

OJIBWA WORLD VIEW: A RE-EXAMINATION

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ABSTRACT/RESUME

The authors review the extensive literature on Ojibwa personality and culture with specific attention to acculturation studies and child-rearing practices. They suggest a limited new focus for further research, specifically in the areas of adolescent developmental conflicts and adult interactions.

Les auteurs revoit l'intensive littérature sur la personnalité Ojibwa et sa culture avec une attention accentuée sur "acculturation studies" et l'élevage des enfants. Ils suggèrent focus limité pour de futures recherches spécifiquement dans le domaine des conflits de développement chez l'adolescent et l'interaction des adultes.

This paper is an attempt to review and summarize the wide variety of material that has been collected over the years regarding Ojibwa Indian personality with references to child rearing practices and the effect of acculturation. This attempt is by its very nature limited as it draws on material published over a fifty year period, and suffers the theoretical limitations described by Sechrest as "inconsequential, trivial, and pointless" (1976:2-3). Fiske noted that in personality studies generally, "most of the data are the products of complex interpretive judgemental processes within the observer . . . the ties between observations and concepts are tenuous and inadequate" (1974:3).

Densmore (1929) generally characterized the Ojibwa as: pleasant, dignified, having a genial manner, having a strong sense of humor, being very cooperative (between the sexes, with children also helping), thrifty (the women), having a very high standard of excellence (refraining from doing it if poorly skilled or will admit it is not good), honoring excellence, and, if the skill is truly extraordinary, considering it to be of supernatural origin.

Spencer (1965) included the following characteristics as typical of the Ojibwa: self-reliant, patient and self-controlled; having generous humor; repressing emotions; and internalizing anger, hate and love; which all result in the fact that fighting may be attributed to fear of hunger and fear of malevolent sorcery. He also remarks that hostility was expressed in sorcery, and that it was believed that sorcery could cause illness in another or that illness could be caused by an intrusion of a foreign object or the stealing of a soul by supernatural means or by conduct contrary to cultural norms. Release from the effects of illness came from the help of a shaman or a public confession of *deviant* behavior.

Hallowell (1955), spending years observing the Ojibwa, took varying but systematic approaches to analyze the psychological aspects of the Ojibwa. Systematically analyzing the earliest sources of observational data concerning the Ojibwa, Hallowell observed the following consistent picture (an "aboriginal baseline") of *intellectual functioning*: the traditional Ojibwa of the early 1600's had remarkably acute senses and perception, a tenacious memory, "high levels of intellectual functioning," noted "practical intelligence" (excellent hunting skills, could travel without guides or food), excellent judgement about everyday affairs, and an extremely detailed knowledge of places and events.

Using observational techniques and administering the Rorschach to present day Ojibwa, Hallowell (1955) reported a nearly identical "*intellectual picture*", which included: indications that the Ojibwa function at a concrete, practical, common sense level; that their characteristic intellectual approach to anything is very cautious and precise; they have a capacity for observing acutely fine details; they have little interest in organizing such details into meaningful "wholes"; and that they exhibit a passive sort of fantasy that is ". . . a kind of idling imaginative activity..."

Using the same early sources, Hallowell (1955) also analyzed the *emotional structure* of the traditional Ojibwa. Again a remarkably consistent and integrated pattern emerged, stressing a multi-faceted pattern of emotional restraint or inhibition which included: great fortitude and patience; the inhibition of any

expression of anger in interpersonal relations (that is, the maintenance of "amiability and mildness"); suppression of impulses to tell someone else what to do (which is congruent with the observed emphasis on independence and individualism - there was no real political authority), which is also related to the lack of restraint exercised upon children (no corporal punishment, adults afraid of retaliation by children); reluctance to refuse a favor outright (Hallowell interprets that this was an avoidance of arousing displeasure or anger in others); everyone "left to his own way of thinking"; no overt expression of anger or aggression (which was tantamount to a challenge to a duel by sorcery); and retaliation always by covert means. Hallowell (1955:137) summarized and interpreted his analysis of *early observations of emotional functioning* in this way: "It can now be readily seen that with this strong weighting on the side of restraint not only in enduring the fortuitous 'circumstances of life, but in all the daily face-to-face relations with others that inevitably might have aroused emotions of annoyance, anger, or a desire to criticize or correct, all of which had to be suppressed for fear of arousing resentment in others, that individuals must have developed an extreme sensitivity to overtones of anger or the overt expression of it, the psychological perspective is one that suggests underlying anxiety - anxiety lest one fail to maintain the standard of fortitude required no matter what the hardship one must endure; anxiety lest one give way to one's hostile impulses; anxiety lest one provoke resentment or anger in others". In addition, he notes that laughter was very important and that humor was institutionalized. Sacred myths were nearly always humorous and no tragic or sad stories were even thinkable. He interprets that laughter seemed to be the "... catharsis they need for their resolution of tensions".

