his brother, Red Bear, were sitting on the top of a mountain looking down on the earth which was then void of life. They decided the earth was lonely and that it should be covered with plants, animals and people. As Great Eagle was tired, he decided to take a nap, telling Red Bear they would begin making all these things when he awoke. Great Eagle slept for four days and upon waking, he found Red Bear had covered the world with red people, red plants and red animals. All the people were exactly alike; also the plants and animals. Red Bear had made all his living creatures immortal. They never ate or drank and they couldn't multiply as they were all the same. They did exactly as they were told with Red Bear giving all the commands. Great Eagle was very angry and he proclaimed that Red Bear's creations were no improvement over the way the earth had been before. Great Eagle began flapping his wings, making a great cloud of dust that covered the whole earth. The dust was so dense that Red Bear could see nothing until it settled, and as the dust settled, Red Bear discovered that Great Eagle had changed everything. There were now many varieties of plants and animals, and people were now a variety of colors. Great Eagle also made things either male or female so they could reproduce and multiply. There was now death in the world along with hunger and thirst. Great Eagle said, "This
is a much more exciting world where only the strong and the brave can survive." Red Bear swore he would kill Great Eagle for what he had done, but Great Eagle flew from the mountain top, gathering up all kinds and colors. He then hit the land with his wings, breaking it up and separating the pieces of land with the oceans. He then flew to an island that was far from the land of Red Bear where he dropped all the people he had gathered and he called the land America.

Great Eagle flew to the tallest tree she could find and built a nest where she laid a gold-colored egg. In four days, a small green baby broke his way through the shell of the egg, and in four more days he had grown into an adult. Great Eagle told her son that she had given the people of America almost total freedom, telling them that if they were wealthy, then God was pleased with them. Great Eagle told her son that the people were beginning to discriminate against each other, placing too much importance on race and social class. She said that in the morning she was going to tell the people that they were all equal so they wouldn't fight so much among themselves. That night, while Great Eagle was sleeping, her son whose name was Capitalism, plucked all the feathers from her head and made himself wings and flew down to the earth. He then told the people Great Eagle had sent him with a message. He then proceeded to tell the people that each race was superior to the other. He told them that money and power were most important and they should always try to outdo their fellow man. The next morning Great Eagle flew down to tell the people that they were all created equal, but they laughed so hard when they saw her bald head that few heard what she had to say. However,
the land grew and prospered, with the people buying anything that was new, big or powerful, anything that would help them outdo their neighbor. The white people claimed to be top dog. Whenever a man of different color would protest, the whites would claim that Red Bear was trying to destroy Great Eagle's land, and so the races fought and the people kept trying to outdo each other. Soon it became unsafe for the free men of America to walk down the streets for fear of being killed for their money. Great Eagle watched all of this and became very angry and decided to release the inflation monster. After the inflation monster came, the people found they had to work harder and harder to make a living, but they still kept trying to outdo their fellow man. Great Eagle's anger increased and he released a second monster, the recession monster. Meanwhile, under the tree of the Great Eagle, a woman named Bureaucracy gave birth to a baby who immediately grew into a man named Gerald. Near the place of his birth there was a lake. His mother told him to swim the lake four times. After he had done this, the water began to boil and from it came a golden sword which flew into his hand. Armed with the sword he went off to pursue the monsters.
Once upon a time in the mountains of West Virginia, lived a man, his wife, and their three sons. Their twin sons were born first. They were very handsome, and drew great attention. One was a very happy, gentle child, and the other petulant and always complaining. The father was very pleased with the pair, for whenever he went into the small town they lived near, they were the center of attention. This pleased the father, and made him feel quite important. Even though the family was poor, the father would manage to keep some change from his meager purse to buy a treat for the boys.

When the children were three years old, the mother gave birth to a third child; also a boy. A more homely child you have never seen. The midwife who delivered the baby thought that "surely such an ugly child had to be a curse upon the parents. Perhaps they hadn't given to the church as they should have in the past year, or perhaps the mother had looked upon a beast, or maybe eaten something that was tabu during pregnancy." It was a very sad occasion.

Normally, a birth meant that well-wishing friends and neighbors would come calling, to look at the newborn and to discuss their own trials and tribulations of childbirth, but the parents were not eager for such visits.

Despite their secrecy, word soon got around that the family had a new child, and neighbors came calling. It was
just as they had feared. People were kind in front of the parents, saying that "he looked like a good child". (not handsome, mind you) But looks that passed back and forth between the visitors spoke more than words.

No one could understand how such pleasant-looking parents could have such an ugly child. His father could not hide the disgust he felt for the child from the moment he first saw him. The mother's concern and pity for him caused her to spend much time with him, trying to compensate for the father's lack of attention. The father, jealous of the time and affection his wife gave the boy, caused him to say unkind things to the woman, blaming her for their sudden misfortune.

Instead of improving with age, the boy seemed to get worse. More and more he looked like a wizened old man. He had little to smile about and seldom spoke, but he was always good and kind and generous.

Rejected by the other children (except for the kind twin), he spent many hours alone in the woods, watching birds call to each other and observing the woodland creatures drinking from the creek nearby. Sometimes the loneliness was more than he could bear, but not being able to understand how or why he was different, it was just easier to isolate himself in the woods.

One day while out in the woods, he met an old woman. She was sitting on her porch in a rocking chair, smoking her pipe. She beckoned him to come onto the porch of her little cabin and sit down. He was surprised that she would want to speak to him, no one ever did. She asked him why he spent so much
time alone in the woods, and he told her that people made fun of him, and that the forest was one place where he could escape the criticism. She told him that he must do something to make his value known to the town; that his looks showed much wisdom and that he must put this wisdom to work.

The old woman told him that first he must learn a trade; to be useful and self-sufficient, but he told her that he knew no trade. "Old woman, I have never gone to school, as my parents were ashamed of me. How am I to learn a trade?" The old woman arose, went into the tiny cabin, picked up a small knife from the table, and returned. She told the boy to go to the woodpile at the side of the house and get a piece of maple. Dissatisfied with the first two chunks, the third proved to be what she wanted, and as the boy sat there, she took the knife to the piece of wood with such skill as he had never seen. Her hands flew this way and that, turning the wood and knife blade, whittling it into the shape of a rabbit. There was no doubt, it was as pretty a rabbit as he had ever seen.

She told the boy to come back each day and that she would teach him to be a fine craftsman with wood, and that perhaps he could sell the pieces in town. The boy agreed and returned home.

On the way home, he was met by the father and the unkind twin, who demanded to know where he had been. "Only to the woods," he replied; whereupon, his father switched him for keeping the family waiting supper. The twin taunted him about his stupidity, but the boy said nothing.

That night, the boy decided that he must leave his home, that he could no longer take the cruelty inflicted upon him by
his father. He packed his belongings and before it was light, he crept out of his bedroom window and into the early morning mist.

The sun was well up by the time he reached the old woman's cabin; she was hoeing her corn when he appeared. He took the hoe from her, and without a word, continued to finish the job that she had begun.

Later, while they were resting on the porch from the heat of the noonday sun, he told the old woman that he had left his home. She knew that explanations were difficult for the boy and so she bade him to rest and be quiet.

The old woman was good to him. She gave him a cot to sleep on in the kitchen, and he in turn, chopped wood for her cook stove, and kept the garden free of weeds. And in the many hours of nothing to do, she began to teach the boy how to work with wood.

She took him into the woods and told him about the trees. "The pine," she said, "grows straight, and is easily worked with hand-tools; from the resin you can make salve and remedies. Oak is a very hard wood; white oak makes good barrels, tubs and buckets, and green oak is good for simple furniture. The locust tree is one of the hardest woods. It's difficult to work. It makes good foundation blocks and pegs. Hickory is a hard wood. It is good for smoking meat, cooking and heating; it's especially good for making wagon parts." She showed him others;"Black gum, cherry, ash and poplar, but the best, if you could get it, was maple."

The boy was a good student; he showed great patience and a
natural aptitude for whittling. The figures he turned out were even better than her own.

Finally, one day after some time had passed, she told the boy that he should take the figures into the town and sell them, but he replied, "No, I am afraid that I might be ridiculed." Seeing that the boy still did not feel his worth, she told him that she would take his figures into the town herself. Reluctantly, the boy packed them up and helped her with them to the edge of town. She took the figures to a general store, and showed them to the owner. His eyes lit up as he unpacked them. Never before had he seen such skill.

The cabinetmaker in the town demanded to know who had turned out such fine workmanship, and on the third trip into the village, the old woman told them of the boy.

Pleading with the boy, she convinced him to go into the village, for there his opportunity would be much greater. His skill and appreciation for the working of beautiful wood would be rewarded. But most of all, he would realize that he was a person of great worth.

The boy consented and went into the town. People watched him work, and marveled at this remarkable talent.

When the father found out about his son's success, he strutted and crowed about how he was responsible for the boy's success; whereupon, the boy denounced his father, saying, "You have rejected me all of my life, Father; please do not take credit for what another has done."

Before long, the boy was able to open his own shop. He offered to teach his older brothers what he knew, but pride
would not let the unpleasant twin accept; he left town. Soon after, the father feeling rejected, died. The younger boy moved back into his own home once more. The kindly old woman who had taken him in and helped so much, had simply disappeared.

Thereafter, people were heard to say, "How could we have ever thought that this beautiful person was ugly? Has he changed or have we?"
Eagle was talking with his brothers, Buffalo, Coyote, and Whooping Crane one day. "The Earth is abounding with buildings nowadays; there is hardly anywhere to roam in the wild, beautiful Mother Earth. Where are we to go?"

Buffalo made answer to him. "O Brother, what difference does it make whether or not we have land to roam?"

"Yes," answered Crane, "the greedy human would kill us were we to show ourselves in the wild. What is the use for asking a place in which to live if we will but be killed there?"

Coyote said, "Money drives these humans. If they don't want our skins to sell, they kill us to protect their precious herds and crops. And if those reasons don't suffice, we are killed for sport."

"We have so few of our numbers left that it will not be long before all of us, even we four, are gone," Crane noted.

"It is indeed a sad situation," Buffalo added, shaking his head dejectedly.

As Eagle and his three friends parted company, Eagle could not accept the disturbing fact that his species, supposedly revered by American peoples as their "National Bird", was facing extinction by the hands of the very people who love "him. He determined to try every way he could to make the American people realize what devastation they were bringing to their own precious wildlife. Eagle flew home to
consider his best plan of action.

The following day, having made up his mind, Eagle departed. He gathered all of his courage and flew to the national office of NBC, a television station. There, he talked with the executives, begging them to let him speak through their network to the American people. "They must know what they are doing to us with their ever-growing cities, pollution, and greedy, monetary-minded hunters. Wildlife is being killed, maimed, and destroyed; the Humans should know of this, and should know that they are the cause."

The executives poohed his suggestion and threw him out into the street. Eagle tried the other networks also, but received no sympathy or help.

Dejected and humiliated, Eagle flew home. Once again he met with Buffalo, Whooping Crane and Coyote, telling them of his experiences.

Buffalo offered a suggestion. "If we are to be forever remembered after we become extinct, which seems an inevitable fact now, we must do something!"

"What could that be?" asked Coyote.

Eagle suggested that each of the heads of these four dying species must determine a way of immortalizing his species. "Although this will not be easy, it must be done," Eagle concluded. "The children of future generations must somehow know of us!"

The four agreed, parting company to embark upon their tasks. Eagle thought and thought, as he flew home, of what he could do to immortalize his species. He was saddened to think
that this would become a necessity for any form of wildlife, particularly of the species "beloved" as America's National Bird.

Eagle devised three alternatives by which eagles would become immortalized. The first involved his going to the National Zoo in Washington, D. C. He gave himself to be on display for people to see, taking his wife with him in order to perpetuate (and immortalize) the species. However, this environment was not the answer. Children could not see him flying naturally, living his life normally. He was too confined; also, the number of people able to see him was extremely limited. When he complained to the zookeeper that this was inappropriate as an immortalizing device, he was thrown out of the zoo. Eagle was now ready to embark on Plan #2.

He flew to the home of an artist who was sympathetic to the wildlife movement. The artist agreed to paint Eagle flying freely over the land. When the painting was done, it was hung in a national Art Gallery. Though the painting was good, the number of Americans to see it was still too limited. This method would not work as an immortalizer. Eagle thanked the artist, then moved on to his final plan #3.

He visited the United States Mint. There he spoke with the officials. These men were sympathetic to his cause, but didn't feel they had any form of immortalization to offer Eagle. They did allow him to visit the mint, however. As Eagle was viewing the making of coins on this tour, an idea struck him. "Coins are something ALL Americans, young, old, rich and poor deal with. Perhaps if I could get myself onto those coins
Then Eagle made a dramatic decision. He decided to give his own life for the immortalization of his race. Below him bubbled the melting vat for the coin metals. He flew upward, poised himself, then flew straight down toward the vat. As he dove, he reflected how sad a state of affairs it had become that he had to reduce himself to becoming a part of greedy America's monetary system in order for people to preserve him. With that thought, he flew into the vat. From then on, the eagle has appeared on three of our coins (25¢, 50¢, $1.00). That is how Eagle came to appear on our coinage, and that is how Eagle immortalized himself.
Once, not so very long ago, there was an age when all the important work in this country was done by machines. It was a time now remembered as that point where human life meant very little, for the very few people in the country who did work only did so to keep the machines from breaking down. And always the cogs of that technocratic society were being made newer or improved, for it was then thought that nothing finer could be done to make life better.

Machines planted, harvested, and prepared all food and drink for our ancestors. They carried people near and far. The great system of gears and servos even made interplanetary travel possible, with the sole purpose of gathering materials to make newer and better machines.

For several years it looked as if mankind had reached the utopia for which it had always strived. Thinking became a national pastime. Everyone listened to the machines talk (for few people bothered with the effort of reading, when it wasn't necessary), of the hard days gone by, and of history. Men and women spent everyday in thought. They invented mental games, solved theoretical problems, and even learned from the repetitious mistakes which had occurred throughout history. Warfare, crime, and hunger all ceased to exist, and our ancestors slowly settled into the hitherto-unknown sublime world of leisure. Years of harmony passed quickly - as did the indi-
viduality of the people - and they became merely a mass of numbers - accompanists to the symphony of machines. At best, people were classified according to what they liked to think about. It was a time of peace throughout the world.

According to old dating systems, the year was 2525 A.D., when a boy was born to a couple of history-thinkers in Dogseye, Vermont. It follows that he should have lived his life as had his parents - thinking about history; but this boy was rather strange. Instead of using the number-name given him by the machines at birth, he adopted the name Lucky Strike, which he had come across in some old twentieth century manuscripts. His strangeness to the mechanical environment was exemplified by his love for reading, which was considered an arduous chore at the time, and by the fact that he tried to do more with his hands than merely push buttons and pull levers.

Lucky Strike found out early in his life that he could make people believe almost anything by singing his words instead of speaking them. By using this gift he achieved the prominent position of oiler for Maximus II, the machine which controlled all the other machines in the land. Lucky's 'job' was one of about ten such tasks in the country involving physical exercise and coordination, but he was very dissatisfied. The one thing he disliked most was the lack of meaning life had for his fellow men.

One day, while thinking of history, Lucky decided to formulate and carry out a plan to put some sense of individuality into men everywhere. He began by not oiling Maximus II. After
a week, machines everywhere were ceasing to function properly. As the country stirred slowly into wakefulness as to the nature of the mechanical failures, Lucky Strike assumed the spotlight and began to sing old blues tunes and work songs, and because of his strange powers of persuasion, Lucky caused people everywhere to wonder just what it was like to work with their hands and to actually build and accomplish things. Soon this spirit spread across the land. Instead of sitting and thinking only, folks everywhere sang songs and sought out or created manual tasks. Most machines were allowed to rust, or were disassembled altogether. People planted their own gardens and even competed with each other in physical contests and games. This then was how the hero, Lucky Strike, saved mankind from perpetual mechanical bondage.
WHY THERE ARE NO KINGS IN AMERICA

Jerry Mitchell
Wichita State University

During the Great Undeclared War, the god of Peace searched the world for a mortal to lead the warring kingdoms out of conflict. He sent his messenger to the greatest of the lands in the guise of Henry of Kissinger. Sir Henry went into the kingdom of Nixonland with the message of the god of Peace and delivered it to King Richard. The king knew better than to disobey the will of the gods even though his land's economy was built around the war, and so, he sent the god's messenger to the kings of the other lands to talk to them of peace. After King Richard granted many concessions to the other kings, they decided to end the Great Undeclared War and let the king of Nixonland rebuild their blemished kingdoms.

As a result of the messenger of Peace's mission on earth, King Richard became a hero in the eyes of his followers and his country. Whenever his name was mentioned it was in regard to the great new peace. In order to maintain his image, the king started going to forbidden kingdoms such as that of Mao, Brezhnev, and Hussain on missions of peace. His fame as a peacemaker was spread to the four corners of the earth, and he was exalted to a position near that of the immortals.

King Richard's peacemaking lasted but a short while for his councils were becoming bored with so little to do. Although Richard was the ruler of the mightiest kingdom in the world, he was not the wisest of kings. He had in his council many devious
men who worshiped the gods of Power and Possessions. These councilmen prayed and made sacrifices to their gods in order that these gods' influence be felt by their King of Peace, and so it came to pass.

King Richard listened to and was influenced by his evil councils. He became overcome by Power and Possession. The king became so filled with craving for Power that he violated all the rules of the kingdom in regard to his would-be adversaries who were highly-respected noblemen. He sent out his councils and his royal guard to spy upon the men who would test his leadership. He obtained information as to their beliefs and used this information against them on the political battlefield. Through devious tactics he annihilated all his opposition.

Then, having secured his throne, he became obsessed with the goddess Possession. He started amassing great fortunes and hid them in his new castles in the provinces of Florida and California which he built through the money obtained by overtaxing the poor. He became close allies with the Princes of Power in the kingdom, Prince Standard and Prince Att, because each could gain from the other. King Richard was so obsessed with his new Power that he claimed to be the most powerful mortal or immortal in all the worlds.

Such words were echoed in the realm of the gods and came unto the ruler of all gods, Justice. Though Justice has no eyes, she hears quite well. The words of the mortal King Richard arose the wrath of the greatest of gods. She sent her emissaries, the Plagues Inflation and Dissent, out among the
peoples of the Kingdom who were apathetic and docile creatures. They became as lions thirsting for blood and took interest in their kingdom and its leadership. They saw scandal after scandal, misuses of their trusts and frivolous usage of the kingdom's wealth. The thought of revolution filled their hearts and they began to rid the kingdom of its tyrants. They started by overthrowing some of the royal guard. Sir Liddy was the first to feel the wrath of the peasants. Then came the ousting of the corrupt councilmen, Sir Dean, Sir Haldeman, Sir Ehrlichman and many more. They even threw out the evil commissioner of law, Sir Mitchell, and the heir-apparent, Prince Agnew.

When the threat of a violent overthrow finally descended upon King Richard, he was compelled to abdicate the throne, never again to wield his Power over the lands.

The goddess, Justice, was pleased with this outcome. She had taught the evil gods, Power and Possession, a lesson they would not soon forget and neither would the people of the kingdom which is once again the United States of America.
The people lived in the Western land, the Eastern land and the Middle land. In the Western land, the young people were very handsome, and they named their land "California." The Eastern land people were very good workers. They liked to build very tall buildings with no windows. They lived very close together and did not like the outside places. They named their land "New York." The Middle land people did not like the Western land people or the Eastern land people because they talked strange words. They liked animals best and built great houses for them. They also liked growing food which they also built houses for. They named their land "Kansas."

In the Western land the children became very proud of their beauty, and the elders wanted this beauty very much. The elders began changing and soon there were no parents. All the Californians became very young and no one was left to perform ceremonies.

The Eastern land people, who were good workers, built many buildings but soon there were buildings everywhere and the sun could not reach the earth there. The air became very bad and they could not breathe very well. The New Yorkers lived close together in the dark and they began fighting together with each other, for they could not see who was their family.
The Middle land people, who liked animals and growing food, became angry for no one in the Western land worked now since they were all children, and they could not pay for their food. They were angry also because the Eastern land people fought all the time over the price of the food. The Middle land people began changing. They could not feed their animals because they had no money for seeds, so they sacrificed them for they did not want the strange fighting Eastern people eating their food, nor did they want the children of the Western land growing strong on their plants. The Kansans hid the food they could grow and told no one.

There was a young boy in Hays, Kansas, named Gregor. He had a dream one night of a great Space Being. The Space Being, Antar, told him that soon there would be terrible things coming to the peoples of the West, East and Middle lands. Antar told Gregor that he must go to the Flint Hills and find a special cave. There he would discover three tablets which would tell him what he must do. Gregor told no one about his dream. But he soon began preparing for his journey. His three older brothers asked him what he was doing when they saw him taking some food from the silo. They did not like this and tried to stop him. Elmer, the oldest brother, jumped on Gregor's horse and started straight for Gregor to trample him. But Gregor whistled and the horse stopped suddenly, throwing Elmer crashing to the ground to his death. Then, Buddy, the second brother, called for the cows and the bull to come and poked the bull and then ran away. The bull started charging toward Gregor and there was much dust in the air. Suddenly, Buddy began to sneeze.
so he pulled his red handkerchief from his jeans and the bull seeing this turned toward him and gored him. Then, Joe, the third brother, jumped upon the tractor with the cultivator rake on the front, and started toward Gregor to seek revenge for the brothers' deaths. Gregor seeing this, threw a rock in the path of the tractor and it overturned, crushing Joe. Gregor then left for the Flint Hills. He wandered and wandered, looking for the cave that Antar had told him of. Finally, he saw a glistening rock and when he touched it a cave suddenly appeared. Then he saw three tablets of gold lying inside the cave. He could not read the tablets at first, then he found some glasses of many colors which he put on. The first tablet told him he must not tell anyone of what he was doing and to collect all the magnet-rocks from the area. The second tablet told him he must begin building a space ship which would fly into space because the magnets would repel gravity. The third tablet told him that soon there would be a terrible flood and he could be saved. He worked hard, alone, gathering the magnetic rocks and building the space ship.

Soon the Mississippi River began swelling, swelling, swelling. The people of the West, East and Middle lands began moaning and crying. The waters spread to New York and all the buildings without windows fell down and many, many people were washed away into the Atlantic Ocean. The waters also spread to California, and the many children with few parents were washed away into the Pacific Ocean. The waters then came to Kansas and the hiding places for food were destroyed and many,
many Kansans were washed away into the Gulf of Mexico. But Gregor left in his space ship and was soaring above all the terrible floods.

Soon the sun was shining in New York. It dried up all the waters because it could reach the earth there now. And a few New Yorkers had clung to the Statue of Liberty. And in California the waters receded because of the mountains. And a few elders lived there because they were strong enough to hold on to the mountain tops. In Kansas the wind blew and soon there was a tornado which sucked up a few people from the waters. Soon the waters were all blown away and the tornado dropped a few people back to the earth in Kansas.

The people started gathering their things together to begin living again. Gregor returned to Kansas and there he had another dream. Antar once again came to him and told him that he must learn all the good of the world and make laws for the people left in the nation. So, Gregor read all the books of the nation and soon people began coming to him for help. Then Gregor had another dream and Antar told him it was now time to give the laws to the people. He gave laws for distributing their food so that all could eat. He told them how to build buildings so that the sun could still reach the earth. And he told them how to keep the air clean. He told the Western people how to remain young without being children so that families could still stay together. The people loved Gregor, for his counsel was good and because he was so strong and healthy. The nation flourished and soon there were many, many, many people again.
But pretty soon there were so many people that they could not all remember the rules. The old ways began to come again. Gregor's laws were not remembered and the fighting broke out again, and the children multiplied and multiplied. Gregor ran away and died of sorrow for Antar had told him how to find the right ways, but no one would listen. The nation, hearing of his death, remembered the laws and the elder ones wept. The Western land people sent shells from the beaches for a monument that the Easterners wanted to build for Gregor. The Middle land people asked that the beautiful monument be placed in their land, in Kansas, so they could always remember Gregor.
In the beginning there was god, because the people believed in god. God created the sun and reserved it as her home, and then he created the earth, the sea, the animals (including humans), and the plants. She arranged all of these elements, balancing them one with the others, setting them in order, establishing a causal system in which all aspects of earth would affect each other. And god exerted a great deal of effort to keep everything in order; he was protecting his investment.

At last god grew tired of the constant vigilance required to keep the earth in order. Frankly, she was becoming bored with her world, in which everything was predictable. So god caused electrical disturbances in the atmosphere, a bolt of lightning set a dead tree afire, and then god turned his back on the world, causing darkness. God knew that the first animal to see the fire would recognize it as an important gift, and learn to use fire during the night when god was not watching the world. Sure enough, a human found the fire, and taught his brothers about fire. For a time, god was satisfied. She was relieved to pass some of the responsibility on to humans, just as parents must eventually relinquish control over their children. God rewarded the people by giving them languages and rudimentary technical skills, by teaching the humans to take care of themselves. He also gave humans life in the spirit world after death, eternal life, and allowed them to unite themselves in orderly groups in his name.

But as time passed, god became uneasy about the manner in which humanity was developing. They were cutting down her trees, killing her animals, burning off her grasslands. But what could god do? He had given the people their freedom, and couldn't very well take it away from them, especially as the people were becoming powerful in their own right. Then god decided that the nature of the world she had created would not allow the people to get too far out of line, or they would destroy the world and themselves. So god decided that his investment was well protected; after all, man would surely never go so far as to destroy himself.

Nevertheless, as more time passed, god became even more worried about the recklessness of her people. Such wholesale destruction of the environment! And worst of all, human exploitative successes so far had allowed the human population to grow dangerously large. The resulting shortages brought humans together in warfare. God realized, when humans began
to kill each other, that these humans were entirely capable of destroying her handiwork, including themselves.