Observing and testing *living Ojibwa*, Hallowell. (1955) found the same type of *emotional structure* and in less acculturated Ojibwa of the upper reaches of some Canadian rivers it was almost identical. Laughing and joking during hunger and hardship still occurred. Illness was still met with great patience and yet considered a consequence of an individual's wrong-doing or the result of sorcery.

Except for laughter there still was great restraint of public expression in all categories of emotion - joy, irritation, etc. The most prominent feature of the Rorschach and TAT record was an emphasis on strong restraint and control. Evidence in face to face interactions which were testing emotional response showed a lack of overt emotional expression. The kinds of social roles the individual Ojibwa conceptualized were generally passive-standing, sitting, looking, and sometimes talking. However, in spite of such strong inhibitions and lack of emotional expression, many of the Ojibwa tested were found to be very (sometimes hyper-) sensitive to outer emotional stimuli. Hallowell (1955) interprets these findings thusly:

"The typical Ojibwa character structure as revealed by the Rorschach is largely built upon the basis of defense mechanisms against anxieties. This is understandable in view of the great lack of other technics for mastering the economic and social environment. The best defense against all these threats is, as Mead has pointed

out, a rigid self-discipline to stand alone and to acquire as much personal magic power as possible" (p. 363).

Finally, Hallowell (1955) studied three groups of Ojibwa in differing geographical locations that exemplified little, moderate, and extensive acculturation levels in order to determine if there were significant psychological differences due to contact with whites. He concludes:

"Detailed studies of the Rorschach and TAT, along with other data already cited, provided a body of evidence that all points in the same direction - a persistent core of psychological characteristics sufficient to identify an Ojibwa personality constellation, aboriginal in origin, that is clearly discernible through all levels of acculturation thus far studied" (p. 363).

However, he goes on to say that this pattern is differentially adaptive for different groups and individuals, *functioning* with less utility for those Ojibwa in the more acculturated environments. Ojibwa individuals (especially men) in highly acculturated situations cannot function in mentally healthy ways; the traditional functional system of integrated values no longer exists and new cultural influences have provided no substitute. Furthermore economic and social conditions do not facilitate a new and constructive resolution of this impasse.

For the Ojibwa man, loss of self-regard and security flowing from the inability to be the main economic provider, among other things, is pushing the desirable psychological structure to the limits of its functional adequacy under varying pressures of acculturation according to Hallowell.

This brief historical/psychological review leads to major questions of Ojibwa personality development and the assessment of child-adult interactions.

ASSESSMENT OF OJIBWA PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT AND ADULT-CHILD INTERACTIONS

There have been only a few theories, conceptualizations, and hypotheses that have been put forth concerning the interface of culture, personality, and adult-child interactions in relation to the Ojibwa.

Let us consider the underlying theoretical questions at stake in the study of Ojibwa personality. (1) The research reported here implies that personality is a function of the culture, a passive/reactive process that can be observed, classified and correlated to certain cultural factors. (2) However, if personality is an active process, we must ask in what ways has the culture changed to accommodate the personality changes. (3) Some consideration of personality as biologically determined must be considered especially when evaluating life-span personality development. (4) Finally, if the passive-personality position is to be adopted, then a concern for the cultural and biological interaction is necessary.

THE PASSIVE/REACTIVE MODEL OF PERSONALITY

Kluckhohn and Murray (1948) established the general rationale for the exploration of personality. They purported three universal antecedents of personality: biology, society and culture. This conceptualization of personality seems to underlie most of the work on the Ojibwa-Chippewa.

Barnouw states: "The isolated character of Chippewa (Ojibwa) personality must be traced back to the formative influence of aboriginal social patterns, to the geographic isolation of Chippewa (Ojibwa) households (particularly in winter time), to the prevailing social atomism and to culturally fostered fears of the surrounding world" (1952:18). And summarizing Hallowell's findings with the Rorschach, Wallace relates: "The Ojibwa culture does not provide regularized stereotypes of dependency and hostility and the personality structure displays a high capacity for self-dependence, self-reliance, self-control . . ." (1970:109).