So god tried another tactic. Because disorder had not kept humans in line, god decided that perhaps teaching humans the order of their world would restrain their recklessness. After all, all parents teach their children something about order; just so god decided to explain the larger rules of the world to the people. Therefore, god ejaculated several particularly strong bursts of solar radiation, which fell upon a woman planting seeds in a burnt-out area of the forest. This woman became pregnant and gave birth to twins who, though outwardly identical to other infants, possessed special minds, slightly mutated by god's radiation.

These children were called the Essences (but better known to us as the sciences), and as the Essences developed and matured, they began to recognize the order of causality. They taught themselves to isolate recurring segments of the order, to call these segments rules, and to use these rules to predict what would happen next. They built machines and powered them with more of god's precious resources. In effect, they learned to make their lives easier, but they gave very little attention to finding the proper position of humans among the order of things. In fact, they often decided that the order didn't even apply to themselves.

Obviously, god said to herself, those people have missed the point again. But since man had grown so powerful through god's gifts, god could no longer control his creation. So he resigned himself to losing his investment, and sat back to alternatively watch, then turn his back on, then watch again, the people.

In fact, as the people learned more and more about the essence of order, they began to doubt that god even existed. And when the essence of atomic order was realized, the people knew for sure that the sun was nothing so spectacular, much less a god. Thus did the Essence twins destroy the creator of their parents. And when god was dead, the people lost eternal life, for when they died they could never more be removed to the spirit world by their former god.

So we have seen that the people gained freedom, knowledge, and responsibility for their actions, but because of these things, death and disorder came into the world.
ANOTHER FANTASY
OF
CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CULTURE

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There were two men, one black, one white, and a girl sitting at a long table in a bar. I had nothing else to do so I went to the table to try and get in on the conversation when the black man said, "There's no room."

"There's plenty of room here," I said, and I sat down at one end of the table.

"Would you like some wine?" the white man said. Seeing that they were all drinking beer, I said, "I don't see any wine."

"There isn't any."

"Then it isn't very civil of you to offer it."

"Well, it wasn't very civil of you to sit down uninvited either."

"I didn't realize it took invitations around here. There is plenty of room here."

"Your hair needs to be cut," the black man said. "You make awfully personal statements for a stranger."

The black man sat up in his chair and looking offended, simply said, "Do you know why a bird is like a table?"

Ah, I'm glad they changed the subject. "I think I can guess that."
"You mean you think you can find the answer?"
"Well, yeah, that's the same thing."
"Not at all," said the black man. "You might as well say, 'I see what I get' is the same as 'I get what I see'."
"Or," added the white man, "You could say 'I like what I get' is the same thing as 'I get what I like'!

The girl spoke up and said, "Just like you could say 'I breathe when I sleep' is the same as 'I sleep when I breathe'."
Perhaps it is the same for you but not for me," said the black man. "Have you guessed the riddle yet?"
"No, I give up, what is it?"
"I have no idea."
"Well, I think you could do better things with time than think up stupid riddles with no answers!"

The white man interrupted here and said, "If you know time like I do you wouldn't talk about wasting it! What do you know about time anyway?"
"Well, I know that I beat time to music."
"Ah! That's it! Time doesn't like to be beaten. If you'd keep on good terms with him he'll do anything for you." The white man thought for a moment and then said, "In other words, suppose it were 8:00 in the morning, time to go to work. All you'd have to do is give time a hint and the clock would go around until it was noon, time for lunch."
"That'd be OK I guess, but I wouldn't be hungry yet."
"Not at first, but you could keep it there as long as you wanted."
"Is that what you do? Make it whatever time you want it?"

"I did until I got in a fight with time. Now he won't listen to me. I never know what time it will be from one moment to the next. I've gotten to the point that I disregard time altogether. I just sit here with my friends and drink beer and tell stories."

"That must be a terrible way to live," I said quite sympathetically.

"Not at all. Have some more beer."

"I haven't had any yet, how can I have more?" I said.

"You mean you can't have less. It's a lot easier to have more than none."

"Maybe, but I don't think..."

The black man interrupted, "Then you shouldn't talk!"

Well, that was more than I could take. I got up and walked away. It was enough for them to play word games, but their insults! What a crazy bunch of people!
A DISCUSSION OF THE METHODS OF CLASSIFYING HUMAN FOSSILS WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE BOSKOP RACE PROBLEM.

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Methods of Classification

Human paleontology involves the study of fossil specimens of life thought to be man-like or ancestral to man. Human paleontology also involves a study of the relationship of the fossils to each other and their importance to human evolution. In the past history of the field of human paleontology, two methods have been employed in classifying skeletal populations. The use of these methods has led to confusion with respect to the study of micro-evolution in human groups. An example of the confusion in human paleontology resulting from the use of the typological and population methods of analysis will be discussed in this paper with special reference given to the Boskop race problem.

Before discussing the classification of the South African "Boskop", Bush and Bushman material I would like to mention the methods used in the past and present for the labeling of fossil materials and living specimens. A recent article on "The Origins of Taxonomy" attacks the basis of the entire taxonomic system used in zoological systematics. The present system of taxonomy is "basically a Renaissance codification of folk taxonomic principles" made on the implicit assumption that the number of living and extinct organisms to be classified are of a limited number of 25-50,000. The present system is criticised as being incapable of performing the function for which it is used. The Linnean system is based on the assumption that there is a limited number of memorizable genera and recognizes no taxa above the generic level. The old system has to be replaced with new standards for recording information. The present system is
criticised for being classification oriented and not towards information retrieval (Raven et al 1971).

The present system of taxonomy based on the classification of items according to morphological characteristics has been interpreted and applied to fossil material by human paleontologists in two different ways. The typological approach to classification of species seems to have evolved naturally out of the Linnean system, Linnaeus' insistency on the constancy and objectivity of species developed into the view that the variation among individuals in a species is due to imperfections in the visible manifestations of the idea implicit in each species. This is the approach used by the advocates of the typological species concept; i.e., the degree of morphological difference determines species status (Mayr 1963:16). The Linnean system helps support the typological approach, as a variety is the only subdivision of the species and the variety designates any deviation from the type of the species. The ideal type represents deductive extrapolations that do not exist (Bennett 1969:41). This approach leads to confusion in understanding the classifications of the early taxonomists. The varieties of the early taxa were a "heterogeneous potpourri of individual variants and various kinds of races" (Mayr 1969:41). Also a taxonomic system based on the concept of unchanging essences and of complete discontinuities between every eidos (type) and all others makes genuine evolutionary thinking impossible (Mayr 1963:5). Because there are gaps between the ideal types, evolutionary change, if it occurs at all, has to proceed in jumps or skips
and not gradually. This approach is basically unevolution-
istic (Bennet 1969:411). Typological thinking though has
influenced some physical anthropologists; e. g., Hooton,
Neumann, Sheldon and Coon, all of whom have reported on
their ideal types. The use of this method has been critically
evaluated and a "knowledge of genetics shows that the type
concept has no basis in reality." (Boyd 62:65).

The population approach, which has replaced to some
extent typological thinking, is according to Mayr, the
greatest conceptual revolution that has taken place in
biology. The following is a quote which succinctly describes
the differences between the two approaches:

The populationist stresses the uniqueness of
everything in the organic world. What is true
for the human species - that no two individuals
are alike is equally true for all other species
of plants and animals. Indeed even that same
individual changes continuously throughout his
lifetime and when placed in different environments.
All organisms and organic phenomenon are composed
of unique features and can be described collectively
only in statistical terms. Individuals or any kind
of organismic entities form populations of which we
can determine the arithmetic mean and statistics
of variation. Averages are merely statistical
abstractions, only the individuals of which the
populations are composed have reality. The
ultimate conclusions of the population thinker
and the typologist are precisely the opposite.
For the typologist, the type eidos is real and
variation illusion while for the populationist
the type (average) is an abstraction and only
the variation is real. No two ways of thinking
could be more different.

(Mayr 1963:5)

Population thinkers define human races, varieties in terms
of natural breeding populations. The individuals in a breeding
population share in a common gene pool and the differences
in the statistical averages of the phenotypic traits between
two populations serves as the basic criterion for racial distinctness. Every individual is characterised by traits that overlap those of other individuals, but no individual precisely fits the population average for all traits (Bennett 1969:413). The concepts of the synthetic theory such as natural selection and that of the population are very important for the populationist.

Because of the nature of the human fossil material there are additional problems of classification encountered by human paleontologists. The problems are due to the following limitations:

1) There is a scarcity of fossil specimens either in number or completeness. If the fossil record were not available, many evolutionary problems could not be solved, in fact many would not even be apparent. Evolution means change and yet it is only properly studied by the paleontologists (Mayr 1963:11).

2) There is the problem of interpreting the range of variation of populations to which individuals belong. The use of "extreme types" which are the end points of a series ordered by certain criterion has been advocated by Bennett as a possible solution (1969). The extreme types are represented by specific situations in the fossil record and can be employed by population thinkers. The problem remains of determining the criterion for the end points of a series.

3) The problem of naming fossil specimens and their proper/improper use has been expounded on by Garn (1971)
and others. This is a problem permeating the entire literature on fossil materials. Work on correcting problems of nomenclature continues and rules and limitations are being clarified (Mayr et al 1971). The taxonomist has a difficult job as it is he who names the specimens of local populations, species or genera.

4) The problem of biological evolution; i.e., "descent by modification" can be proved only by demonstrating that one species could originate from another (Mayr 1963:12). The imposing of distinct limits for population differences for classification purposes obfuscates the evidence of past evolutionary history.

One of the problem areas of human paleontology may be cleared up by knowledge of genetic principles. The early fossil hominid material was described by anatomists who seem to have thought that every specimen should be a combination of two distinct names equivalent to the human christian and family names (Mayr 1963:632). For a while, it was impossible to make sense out of hominid phylogeny as long as the fossil remains of man's ancestors were considered mere physical types. Named fossils were placed in morphological series and any specimen that was specialized in any way was called an aberrant side branch. An important advance is to regard human fossils as populations with definite distributions in time and space, rather than as anatomical types.

From studies on living groups it can be seen man is a polytypic species and this can be assumed of fossil hominids also. These early populations likewise were polytypic and geographical isolation and extinction were possible. In the
different groups the rates of phyletic change may have varied in the various isolates of the polytypic species. As in living animal groups, it may have been that advanced and retarded races were contemporaries (Mayr 1963:637-638). These studies of living groups have shown that no two individuals are alike and that both environment and genetic endowment make a contribution to nearly every trait. This variation should be noted in fossil materials as not necessarily indicative of distinctness on the species or subspecies level.

Students of the fossil record should be aware of the two approaches to the classification and study of fossil material and the basic underlying assumptions of both in order to be critical of the literature. In the past, criteria employed by human paleontologists for the study of human skeletal materials was not as strict as today. Some of the fallacies of the past have been perpetuated up to the present due to the lack of proper examination of the literature and materials available. As an example I will discuss the Boskop race problem.
THE BOSKOP TYPE

The source of the problems relating to the Boskop race problem lies in the methods of analysis and types of speculation found in the literature from 1918-1955. I will try to show some of the confusion resulting from misrepresentation of the available evidence on the Boskop material. The Boskop material represents a variant population of the genus and species *Homo Sapiens*. There is a close relationship between this material and the present day Bushman-Hottentot populations though the early literature stressed a difference, and suggested closer relationships to Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon populations.

The Boskop race problem can be used to demonstrate the changes in the purposes and methods of classification procedures used in human paleontology on the generic, specific and subspecific levels. Originally reports were published for classification purposes only, relying mainly on anthropometric techniques with interpretations being speculative in nature. The interpretations were wrong in some cases or analysis faulty with fallacies perpetuated for years. In the 1950's a critical re-evaluation of the material was conducted and additional methods and materials used leading to a new discussion of the problem.

In the year 1914 several pieces of a skull were found on the Boskop farm. The fragments consisted of the greater part of the frontal bone parietals, a small part of the occipital, the right temporal, left horizontal ramus of the mandible and a number of fragments of limb bones. The
stratigraphic position of the material was not noted; however, it was stated with confidence that "the remains are ancient" (Broom 1918:67). An incomplete artifact found with the bones was thought to be of Middle Stone Age date based on typology (van Riet Lowe 1953:137).

The base of the reconstructed skull shows a cranial capacity of 1980 cc (20 cc added to compensate for the crushed left side). The original report notes that in the past new and unexpected types of human skulls have been dismissed as abnormal and pathological; e.g., Neanderthal and Trinil. On the basis of this reconstructed skull the conclusion was advanced that in South Africa in very early times there lived a race of primitive man characterized by a large skull, with very thick parietal bosses, a brain of great size and a powerful jaw with incisors and canines much larger than those in modern man. The teeth show taurodontism. The form was considered to be of sufficiently distinct form from Homo Sapiens so designated as Homo Capensis. Further speculation was advanced that the large size of the cranium naturally suggests an ancestral affinity to Cro-Magnon or possibly to Neanderthal (Broom 1918:76). The finding of the skull showed that the Bushman was not the earliest inhabitant of South Africa. Speculations associating the Boskop race with the Stellenbosch type tools on the Vaal River suggested Boskop Man may have been the maker of Chellean or Acheulian tools (Broom 1918:79).

Later finds and archaeological excavations revealed more skeletal material and further speculative reports resulted. The fossils of the "very peculiar big-headed type found in
association with pre-Bushman culture" was seen to be like the living Bushman in many ways but the fossil material presented stronger "infantile tendencies". The great cranial capacity of the fossils and the unusual ratio between the cranium and face were noted. The ratio of the fossils and the unusual ratio between the cranium and face were noted. The ratio of the Plattenberg material is 4.7:1. The adult skull (1750cc) was compared with that of a Bushman child showing a ratio of 4.6:1. The observation was made that "our pedomorph is merely a harmonious enlargement of this infant skull". There is another infantile trait seen also, taurodontism, linking the Boskop type with Neanderthal man. It is suggested that by the process of fetalization humans have evolved from the simian form. In this case, the simian or ancestral stage has become retarded so that the fetal patterns have persisted and given rise to infantile man (Drennan 1931). Drennan suggests that the Bushman and Hottentots are badly differentiated members of a common stock and not isolated by any geographical barriers.

The studies on the Boskop/South African material reflects the methodology and speculation present in the field of human paleontology at that time. The typological approach had a strong hold and can be exemplified by the following statement:

"During the past years, workers in this department have slowly been piecing together an imaginary picture of the skull of the Boskop physical type."

The material from the Springbok Flats, Fiskhoek and Boskop Farm represents Middle Stone Age variants of the Boskop physical type. The evidence in 1937 suggested that the
prehistoric people in South Africa were the Boskop followed later by the Bush and Negro (Galloway 1937:32).

Most of the literature available on this topic until 1955 is descriptive of individual fossils. The fossils are designated as to physical type on the basis of morphological observations. The following are typical remarks seen in the literature. At the Limpopo site the 79 burials are of "the Boskop Bush type" which is synonymous with Hottentot (Gardner 2948). At the site of Chipongwe the bulk of the cranial and femural material shows Pygmy and Bushman affinities, while some femora resemble large Hottentot bones and are similar to Cro-Magnon man (Torien 1953). A child's jaw from Bok Baai is described as being miniature Mauer in appearance (Singer 1954). Many more elaborate descriptions of individual remains are found in the literature (Keen 1957).

The comparison of the Boskop fossil with a dissection room cadaver in one case was an advance (Galloway 1937), though not realized at the time. Some of the early researchers suggested theories, which have yet to be supported using the fossil record. The theories offered little information on the relationship of the Boskop type to present day Bushman, although it was suggested that in some cases, the skeletons found represented a mixture of the characteristics of two types of elements, suggesting fusion between the original antecedents of the Bushman and a Boskopoid element (Grobbelaar 1952).
CRITICAL REEVALUATION OF THE PROBLEM

An attempt at re-examining the Boskop material and introducing it in light of modern genetic theory is made by Tobias (1957). The Bushman living in the Kalahari are described and certain traits noted in common with the fossil material. The article attempts to describe a theory of fetalization based in modern genetics. It suggests that instead of speaking of genes for head length, the genes controlling the processes of growth and maturation resulting in the adult skull have to be examined. Theories for selection of dwarfs (short stature) in the desert environment are mentioned. However, it is mentioned that there was probably never a pure Bushman race as the living Bushman still have many tall people in the population. The article contains some new concepts and some old, and is a beginning towards solving the problem. The article compares the modern Bushman with the Chinese; however, the following conclusions are reached in the paper. There is no evidence the Bushman have come from outside Africa. The Bushman exhibit a distinct set of physical characteristics different except from some Hottentots. The earliest Bush crania come from South Africa and further north they become later in time. The article is an attempt to sort out the literature, but the construct of the racial history of the Bushman by Tobias (1957:39) only confuses the issue more.

The first clear and critical re-evaluation of the literature relating to the Boskop problem is by Singer (1958). He notes how a race is constructed around a skullcap. The traits of the Boskop skull which supposedly make it distinct
are the following, and objections are presented by Singer:

1) The length and strength of the supra-mastoid ridge are qualitatively great and compare with Neanderthal. However, a ridge of comparable size can be found in modern skulls of Bantu, Eskimo and Cape Coloured.

2) The Boskopoid type supposedly has high parietal bosses. On the type skull there may be distortion due to the crushed condition of the left side.

3) The prominence of the central crista frontalis on the internal aspect of the frontal bone is seen in all modern racial groups varying from individual to individual so is not distinct.

4) Another trait, the excessive thickness of the skull is found to be within the range of modern groups.

5) The corrected cranial capacity of the Boskop type may be 1700 rather than 1832 or 1900.

6) The position of the mandibular condyle suggests an orthognathic type of face which is dissimilar to Cro-Magnon.

7) The small teat-shaped mastoid process is of a type commonly found in modern Bushman or Bushman-Hottentot crania; i.e., rounded and narrow with a constriction or type of ophryonic groove above the supra-orbital ridges which have a marked lateral angle. Other traits of the Boskop type are the wide shallow palate and various post-cranial characters, supra-asterionic bulging and a deep groove for the sigmoid sinus. All of the above traits are not traits distinct to the Boskop skull.
In order to establish a Boskop race, the identifying features in a large series must be attributed to the Boskop skull itself. The Boskop skull is distinct only in its great length and width, the width falling well beyond the normal outer limits of the Bushman and Negro, the length within the ranges of the Hottentot and Negro. The boskop skull is compared to some known modern Bushman and Hottentot types. Most of the other skulls have little in common with the Boskop skull's great size and the post-cranial traits are likewise dissimilar.

The Boskop type concept was initiated by Dart in 1923 and advocated by several of his students. The Boskop type was supposedly of a type dispersed in South Africa before the occupation by the Bushman. The terms pre-Bush, proto-Bushman, proto-Australoid, pre-Hottentot arose even though there is no definition of a Bushman or Hottentot type existing. The dispersal and migrations of these races or sub-species are based on small collections of skeletal material discovered in small groups or individually over thousands of miles of African continent with poor stratigraphic references or cultural associations. Somehow the term Middle Stone Age Physical Type became synchronous with the Boskop Race. The term 'Boskop' now should refer only to the type specimen - a large calvarium of Bushman-Hottentot nature (Singer 1958:76),

Race may be defined operationally as a rough measure of the genetic difference in human populations and may function as a device for teaching human variation and as a research tool. However, race does not necessarily exist in reality
and its use depends on an individual's area of research. However, in population studies the term is used, to designate populations which show genetic differences. Genetic distance may occur due to physical or temporal isolation or in conjunction with environmental difference (Baker 1967).

An elaborate study on the racial affinities of the South African Negro is reported by de Villiers. The study is based on series of not less than 35 undeformed male crania per series from all available African crania series. On the basis of the cranial measures the Bushman show distance from the other African groups based on the Penrose method of distance statistics. The report also tries to show the distribution of Bush and Boskop features in the South African Negro crania, even though the concept of a Boskop type has been challenged. The report shows how the new statistical methods and computer programs are applied in population studies (de Villiers 1968). However, the purpose for which the study is reported is questionable and the main emphasis of the article appears to be on classification of the African Negro groups based on minute and even questionable morphological distinctions, perhaps for purpose of defining the racial groups of South Africa for the government. Some of the conclusions of the report can be questioned on the basis of the data presented.

The above three studies by Tobias, Singer and de Villiers begin to reflect changes in the method of approach of human paleontologists and physical anthropologists to the skeletal materials available. However, in the reports are remnants of
the old typological approach and speculation regarding human variation.

**CURRENT STATUS OF STUDIES ON THE BUSHMAN**

The history of the Bushman and their ancestral populations is becoming better known through archaeological excavations. The ancestral Bushman skeletons are found associated with artifacts of the Wilton industry throughout most of eastern and southern Africa. The earlier skeletal material appears to be of a larger Khoisan stock and dating 40,000 B.P. to 18,000 B.P. The small Bushman fossils appear in South Africa 11,000 B.P. (Clark 1970:164-5).

The skeletal studies being conducted at the present show attempts to get away from the typological definition of subspecies and are employing more of the theories and methods of the biological species concept. Instead of examining the skeletal materials for differences, the causes of the differences are being searched for. Some of the more recent population skeletal studies are by Stern and Singer who criticise the typological approaches of Galloway and Tobias and other earlier workers. They said much of the skeletal material is divided into meaningless groups of pure races and hybrids by the earlier authors, and a new method of approach is suggested by Stern and Singer for the study of the hybrid material. The hybrid material may be able to reveal how far back the Bushman and Hottentot constituted distinctive races, the amount of admixture between the two groups, and when and how often admixture between the two groups occurred (Stern and Singer 1967:104).
The hybrid skeletal material available to Stern and Singer is a small sample of 8 Bushman men, 6 Bushman women and 4 Hottentot men. Because of the small sample, size and statistical measures derived cannot be taken as significant. However, in the sample of the Bushman male crania are significantly larger than females in many instances. There is little difference between the Hottentot and Bushman males, but the sample size is too small. No trends are noted other than the Bushman men are larger than the women. The study data showed though, "less tendency in the direction of the accepted, typical characteristics of the Bushman or Hottentot" when compared to measurements published earlier in the literature (Broom 1923, Drennan 1938). Because of the sample size multivariate techniques are not used (Stern and Singer 1967).

The study of modern representatives of South African races is criticized as being valueless because of the widespread inter-breeding (Dreyer and Meiring 1952). The problem of hybridization can be dismissed as a problem according to Montagu (1950). The use of hybrids though is an attempt to get away from the strict typological approach to the fossil material and an attempt to perhaps study it more objectively.

A comprehensive study was recently reported on a series of Bushman, Hottentot and South African Negro skulls of both males and females. The racial affinities of the skeletal material is known. The sample sizes are larger. The computer techniques of multivariate analysis and descriminant function analysis are used. The findings show the range of Bushman-Hottentot variation
is small and non-significant with relation to the Bushman-Negro and Hottentot-Negro separation. The conclusion regarding the cranial information is supported by other studies which show the Bushman and Hottentot are similar in blood group and serum protein distribution. The Hottentots differ slightly in the height of the cranial vault (Rightmire 1971a:193).

The lumping of the Bushman and Hottentot into the Negro category does not seem right according to Rightmire on the basis of the cranial analysis (1971a:169). The amount of Khoisan-Negro distance is still a problem to be examined more fully. The lumping of the Bushman and Hottentot with the African Negro is suggested by Singer, who proposes that his observations lead to the opinion that the definition of the Negro must be extended to include the light-skinned people (Singer 1970:41).

Though the Bushman exhibit some Mongoloid traits; e. g., the orthognathous face, yellow to yellow-brown skin, it does not seem feasible. The archaeological evidence shows no reports of migrations and the Diego blood antigen is absent (Rightmire 1971a:172). The evidence refutes any Mongoloid populations' influence on the origin of the Bushman population.

The comprehensive study of the known Bushman, Hottentot and South African Negro crania helped establish criteria important in distinguishing groups from each other. The results and the technique are used to solve a more complicated problem, establishing the racial affinity of Iron Age crania in poorly preserved condition (Rightmire 1971b). The study of this material helps solve some of the debates over the peoples living in eastern and Southern Africa during the Early Iron Age. The use of the multi-
variate discriminant analysis technique shows the important measurements or morphology important to group separations and separates out the fossils according to the available information. The results are not really relevant here but the use of the technique has important implications for future studies.

Many researchers are conducting studies on the Bushman in other areas showing how physical anthropologists have added more methods of analysis to their discipline in order to study human variation in different populations. Dermatoglyphics are reported on the different Bushman bands by Hiernaux (1969:166). The question of the Bushman's adaptation to desert conditions is discussed by Wynbham (1970). (The Bushman, Negro and Caucasian male population responses to heat, cold and exercise at medium altitude are remarkably similar.)

Extensive blood studies have been conducted on the Bushman. The most discriminating trait studied is the Gm allele which is located on the heavy chains of the Immune globulin molecule, which may be determined by more than one allele. The Bantu have been in South Africa possibly only since 500-1500 B.P., arriving in waves and replacing the Bushman hunter-gatherers in the area. The amount of Bushman admixture in various tribes can be seen by the frequency of the Gm$^{1,13}$ allele. The Gm allele can be used to estimate the amount of racial admixture as well as to study the amount of variation in a racial group (Jenkins et al 1969:197).

The Bushman and Hottentot groups are being studied by many techniques. The subsistence patterns, caloric intakes, etc., are important to an understanding of the group's adaptation to
the environment. The social customs of these groups are being examined also. All the information collected will give a better understanding of the people as they are today and what their ancestors were like in the past.

CONCLUSIONS

The problem of classifying human fossil material is a recurrent topic in the literature. To help alleviate some of the problems, Simpson suggests that anthropologists like zoologists should, for the purpose of discussion of individual specimens, use their specimen number. This practice is almost universal in zoology. This would help perhaps facilitate the publication of information on specimens. The information should include standardized measurements, photographs, without the necessity of making a hasty judgement about the status of the specimen or delaying publication until a decision of the proper taxonomy has been considered (Eckhardt 1970:337-40). This procedure is followed by Richard Leakey in the reports on the recent finds at Lake Rudolph (1971).

Further studies in human paleontology will provide perhaps more systematic studies of the fossil materials available, and more answers regarding the origin of man and migrations of different geographical populations. The paleontologist cannot just examine the fossil material, but must also consider the cultural associations with the fossils in order to better interpret the fossil record. Studies on living populations provide more information about the mechanisms of evolution and the amount of variation present in living groups, and the
theories can be applied to tests on the fossil materials. The use of new techniques make these broader studies possible and perhaps more significant.
Fig. 5. Restoration of the Skull of *Homo caprarius*. 46/100 Nat. size. The parts shaded are those known.

(Broom 1918:77)

Fig. A Skull of a pre-Bushman from Plettenberg Bay.
B Skull of a Bushman.
C Skull of an infant Bushman, eight years old.

(Drennan 1931:205)
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SOCIAL CONTROL BY SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS
IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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INTRODUCTION

Some mechanisms of social control are vital to every human culture. They are the means by which chaos and confusion are avoided, and by which individuals are able to continue to live within the framework of their societies. In this paper, a description of the mechanisms of social control found in two agricultural, two pastoral, and two hunting and gathering societies in Africa will be given, and an attempt to discover whether or not there exists any appreciable amount of correlation between the subsistence pattern and the types of mechanisms used will be made.

Specific techniques for maintaining order and control within a society can be divided into four basic categories. The first category can be labeled secular and would include all control techniques stemming from the political system, those concerned with public opinion and values, and those techniques based on the processes of fission and fusion of groups within the society. The second category is that of religious techniques, dealing with those elements of social control believe to have supernatural sanctions. Thirdly, the category of kinship would contain those techniques which originate in and are maintained by the many ties and obligations inherent in the kinship systems of a society. Lastly, there exists a category which can be called encult-urative, one whose techniques for social control are inherent in the initiation ceremonies and age-set systems of societies which instill the modes of proper behavior in the young.
These categories are of an arbitrary nature and in real life are often very difficult to separate, for many techniques of social control contain elements from more than one category.

The six societies to be dealt with will be examined and discussed as they existed before colonization and before the imposition of modern national governments and economies upon their traditional patterns of culture. The two agricultural societies, the Lugbara of northwestern Uganda and the Arusha of northeastern Tanzania, are representative of many African agriculturalists, as the Nuer of the south central Sudan and the Jie of northwestern Uganda are of Sub-Saharan African cattle herders. Of the two hunter-gatherer societies that will be examined, the Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri Forest in northwestern Congo are within the same general vicinity as the previous peoples. The subsistence pattern of the !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert of Southwest Africa allows them to be connected with the Pygmies, in contrast to the other four societies.

In examining the techniques of social control that these African peoples have, the emphasis will shift from the general to specific and back. Where necessary, specific details which the techniques of different societies have in common will be illustrated. On the other hand, where specific details differ, but general principles underlying certain techniques exist, emphasis will be placed on these.
The ultimate goal in this examination is to ascertain if certain techniques of social control, whether they be a secular, religious, kinship or enculturative nature, are limited in their usage to only one type of subsistence or whether they are also utilized by societies having different patterns of subsistence.
Among the !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert, a society of hunters and gatherers still living largely in the Stone Age, there is a minimal amount of social control which can be labeled political in nature. The only such technique is found in the person of the headman.

The headman of a !Kung band, a group of families who live together and are related by close kinship, is usually an older man who has inherited the office from his father by virtue of being the oldest son, and who also possesses the necessary qualities of leadership, i.e. common sense, wisdom, and concern for his people. His authority is used "to coordinate the movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move (Marshall 1965: 267)." The headman also represents the rights of ownership of the food resources (veldkos) of the band's territory, and he protects the resources from encroachment from outsiders. He cannot do this however, by forcing his authority on those who intrude, nor can he judge or punish a wrongdoer among any of his own band. "He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk (ibid)."

This agrees with the composition of a Bushman band: a very small, closely related group living in close cooperation and dependent upon each other for survival, in which gossip and public opinion are very important techniques of inducing
proper behavior.

The Bushmen use several secular techniques of social control which are very effective. As mentioned, talking is one way of commenting on and chastising improper behavior, especially small squabbles between men and women which could lead to bigger disputes and fighting. It is also a means of venting tensions which could ultimately result in disputes.

Attention to good manners, emphasizing restraint and courtesy, is another technique of avoiding tensions and disputes. Good manners "should be inoffensive. Any behavior which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the !Kung. People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree. If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends (Marshall 1961: 235-36)."

Gift-giving is also a technique designed to help avoid jealousy and ill feelings and to develop friendly relations. The things given as gifts are not primarily valuable in themselves; most gifts are the common every day artifacts. The most highly valued ones are ostrich egg-shell beads, and next in value are metal objects and pots. The most common gift is meat. The only two requirements for gift-giving are that one must not refuse a gift and that one gift must be given in exchange, preferably of a comparable value but within no definite time limit.
Probably the most important technique is that of meat sharing. The system begins with the hunters. When the kill is made, they may eat the liver and more meat at the site until they are satisfied. They then carry the rest of the animal back to the band where it is the responsibility of the owner of the arrow that killed the beast to distribute the meat. The first distribution is made in large portions to five or six people—the possessor of the fatal arrow, the giver of the arrow (if it was not one the killer had made himself), and the hunters. The second distribution involves giving to those of close relation, certain obligations such as large portions to wife's parents, one's own parents, spouse, and offspring being compulsory. From his own portion, the hunter gives to his siblings, other kin, and friends. The meat is not cooked as a family meal. Each person owns his piece of meat for only himself. Each cooks and eats his piece when and where he wishes. This sense of ownership is very important for it gives one the responsibility of struggling with hunger as best one can, without excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share (ibid:240-41). The effectiveness of this technique of social control is that it "...helps to keep stress and hostility over food at a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to all and the !Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation (ibid:236)."
One further technique of social control in the secular category is the fear of fighting that could arise over encroaching on another band's food resources. The extreme distaste and fear that the Bushmen have of fighting is justified, for not only is it ridiculous to waste energy on disputes, but the poisoned arrows used are as deadly to man as to game and they are always available. Even if one desired to be secretive, the veldkos could not be stolen without leaving one's footprint, a mark as telling to Bushmen as fingerprints to Westerners. This is a further deterrent to violating ownership rights, for an accused thief can fight back, relatives can become involved and the fighting would spread. "In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting (Marshall 1965:249)."

Mbuti Pygmies

The Mbuti Pygmies also have few techniques of social control which can be called political. They do not have a centralized political system or the very simple office of headman utilized by the Bushmen. The emphasis is on the unity of the band and on full cooperation and there is little tendency towards individual leadership on purely charismatic grounds (Turnbull 1965:297). A different type of leadership does exist, but it is divided up among various realms of activity in which certain people are recognized as being more knowledgeable than others. These areas include hunting
and gathering, marriage, individual and group relationships, and womanhood and manhood. Every member of a band is entitled to express his own opinion about matters in any area, but within each one, there are individuals who are listened to more readily and whose advice is more often followed.

There is one other mechanism which could be labeled as political. This mechanism, by which an elderly man or woman of the band or a stranger who has few or no kinship ties to the members of the band, ascribes a type of authority and tries to restore cooperation and order in order to prevent a dispute from destroying the cooperative economy. This person makes no formal judgement, but rather states that the dispute is noisy and therefore disturbing the forest, the personified entity which provides survival (Coon 1971:240). "This direct appeal to the stomach is nearly always effective. The dispute will be shelved, perhaps continued behind the scenes by the two individuals, or simply forgotten (Turnbull 1965:303)." If the elder is unsuccessful, the entire band often becomes involved and eventually splits, although failure is relatively rare among these most cooperative hunting people.

Public opinion and ridicule are very important techniques of social control among the Mbuti Pygmies. The values of cooperation and unity are stressed, and each member of the band is responsible for contributing to the maintenance of these. There is often one specific person in a band who employs
the technique of ridicule more than any other, i.e. the clown. He is usually a young skilled hunter, often unmarried and with few family responsibilities, and therefore in a safe position to comment on social conditions. He does so not by spouting words of wisdom, but by lampooning one or both parties of the dispute. He subtly but pointedly ridicules the cause of the dispute, usually marital, and mocks the disputants to the point that settlement is quickly and quietly reached. Occasionally, he himself takes the responsibility for the trouble and then proceeds to laugh it off. Either way, the clown and his tactics are very effective at preventing or at least resolving disputes and restoring peace.

The most important and effective secular technique of social control utilized by the Mbuti is the process of flux, defined as ".....the constant changeover of personnel between local groups and the frequent shifts of campsites through the seasons...expressed as recurrent fission and fusion which affects the composition of local bands (Turnbull 1968:132)."

On a family level, it is quite common for an individual or an entire family to pack up and go live and hunt with relatives in a distant camp to avoid the tensions which build up over disputes. Since the Pygmies' kinship system is not strict or based on definite lineages, there is no feeling of being in a minority when living with a different band.

On the band level of organization, there is a pattern to the flux process. The focal point is the honey season. Prior to this period the bands have remained united for ten
months, living and hunting in close cooperation. For the
two months of the honey season, the bands split, individuals
and families hunting alone. The honey season is a time of
plenty, and the Mbuti maintain that close cooperative hunt-
ing is not needed to subsist. The splitting of the band
separates antagonistic elements which have developed from
living so closely together, and at the end of the season,
these lines of fracture and dispute are carefully avoided;
reformation of the bands "...follows lines of dissent
rather than those of descent (ibid:136)." This process of
fission and fusion allows the bands to resolve disputes and
prevent future ones by simply separating the conflicting
parties, the honey season usually being long enough for the
dispute to be forgotten.

Lugbara

The Lugbara of Uganda, an agricultural people whose
main crops are sorghum and cassava, have no political system
of the Western type, i.e. they have no kings, chiefs, no
codified law system, and no courts or judicial machinery
for enforcing decisions. They do, however, possess tech-
niques of social control which could be called political.
These include the authority exercised by family and lineage
elders and rainmakers, and approved means of settling a
dispute by self-help.

The authority of elders is very important in Lugbara
society. On the lowest levels of organization and social
interaction, the family compound and cluster, a true elder
is the oldest living descendant of the ancestors of the
lineage of the family involved. The elder of a single family compound is accorded his authority from the ancestors, and he is responsible for keeping peaceful relations and order within this unit, according to the ideal model set forth by the ancestors. Although he has no actual legal power to prohibit offending actions, his age, wisdom, and spiritual authority enable him to greatly influence the behavior of the members of the compound.

On a much wider scale of social relations, "...fighting among groups...could be stopped by the joint efforts of the elders directly concerned, who could curse any of their dependents who continued to fight (Middleton 1965:50)."

There is no set procedure by which the elders meet to express their dissatisfaction over such disputes, usually involving quarreling over water or land rights; rather they merely let it be known that they think continued fighting to be pointless (ibid). Outside of the family clusters or subgroups of which they are a member, elders have no real domestic authority to influence events, but their wisdom and advice is still often sought and largely heeded by men outside their own kin groups.

Rainmakers, those men of a certain lineage who inherit the power to make and control rain, also have roles in maintaining social control by certain political techniques. They can often bring to an end a quarrel over cattle, land, or personal rights by offering sanctuary to the victims of such a dispute. A man who was the victim of a quarrel could
go to the rainmaker and clasp his feet, thus putting him under the protection of the rainmaker, who would then summon the elders of the persons concerned and discuss the matter and eventually forbid continuance of the offense (ibid). Such arbitration often prevents further disputes that would have arisen had the victim been harmed or killed. The judgement of the elders and rainmaker dictates who is actually guilty, and he has to give a bull to the rainmaker and the person whom he offended.

Again on the larger scale, the rainmaker can enforce social control by his sanction of forbidding further strife, an action which carries the power of a curse by the elders plus a small amount more, considering that rainmakers are believed to possess a vague sort of supernatural power. The rainmaker is actually a very powerful force of secular social control for the respect paid to him is extreme, especially when it is contrasted to the general lack of overt respect paid by Lugbara to anyone in authority over them (ibid).

If the preceding mechanisms of elders and rainmakers trying to impose order and resolution of a dispute fail, then self-help often becomes the only means of maintaining order. The concept of self-help is simply the taking into one's own hands the settlement of a dispute. Often such action leads to homicide, in which case blood money is required as compensation to the deceased's relatives. If the person or persons killed are outside the major lineage, no
compensation in the form of cattle is required. In this case, self-help is praised by the elders and is often the most efficient way to end a dispute. In disputes among kinsmen, occasionally a settlement is achieved by one of the parties simply threatening to resort to the self-help technique, the fear of consequences that might result being a sufficient stimulus to settle by a less violent means.

The aspects of social control concerned with public opinion and values are most clearly reflected in the attitudes towards the authority of the elders. They are thought to reflect the ideals of social relations and behaviors as founded by the ancestors of the Lugbara. The respect which is given to the elders is due not only to this factor, but also in large part to religious overtones of the relations with the ancestors, an aspect which will be explained later.

Regarding the techniques of social control utilizing the processes of fission and fusion of groups within the total society, the Lugbara lack any such technique. Although their system of social organization, a segmentary lineage similar to that of the Nuer, could facilitate patterns of movement designed to compensate for disputes or disagreements among groups, they do not generally use this system as a means of eliminating tensions and hostilities. This is due primarily to the lack of arable land in the area onto which a group could move if it split away, and also because kinship sanctions do not approve of a group moving onto a closely related group's property. Even if a move
was made to an area in which the inhabitants were less closely related, fighting might still result, thus defeating the original purpose.

Arusha

The political techniques of social control used by the Arusha are the most complex of the six societies considered. Although their subsistence pattern is based on the same crops as those of the Lugbara, they have a political system which is much different.

The main technique of social control exercised by the political system is the discussion and arbitration of all disputes, from petty theft or name-calling to murder, in assemblies of peers and/or kinsmen. The ultimate goal is to achieve a settlement acceptable to both parties so that further strife is alleviated.

This technique can be further broken down into specific types of assemblies. One very common type is the parish assembly, a gathering of men from the parish (a group of scattered homesteads within fixed boundaries) who are either elders in the age-group of the disputants, kinsmen, or simply concerned onlookers. The principal speakers in the discussion of a parish assembly are those men known as spokesmen for the age-groups involved. They are usually intelligent, popular men who are felt to be able to present their cases with eloquence and influence. The spokesmen are not viewed as having any authority in the decision making
process, and indeed they do not wish to be elevated in this way over their age-mates, for the strong egalitarian bias of the Arusha looks with displeasure upon self-seekers. They do, however, through respect and influence, try to guide the decision in favor of their associates.

Parish assemblies are used mostly to settle disputes among members of age-sets within and outside of the same parish, and conclaves are used primarily for disputes involving only kinsmen and/or kinsmen and outsiders. The conclave is a smaller assembly than the parish assembly and is usually somewhat less public, only those who are involved through kinship ties being actually informed of the proceedings. The persons who are most important to the success of a conclave as a means of dispute settlement are the lineage counsellors. Before the meeting itself, "... the counsellor acts as advisor to the disputant of his own lineage; he recommends the best course of action, he consults witnesses and other people involved, he arranges a meeting for public discussion of the dispute, and he assists in the presentation of the case, the questioning of witnesses and the proposals for the resolution of the affair (Gulliver 1963:105)." In the conclave discussion, the counsellor acts as a conciliator, taking the initiative in attempting to secure a solution. He also exercises a great deal of influence, and much power of persuasion--almost authority. In his role as conciliator, he seldom attempts to force people on either side to accept his opinion. "Rather he tries to influence and direct opinion; and to urge the kinds of reso-
lution which, in the given circumstances, are likely to be more acceptable to the other party, and to lead to a conclusion of the dispute with a minimal concession by his own side (ibid:106)." In their capacity to influence decisions about a dispute, the Arusha spokesmen and lineage counsellors are similar to the Lugbara elders and rainmakers.

Even though the parish assembly and conclave are usually quite efficient at achieving settlements to disputes, the problem of implementing them adequately to prohibit further disputes still exists. Even though a man may admit his guilt and agree to pay compensation, he may do nothing afterwards in hopes of avoiding his responsibility. The Arusha try to prevent this in two ways. The method which is most successful, if circumstances permit, is to have the punishment carried out before the meeting disperses; for example, to have the animal required for compensation delivered immediately. As the agreement is often not this simple, the other method, of having another meeting where the final details are concluded and the agreement carried out, is used.

Although in one way, self-help is the normal way of obtaining settlement of and compensation for disputes, it is different from the self-help practiced by the Lugbara and the Nuer. In this society, self-help is limited only to initial responsibility that falls to the wronged person to make his injury known to counsellor, spokesmen, and
others who will help. It does not extend to the use of physical violence to achieve settlement or compensation. The Arusha see such violence as not only a breakdown in the traditional and right method of settlement and a loss of social control, but also as "...an admission of weakness in a man's argument. They also perceive it as an affront to...the integrity and dignity of an individual. It is an Arusha tenet that men are susceptible to persuasion and to peaceful coercion through recognized procedures: but physical coercion against his person, or his property, or his family, is thought to be an inequitable and immoral act (ibid:220)."

**Jie**

The Jie of Uganda, a cattle-herding people who also practice some agriculture, have no traditional political system, and there are no acknowledged leaders, nor is authority or decision-making responsibility or power ascribed to specialized roles or particular persons. They do nevertheless, have several techniques of control which can be labeled secular techniques of social control.

When an injured person brings the injury, whether it be homicide, theft, or adultery, to the attention of his own stock-associates and the offender and his associates, a meeting of these individuals forms in which moral argument and appeal for unity and resolution of the dispute is offered by a go-between, a man who belongs to both groups concerned. After much argument, agreement is usually
reached in which compensation in the form of cattle is paid to the injured person. If the offender and his associates refuse to settle, public opinion in favor of the injured can become a very powerful technique to bring about resolution of the dispute.

Self-help, both as defined by Arusha and Lugbara and Nuer standards, is the secular technique of social control that is utilized most frequently by the Jie. Similar to the Arusha use of the term, an injured Jie must seek for himself payment for his injury or resolution of a dispute that has arisen over a past injury. The Jie feel that if someone does not make his opinion and grievances known, then no one else should take any interest in them either. Also in keeping with the other definition of self-help; i.e. seeking settlement or payment by use of force, "Jie clearly feel that an injured person has the moral right to resort to force if that is the only way open to him to gain a settlement (Gulliver 1965:190)."

Whether or not the threat or actual use of physical force to, for example, attack the offender's homestead or seize payment cattle, is successful in bringing about settlement depends on how much support each side has and where the real guilt lies. In clear cut cases or ones where public opinion and concern are strong, the mere threat of self-help in the form of force is a powerful enough sanction to restore social order.
Nuer

The Nuer of the Sudan have several secular techniques of social control which are very similar to those of the Lugbara. They, along with the Lugbara, have no law or government systems which deal with disputes in a judicial or legal sense, but utilize other effective means for bringing about control.

Among the various clans and tribes of the Nuer, a very egalitarian pastoral people, there is an informal authority exercised by some elders within a village. The authority of such a man, a tut, is usually in the form of advice and opinion. He is often the eldest surviving son of his family and head of the joint family, but in order to be a social leader whose opinion is readily agreed to, he must also have character and ability. As the chief man of his family and joint family, he takes a very prominent part in settling the affairs of these groups (Evans - Pritchard 1940a:180). Within these family groups, the tut is a leader somewhat similar to the !Kung Bushman headman, being concerned mostly with the movements of the group and the protection of its rights, but having no judicial powers in arbitrating disputes. Outside the family groups, the position of a tut is like that of a Lugbaran elder; i.e. although he has no political status, his position affords him respect and a type of authority used mainly to encourage the settlement of disputes.
There is in Nuer society a means of social control like that found in the rainmakers of Lugbara society. This means is seen in the men who are known as leopard-skin chiefs. Such a man exercises control in two main areas. He is first of all a mediator in disputes over such things as land rights, cattle theft, and adultery. The process of settlement begins when a chief goes with the injured party and elders of his village to the village of the offender. Here the offender's elders meet with them, and the injured and offender present their views and attempt to justify their actions. Then the leopard-skin chief, "...and anybody else who wishes to do so, expresses an opinion on the question. When everyone has had his say the chief and elders withdraw to discuss the matter among themselves and to agree upon the decision. The disputants accept the verdict of the chief and the elders...(ibid:163)."

The chief, however, gives his final decision in the form of an opinion full of persuasive language and not as a judgement delivered with authority (ibid:164).

The leopard-skin chief can also act in a more powerful way, particularly in cases of homicide where a blood-feud can quickly arise if compensation is not paid. The killer receives sanctuary in the home of the chief until settlement has been reached. The chief is responsible for negotiating the settlement with the dead man's people. They usually refuse the first offers, until public pressure and threats of curses from the chief persuade them into accepting the
compensation (in the form of cattle). Although the pressure he can bring to bear is stronger and the desire for settlement more urgent, the leopard-skin chief is still in such cases only a mediator and his mediation is successful only if community ties are acknowledged by both parties and if they both wish to avoid further hostilities. Only if both parties want the affair settled can the leopard-skin chief intervene with success (ibid:174-75). Thus in these two ways, the leopard-skin chief acts as a very effective means of dispute settlement and sanction for maintenance of the social order.

More than any other of the peoples examined, the Nuer use violent self-help as a major sanction for social control. The Nuer are a very emotional people, easily provoked and taught from birth to defend one's rights and honor by fighting if necessary. It is an accepted norm that an injured man will challenge his offender and fight to the death to obtain compensation. So powerful is the threat of violence in relations among Nuer, that it in itself is a very effective technique of control. The knowledge that force, violence, and possibly a feud could result from failure to settle a dispute and/or pay compensation is the most important sanction within a tribe and the main guarantee of an individual's life and property (ibid:150).

Among the Nuer, the principles of fission and fusion are two further secular techniques of social control. Although they are not quite as systematic as among the Mbuti Pygmies, the fission of groups is similarly balanced by the
combination of others. The fission and fusion among the Nuer is in terms of groups of people rather than separate families, but the effect is much the same; i.e. the separation of antagonistic elements before ill feelings from any number of causes can lead to open disputes and in the case of the Nuer, a feud.
RELIGIOUS TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL

!Kung Bushmen

The !Kung Bushmen are unique among the six societies examined in this paper in that they have almost no specific techniques of religious control which prohibit actions that disturb the social order. They also have no concept of sin; a sin being an offense against the gods. They feel that man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings within the social context. The high god punishes people for his own reasons, ones which are often quite obscure. Since the !Kung lack any concept of having special relations with their own ancestors or worshipping their ancestors in any way, there are no techniques of control which could offer the wrath of the dead as a sanction (Marshall 1962:241-245).

There is only one technique of social control which can be connected to the area of religion. This is the ceremonial curing dance, a ritual involving all of the band members in an attempt to cure sickness and drive away any lurking sickness and evil. The dance, aside from providing physical pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction and being a very unifying social act, has the effect by means of the "...violence and excitement of the ceremony...of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them...Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves (ibid:251)." The curing dance can thus be viewed as an effective technique of social control, for it provides an escape valve for feelings which might erupt into a future dispute.
Mbuti Pygmies

The Mbuti Pygmies are second only to the !Kung Bushmen in their lack of social control techniques which have a religious basis and supernatural sanctions. Like the !Kung they do not worship ancestors and therefore have no corresponding techniques to control behavior. They do, however, have a vague concept of sin, but only with regard to offending the forest, the one element in their life which has deep religious significance. In their society where kinship and nuclear family ties are not strong, the forest forms the basis of the strongest bond between people. It becomes the focus of a Pygmy's life, receiving his loyalty and devotion. As the forest is elevated to the level of a deity, precautions are taken not to offend it. These precautions, in the form of curbing open hostility and appealing for the settlement of arguments and disputes, form the one religious technique of social control among the Mbuti. The extreme degree of identification that the Mbuti have with the forest, in contrast to the sedentary life of their Bantu neighbors, also serves in this same way to urge cooperation and resolution of conflicts, factors which affect the welfare of the forest; as expressed by the Mbuti themselves in the saying "The Forest is Mother and Father, because it gives us all the things we need...food, clothing, shelter, warmth...and affection. We are children of the forest. When it dies, we die (Turnbull 1965:132)."
Religious techniques of social control among the Lugbara of Uganda are in many cases related to the concern that these people have for their remote ancestors and for all Lugbara who have died. Since the spirits of the dead are considered still a part of the present world and aware of all that takes place among their survivors, effective sanctions for maintenance of social order so as not to offend the dead are present.

The dead, when offended by sinful actions, usually in terms of adultery, theft, kinship disputes, or personal injury or insult, can use their power to bring punishment, always in the form of sickness, in two ways; i.e. "...either at the invocation of living kin or on their own responsibility. Their ability to send sickness to their living descendants is part of their role as the guardians of morality, and it is accepted that they do not do so wantonly or without adequate reason (Middleton 1965: 68 & 74)." Anyone can invoke the dead to punish an offender, but the elders of the families and lineages do so most frequently for it is part of their expected role. This power and authority to invoke supernatural punishment gives the elders the ability to control relations and bring about the end of most disputes by threatening invocation.

When the dead themselves, who are the origin of law and order and the social system, send sickness on their own account, without invocation, this is known as ghostly vengeance. They do this mostly when they feel that their descend-
ants are not sacrificing often enough or when they think they are not being remembered with due respect, and also when offenses against close kinsmen are committed (ibid:77). Such a sanction encourages correct behavior, not only in ritual life but also in everyday relations.

The belief in witchcraft acts as an agent of social control in two ways. Before explaining these, the idea of a witch must be examined. A witch to the Lugbara is always a man who is usually bad-tempered, spiteful, and one who does not behave in a way approved by the society. He may be recognized by his physical ugliness, but often he is inconspicuous except for his actions. Witches are feared and thought of as evil not only because the acts they commit are evil, but also because they usurp and abuse the power and authority of the elders. As Middleton states it, "A man who is insulted should not take the law into his own hands and bewitch the offender. He should leave his punishment to the offender's own elder or other kin, who can bring sickness upon him in socially approved ways. Witchcraft is an antisocial action...because the witch ignores the socially approved means of dealing with offenders against kin or community mores (ibid:244)." Thus witchcraft acts as a sanction for social control by stressing the authority of the elders.

The second way that witchcraft is utilized as a technique of control is by encouraging good manners between neighbors. Witches attack their neighbors, those who deserve
to be attacked due to their unfriendly behavior. Thus, witchcraft, though antisocial and punishable if persistent, acts as a sanction for good manners and friendly relations between neighbors.

There is one further method of social control that is part of the Lugbara religious system. It involves the release of tensions and hostilities by means of a dance similar to the method of the !Kung Bushmen. The dance takes place after the death and burial of someone. The people dance and sing, and "...as in most Lugbara songs, there is much bitter and sarcastic allusion to the failings of other lineages, and so there is a good deal of airing of grievances and thereby disposing of them (ibid:69)." The Lugbara say that once a grievance has been expressed openly, it is doubtful that anyone will take it up again for to do so brings embarrassment and loss of face.

Arusha

The techniques of social control having supernatural sanctions among the Arusha are based on the power of the ancestors, similar to those of the Lugbara.

For the Arusha, the most important ancestor is one's father, who is believed to be the most powerful and active ancestor, with the ability to communicate with all the other ancestors and to influence the use of their powers (Gulliver 1963:83). Each homestead has a shrine known as the 'grave of the father' at which all sacrifices and rituals for the ancestors are conducted. Effective social control and coop-
erative relations among the members of the homestead are achieved by the idea that the dead father desires the continued cooperation and unity that he commanded during his lifetime. Rituals directed toward praising and appeasing him may be ignored if the supplications are not done corporately, and he may even take action to show his displeasure. In view of the fact that a man always fears that he may suffer from the displeasures of the ancestors, he is glad of opportunities to demonstrate his continued respect for them by participating in invocations to them through rituals directed to the dead father. The fear that such rituals will be unsuccessful acts as a sanction for proper behavior between brothers and family members, not only in the rituals themselves but also in everyday activities.

Among the Arusha, the curse is a technique used by elders and lineage counsellors to bring about settlement of difficult disputes when all other measures fail. This is a very serious action and no counsellor will take this measure unless he is completely supported by public opinion. The curse is an appeal to the high god to punish the offender. It is believed that if a person is indeed guilty of the charges against him, the god will recognize this and send punishment, usually in the form of sickness. The punishment follows quickly after the appeal unless the curse is revoked. In most cases, the mere threat of a curse is sufficient to force agreement and an end to hostilities and rarely even after a curse has been uttered, does the offender still refuse to
settle and pay due compensation and risk the consequences of the curse.

Jie

Religious sanctions which encourage maintenance of the social order, peace, and cooperative behavior are exercised by members of the senior age-group and by the heads of households among the Jie of Uganda. These men of seniority status, by virtue of their position, are thought to acquire mystic power from the high god. At all public rituals, such a man may, by virtue of his ritual position, espouse the accepted morals and values of the people. On other occasions he may refer to specific breaches in behavior, but even then he must be content to point up the situation and be careful not to initiate procedures to resolve the conflict (Gulliver 1965:186). The high god of the Jie, although not thought of as the source of moral behavior, can nevertheless punish wrongdoing if the disapproved conduct of someone is brought to his attention by such a responsible man.

The most powerful sanction for social control is the emphasis placed on successful rituals, particularly the rain rituals. Success is not possible if there are hostilities and disputes present among those assembled for the ritual. Since the proper amount of rainfall is dependent upon effective rituals, there must be cooperation and unity or the ritual will be spoiled. If the rituals are unsuccessful and the high god is not properly supplicated, then trouble may follow for the "Jie are inclined to attribute death, disease, mis-
fortune, and so on, to failure to reach the high god properly...(ibid:189)." This emphasis on unity and correct behavior in order for successful rituals does much to reinforce cooperation and peaceful relations among the Jie.

Nuer

The Nuer religious system contains sanctions for social control similar to those of the Lugbara and Arusha. They include both the power of a high god over man, and the concern for not displeasing the spirits of the dead in such a way to provoke their anger.

The high god of the Nuer, termed "God" or "Spirit" by the anthropologist, Evans-Pritchard, is the creator of the world and the controller of all life. He is commonly a benevolent deity and is compassionate towards most men. The supernatural sanctions which emanate from him encourage peaceful relations between all Nuer and consideration of their rights. His power discourages envy, greed, theft, adultery, and murder. Although he is not thought to be an immediate sanction against sins, sooner or later he is thought to punish ill and reward good behavior. This power of Spirit to administer punishment is reflected in the Nuer conception of misfortunes such as famines, epidemics, death, and injury; i.e. when they suffer misfortunes, they wonder how it may have come about, for if it strikes a man, it is usually because of some previously committed fault. The eventual punishment that will follow the committing of a sin serves as a deterrent to such action in many cases.
The curse, an appeal to God to bring punishment, is another powerful sanction against disrupting the social order. As among the Arusha, a curse is effective only if God sees that one man is guilty and another innocent (Evans-Pritchard 1956:173). The types of curses vary, the most powerful ones being those of parents against children for disobedience and meanness and that of the leopard-skin chief against a man who interferes with him in the exercise of his function as peacemaker (ibid:167). Unlike a curse among the Arusha, a curse has only to be thought to be heard by God, thus widening its potential use.

The Nuer believe, like the Lugbara and the Arusha, that the spirits of the dead are still a part of the social order and are thought to see and feel everything that goes on in the world of the living. If a dead man goes to his grave with a legitimate grievance, he may take vengeance on the living, by sending sickness, a practice known as cien or ghostly vengeance. The possibility of such vengeance after death makes the Nuer avoid, if at all possible, denying men justice while living lest they seek settlement from their graves (ibid:173). Ghostly vengeance thus serves as a means by which social control in the form of justice and dispute settlement are encouraged among the Nuer.
KINSHIP TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL

!Kung Bushmen

The !Kung Bushmen do not possess a kinship system in which there are inherent ties and obligations or religious sanctions which serve as techniques of social control. The only social organization of importance to them is the nuclear family. Within each family, which may include more than one wife, her offspring, and their spouses, there is only one rather small element of control. This is found in the respect and obedience that the members give to the father, even after he is too old to hunt.

There is one means by which the concept of kinship is extended beyond one's close relatives; i.e. the same name relationship. This involves the practice of always giving the first born the names of their paternal grandparents. Other children are named for their maternal grandparents, uncles and aunts, and other relatives, and thus only a few names are used repeatedly throughout the generations. This custom has two purposes. In one case it acts as an incest taboo, prohibiting sexual relations with or marriage to persons of the same name, at least up to the level of the second cousin. The second purpose is to give a feeling of unity to all the members of bands within a region. It acts as an encouragement for correct behavior for "...the familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen--sharing food, gift-giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, con-
forming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together (Marshall 1965:260)."

Mbuti Pygmies

Like the !Kung Bushmen, the Mbuti have no kinship organization beyond that of the nuclear family. They lack furthermore, even the semblance of a broader kin system that the !Kung have in their same name relationships. This is understandable owing to the importance of flux among these people who live so intimately and maximize on the shifting of peoples to reduce hostilities. If they had a more complex kinship system, their fission and fusion processes would not be as adaptive as they are, for there would be a feeling of being in a minority whenever one was outside one's own band. This is not the case however, for families are expected to move around and are accepted into any band. Techniques of social control whose sanctions are based on the traditional obligations to kinsmen are hardly possible or functional among the Mbuti Pygmies.

Lugbara

The kinship system of the Lugbara is one of a segmentary nature; i.e. each level or group of organization can be further divided into smaller groups whose members are more closely related. Within this system, the effectiveness of techniques of social control based on kin obligations decrease as the distance between related peoples increases.

One type of social control that the closer ties of kinship exert is the obligation to settle all disputes peace-
fully and to support one's kinsmen and elders of the disputants, one of the most sacred duties of the kinship system is to support a fellow kinsman in his troubles, and a Lugbara man feels compelled to do so if possible because he in turn may need support in the future (Middleton 1965:46). This support consists not only of arguing in favor of the accused kinsman, but also helping pay the compensation if he is decided guilty. This very practical appeal for correct dispute settlement among kinsmen is effective only to a certain point, which varies from one tribe to another. Beyond this point, the use of socially approved force in the form of self-help is operable as a means of dispute settlement.

The most important factor which determines the point where self-help becomes operable is the use of religious sanctions that are a part of the cult of the dead. In kinship relations throughout the levels of organization up to and including the lineage, sanctions for the maintenance of the well-being of the social order are exercised by the ancestors. The techniques of both ghost invocation and ghostly vengeance are used as sanctions against disputes among close kinsmen. Since the Lugbara believe that the dead are conscious of all events on earth, this fear of provoking their anger and punishment (sickness) acts as a deterrent to offenses against kinsmen.

**Arusha**

Arusha techniques of social control connected with the kinship system are very similar to those of the Lugbara. There is first of all the appeal for cooperation and mutual aid among
brothers of the same father and among all similarly related kinsmen. This has a very practical basis of appeal of joint inheritance and economic interdependence. The ties and obligations of kinship are justified due to "...their practical usefulness allied with sentiments arising out of common upbringing and common interests. There is neither right nor desire of wilful intervention in another's affairs, but rather a general readiness to give as well as to seek help when required (Gulliver 1963:79 & 82)." Arusha men and all members of their families are encouraged to conform to norms of behavior so that their claims on assistance from kinsmen will be honored.

Secondly, correct behavior "...reciprocal aid and the value of corporate action are...reinforced by the image of the dead father, which provides both a conceptualisation of lineage unity and, through the ancestor cult, a positive force which cannot be ignored without danger (ibid:79)." All Arusha, whether members of a single family or of an entire lineage are subject to the power of the ancestors and to certain obligations connected with them which cannot be avoided. The importance of fulfilling these obligations, such as helping with bridewealth or compensation payments, support in a dispute, or furnishing economic assistance, is sanctioned by the desire not to incur the displeasure of the ancestors, whether it be by negligence in rituals, refusal to settle a dispute, or most importantly, failure to respond to and maintain the traditional obligations and relations inherent in the kinship system.
Among the Jie, kinship sanctions are again based upon two principles: secular cooperation and unity and the supernatural sanctions against disrupting or ignoring the order set up by the kinship system.

At the household level and the settlement level, which includes many households, the authority of elders is important in maintaining proper behavior between kinsmen. This authority, however, is usually limited to the use of the herd, while the more important sanction is the desired affection between and unity of the kinsmen. The basis for this unity lies not only in its practical values of cooperation and the right of inheritance, but also in its moral value. Here, as among the Lugbara and Arusha, the ties and obligations of kinship offer security and well-being if they are fulfilled by correct behavior and a refraining from conflict.

Inherent in the authority of the elder, whether he be a brother or a senior age-group member is the firm belief that supernatural retribution follows the deliberate disobeying of his decisions. This retribution usually takes the form of misfortune and sickness sent by the high god Akuj, after he has been alerted to the disobedience by the elders concerned. Conflicts and hostilities among kinsmen also are punished by Akuj by his refusal to respond to rituals appealing for his favor and good will, especially those concerned with rain and crop success. As mentioned previously, the presence of disputes and animosity makes rituals fail, and
thus there is a very powerful inducement to get along well with kinsmen by living up to one's responsibilities.

Nuer

As with the Jie, Lugbara, and Arusha the techniques of social control which are based on the kinship system are quite similar to those of the Nuer. There is the same practical appeal to live up to the obligations inherent in kin ties and to behave properly towards one's kin so that the privileges of support, both political and economic, can be rightfully gained in return. With the Nuer, a man is expected not only to side with his relation in disputes and to help with compensation payments, but also to fight by their side if a dispute leads to a feud. Among kinsmen, however, much effort is made to avoid disputes leading to heavy settlement penalties or fighting, the fear of violent results acting as an effective sanction against improper actions toward kinsmen.

The most powerful sanction for correct behavior and avoidance of disputes among kinsmen is the power of the dead kinsmen to punish the living for disrupting the social system. As mentioned before, the possibility of a ghost avenging injustice or unreasonable disputes from his grave serves as a technique of social control in that it emphasizes justice, consideration of others' right, and fulfillment of one's own obligations to kin.
ENCULTURATIVE TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL

!Kung Bushmen

The !Kung are a very gentle, protective, and permissive people in the area of child rearing and enculturation. They possess no age-grade organizations or elaborate initiation ceremonies in which the children are taught the norms of behavior. They learn to behave properly and cooperatively throughout their childhood. They are not punished severely for failing to act correctly, but rather are simply encouraged to do so and positively reinforced until the values of Bushmen life are instilled in them.

There is only one occasion on which the main purpose can be said to be the specific instillation of the values and norms of life. This takes place twice, one for the first killing of a large male game animal and once for a female animal. Tiny cuts are made on the arms, chest, back and forehead of the adolescent boy. These cuts are to ensure that he will see and shoot well and have "...a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?" (Marshall 1965:265)." This last function acts as a means of social control in that it encourages the young man to hunt, supply food, and participate in the life of the people as an adult, rather than to be a shiftless, unproductive person who contributes little to the survival of the band and much to the presence of hostilities.

Mbuti Pygmies

The Pygmies are similar to the Bushmen in their lack of
any formal initial ceremonies. Throughout childhood, children are encouraged to imitate adult behavior and are expected to be disciplined by any adult for improper actions. By the age of nine, they are expected to go with their parents on the hunt and to gather edibles and are given more and more adult responsibilities. Punishment until this age is usually in the form of a sound slapping, but from now on the more common form is ridicule. (Turnbull 1965:306).

With the onset of puberty, the Mbuti boy is required to show his adulthood in much the same way as a Bushman boy; i.e. by killing a large animal. Upon doing this, he is immediately proclaimed a member of the Lusumba, an association which includes all males who have proved their maturity and hunting prowess. There is no formality to this, and "the only thing that might be regarded as a formal token of initiation is the cutting of sets of three vertical slits on the forehead... (ibid 1960:436)." This public recognition of his status as a hunter and adult acts as a sanction for the pursuance of correct adult behavior and responsibility among the Mbuti.

Lugbara

The Lugbara of Uganda have neither any formal initiation rites nor age-grade organization. The children are taught the values and norms of behavior by their families and most importantly by their father, who beats his children when small, but uses religious sanctions against them when they are grown for the more serious offenses.
There does exist among the Lugbara an informal system of seniority whose levels are instrumental in teaching the young men the proper behavior and important values of the society. The ideal of responsible behavior for a man is to be quiet, dignified, deliberate in decision, and just and ready to act in support for his 'brothers' of the same grade as himself (Middleton 1960:16). Although this is the ideal, the expected behavior of men at different levels of seniority varies: a youth looks out for himself but should obey his seniors; a big youth who is married should protect his wives' land rights but also be responsible to the larger kin group; and finally, the elders exercise authority for the good of the entire group (ibid 1965:74). One aspect of social control found in this system is the idea that the junior man respects the senior one. This respect involves politeness, listening to the opinions and advice given, and most importantly, refraining from arguing or fighting with a senior man, this being considered one of the worst offenses possible (ibid 1960:21). These offenses are punished by ghostly vengeance and are very serious. A second technique of social control inherent within this seniority system is that by the time a man has reached the status of elder, he is assumed to have complete social maturity and a depth of experience, both of which validate his exercise of both secular and supernatural authority. Without this validation, his attempts to maintain the social order would be illegitimate and therefore ignored.
The Arusha have an age-grade system which is much more formal than that of the Lugbara, but whose techniques of social control are similar; i.e. the learning of the norms of the society and validation of the leadership of the senior men by virtue of their having successfully reached the required level of physical and social maturity. The system is organized in the following way:

The first level of organization is the age-group which contains all boys of the same age in a parish who are initiated by a circumcision ceremony at about 6 years of age. The next level is the age-set which contains concurrent age-groups from several parishes. The last level is the age-grade; each grade has a formal status and a group of norms of behaviors, obligations and privileges. The grades are briefly as follows: First are the youths, who have no part in public life. Their main role is herding stock and playing. Second are the junior murran, who have been formally initiated but still play no part in public life. They supervise the herding and spend much time dancing and enjoying themselves. Next are the senior murran, who, although they are not mature enough to fully participate in ritual or political affairs, may attend them to learn the processes. They marry and begin farming their own lands. The next grade is that of junior elders who participate in all public affairs, for they are quickly learning the customs, ritual procedures and ceremonials, judicial techniques and precedents. Members of the next grade, senior elders, partici-
pate in public affairs only a little less than junior elders. They are regarded as repositories of experience and as thus being experts in the procedures and diplomacy necessary to settle many delicate matters. The last grade is that of the retired elders, who do not participate in public affairs but still wield much influence due to their authority in connection with the ancestor cult (Gulliver 1963:26ff).

As this brief examination of the age-grades indicates, there is a definite increase in both knowledge and authority as the levels progress. The respect given to the junior and senior elders in the exercise of their authority is validated by this progressive acquisition of knowledge. The progression, however, is not automatic for the age-grades are linked in a ward-patron relationship which determines whether the younger men can proceed to the next grade. It is the responsibility of the patrons to guide and assist the younger men in learning and behaving properly so that they can legitimately undertake a further stage in the maturation process (ibid:30). The need for such approval encourages the men to perform correctly and learn the social norms, as do the rituals that mark the transition from one grade to the next by exerting pressure on those who have not conformed and developed properly to do so so that they may join their mates in the next level (ibid:44).

Jie

Among the Jie, there is little discipline exerted on the children until the age of seven when the boys are expected to help with the herding of all animals and to begin to spend much
time in the cattle camps, away from their homesteads. At this time, physical and verbal punishment are administered to encourage correct behavior. The age-grade system of the Jie is not as complicated as that of the Arusha, being based only on generations, and the only element of social control inherent in it is that upon initiation, a man is classified as an adult and gains the right to exercise ritual authority in his homestead. The initiation consists of the killing of an ox and a feast acknowledging the new status of the initiate.

Seniority is an important factor in the control exercised by initiated men. The longer a man has been participating in the ritual and political affairs, the more supernatural power he is believed to acquire. Thus, although there is no formal instruction concerning social norms or values before or after the initiation, by observing, participating, and behaving properly towards kin and age-mates, one may ultimately become a senior man of much respect and ritual power. This ultimate goal acts as a positive sanction for courteous behavior and restraint from disputes and thus is an effective technique of social control.

Nuer

In the enculturation processes of the Nuer, there occurs both a formal initiation and an age-set system, both of which also contain techniques of social control.

The initiation ceremony consists of a rather severe operation in which the foreheads of boys the ages of 14 to 16 are cut to the bone with six cuts stretching from ear to ear.
This ceremony not only makes them a member of the present age-set, but also marks them as full adults, herdsmen with all the accompanying responsibilities and obligations for correct behavior.

Although the age-set system does include the establishment of relative junior and senior status between every man, which requires some respect and obedience from the former to the latter, the most important technique of social control inherent in the system is that it sets up an idiom of behavior and obligation very similar to that of the kinship system. It extends beyond the range of kinship ties, but still requires such things as mutual hospitality and sharing, good manners, economic and political support, and most importantly, a refrain from fighting with those of a senior set. Although the curse is operable as a sanction for these proper behaviors, the desire for approval and elevation in status are usually sufficient to encourage fulfillment of age-set obligations.

CONCLUSIONS

In attempting to determine whether or not various techniques of social control are used by African peoples having vastly different patterns of subsistence, it must be remembered that although whatever conclusions are arrived at in this examination are specific to the six societies discussed, they can be applied in their broad, general implications to many different societies in Africa, agricultural, pastoral, and hunting-gathering. In order to determine these implications, it is beneficial again to separate the techniques into the
arbitrary categories defined earlier.

In the area of secular techniques of social control, the dominant appeals of most such methods are for the continued unity of whatever level of social organization is concerned, whether it be the nuclear family, band, homestead or lineage, and for the swift resolution of disputes which fragment this unity. These two goals are achieved by three techniques common to all the societies discussed. One of these is the use of public opinion to encourage correct behavior. Ridicule, gossip, and public support for those people in the right all act as sanctions against violation of the social order in hunting bands, agricultural villages and cattle herding camps. Another common technique is the respect and often aura of authority which is given to men and women who, by virtue of their age and/or experience, warrant it. Whether this be in the form of a !Kung Bushman headman, an Arusha lineage counsellor, or a Nuer tut, the basic principle of respect for age and wisdom acting as a deterrent to prolonged disputes and encroachment of other's rights remains the same. Perhaps the strongest and most universal technique of social control among people of all modes of livelihood is the fear of violence which might result from anti-social behaviors. In the form of face to face combat with poisoned arrows among the Bushmen and Pygmies, the long, destructive blood feud of the Nuer, or the homicides that might result from Lugbara self-help, violence which leads to loss of life and disruption of everyday life acts as a very powerful sanction for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the avoidance of future
ones whenever possible.

The dominant factor among religious techniques of social control is the appeal not to offend the supernatural beings, either a high god or the ancestors, by actions which they deem improper, in most cases bad manners, offenses against kin, adultery, and homicide. The !Kung Bushmen are the only one of these groups who do not use this sanction. Their concerns for social control are controlled by powerful secular techniques, and their religious system has no ancestors which control the living by sending punishment. In the other societies, the appeal to quiet a dispute for fear of disturbing the Forest, an entity which provides survival for the Mbuti Pygmies, the threat of supernatural punishment incurred by a curse among the Arusha, Lugbara, and Nuer, and the possibility of rituals made inadequate by human hostilities among the Jie, all carry the basic sanction of supernatural punishment against sins or offenses disruptive of peace and order.

Among the societies examined, only the Mbuti Pygmies do not have a system of social organization which offers some techniques of social control. For the Mbuti, such a system would not be functional because it would make their very effective process of flux useless as a means of separating antagonistic elements to avoid disputes. Within the societies which do possess such a system, the one dominant element effective for social control is the stress that is placed on cooperative and peaceful relations among kinsmen which are beneficial to the entire community. The emphasis is placed on the necessity of
maintaining an atmosphere among relatives in which all are able to pursue their daily economic and social activities. Among kinsmen there are inherent obligations which must be met in order to preserve peaceful relations, but along with the obligations go privileges to which kinsmen have a right. The fulfillment of these obligations and the economic and political support which are their counterpart, act as powerful sanctions among the Bushmen, Lugbara, Arusha, Jie, and Nuer for the avoidance of hostilities and peaceful settlement of disputes.

Among the two agricultural and two pastoral societies discussed, there is another common technique of social control based on the kinship system. This is the idea that since dead members of the community are still very much a part of the kinship structure, they can and do exercise a great deal of supernatural power as a means of controlling the relations between their living kin. The fear of supernatural retribution is a very powerful sanction for seeing that the obligations of kinship ties are fulfilled and that disputes with kinsmen are avoided.

Initiation ceremonies and age-set systems among the six societies examined all have one technique of social control in common which is enculturative in nature. This is the inherent element of these two institutions by which the cultural mores of the societies are informally instilled in the youths so that either when they are ritually initiated or gradually elevated to the status of adult, they are aware of and expected to live by these social values. Whether the occasion be the scarifica-
tion of a !Kung Bushmen boy after his first big kill, the transition of an Arusha youth into an age-grade where he is given more of a part in public affairs, or the initiation of a Nuer boy as an adult, the common function of transforming them into adults responsible for fulfilling kin obligations, settling disputes, and generally behaving in a manner agreeable with the social norms is present.

The age-set organizations and the systems of seniority found in the agricultural and pastoral societies examined have an additional common technique of social control. In the physical and social maturation processes inherent in these two systems exists the recognized phenomenon that by the time a man reaches the upper levels of the organization, he is usually very experienced in many matters and has gained a good deal of practical wisdom. At this level of maturation, such men play very important roles in their societies, usually both politically and religiously. These important roles, rainmaker, lineage counsellor, elders, or senior, are all validated by this experience and wisdom acquired through one of the two organizations. The ritual powers and vast amount of knowledge these men are believed to possess are regarded with respect and often fear; reactions which would be impossible without the validation of the maturation processes.

After this final analysis and comparison of the techniques of social control found among the !Kung Bushmen, Mbuti Pygmies, Lugbara, Arusha, Jie and Nuer, it seems correct to say in conclusion that there exists only a small amount of correlation
between the subsistence patterns of Sub-Saharan African peoples and the techniques of social control that they utilize. Particularly in the categories of secular and enculturative controls, several techniques such as the use of public opinion, respect for the elders, and the instillation of societal mores by means of initiation ceremonies and/or age-set systems appear to be common to African peoples practicing each of the three main patterns of subsistence. In both of the other categories, religious and kinship, one of the hunting-gathering societies does not have any techniques in common with the agricultural or pastoral peoples; in one case because it lacks a religious system designed to provide sanctions for social control, and in the other case because the hunting-gathering society lacks any type of broad kinship structure. These cases appear to be only exceptions, however, for in the majority of cases, there appears to be almost no correlation between mode of livelihood and techniques of social control. Although specific details may vary, the general basis of the techniques and the sanctions urging their implementation vary little from one hunting-gathering society to one agricultural society or to a pastoral society of Sub-Saharan Africa.
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We hope that it will prove helpful in furthering the exchange of ideas by students of anthropology.


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