James (1954) further explores this position:

" . . . we have three alternative explanations of the relationship of economic-social experience and the personality among the southern Chippewa. First, although "atomism" produced a certain kind of personality structure among these people centuries ago, that personality has not changed in response to more recent experiences of reservation life (the last one hundred years) where populations are more concentrated than formerly (many Chippewa now live in permanent villages) and where contact with the "non-atomistic" white society is continuous. Second, there is the possible alternative that the southern Chippewa were only partially atomistic, and were developing increasing social solidarity during the trade period, in which case southern Chippewa personality cannot be adequately explained by historical-cultural "atomism" or derivative concepts such as "psychological isolation". Third, it may be considered that the personality traits which appear today in southern Chippewa (whether considered in terms of modal type or, as might be done, as a "reservation character") are largely products of recent and present experiences. The second and third statements as correlative hypotheses seem best supported both by historical and recent field data."

Many of the personality traits which are attributed to a persistent "atomism" of southern Chippewa culture appear to be simply the social-psychological consequence of the proper economy and socially depressed conditions of the reservation today."

James (1954) makes the suggestion that modern Chippewa personality in the southern areas (U.S. as compared to Canada) is a function of recent and present conditions and that Chippewa personality studies ought to become more

situational. He validly suggests that concepts such as "atomism" and traits such as "individualism" and "self-reliance" or "oral dependency" and "psychological isolation" need to be more carefully defined and "pinned down by observational verification in the present situation."

Boggs (1954, 1956) took the approach suggested by James, citing Kluckhohn and Murray (1948), he suggested that personality formation is determined by the culture of a group as it is presented to the child through group agents, especially parents and other family members. The problem addressed is whether the persistence, or changes in some adult personality characteristics can be traced to personality formation in childhood. "Personality formation" is viewed as a process of communication in which the child learns through interaction, by focusing upon the child's overt responses in interaction, an estimate of personality functioning is made which presumably could be related to the whole process of personality formation. Boggs (1954) states:

"The hypothesis to be tested is that changes in culture patterns other than child-rearing will correlate with changes in the personality functioning of children in interaction with their parents. This hypothesis was tested among the Ojibwa communities studied by Hailowell by observing children in families which differed in their level of acculturation with regard to subsistence, kinship, and religion; classifying the children's responses in interaction with parents; and comparing estimates of the relative frequency of these responses. A second hypothesis focused on the behavior of parents: . . . Ojibwa personality might continue to great their children in a certain way."

Boggs' approach, which focuses on a child's overt behavior in a given situation, classifying it in terms of its influence upon the parent and response to the parent, and then estimating the relative frequency of different behavior patterns in a number of varied situations, was the first to narrow the focus of exploration to a level amenable to adequate empirical analysis in terms of a possible specific mechanism of Ojibwa personality "persistence."

THE ACTIVE MODEL OF PERSONALITY

The second model outlined above and expanded by Kluckhohn and Murray (1948) asks: If one accepts evidence indicating persistence in many personality traits among the Ojibwa over a number of generations, do successive socio-cultural patterns contain any basic continuities? This question comes out of the assumption of culture and personality studies that there is a congruence between the psychological structure of individual personalities and the socio-cultural conditions in which the individuals develop, and that as socio-cultural conditions vary, the personalities of the participants in the change can be expected to show some corresponding variation, given this assumption, how is it possible that despite some three hundred years of contact with European cultures and

peoples, and considerable change in culture, the Ojibwa model personality structure has not changed? Friedl (1956) hypothesizes the following:

"Regardless of whether a Chippewa (Ojibwa) hunted or fished, or worked in a lumber camp; whether he was brought up by a mother or grandmother, with or without a father regularly in the home; whether he was trained by his relatives or went to a government school, he acquired the same expectations concerning the nature of human wants. By carrying out the patterns of Chippewa (Ojibwa) culture, each Chippewa (Ojibwa) has always come to expect that every situation in which he finds himself is likely to be *relatively unique, immediate, and short-lived in its consequences*. In other words, he learns to expect, and is usually provided with, continually changing circumstances. This paper will attempt to show that such an expectation on the part of the Chippewa (Ojibwa) has existed throughout Chippewa (Ojibwa) history, and furthermore to suggest that such underlying expectations are congruent with at least one Chippewa (Ojibwa) personality trait, that described by Caudell as ". . . a detailed, practical, non-creative approach to problems..." (1949:425)."

Friedl (1956) cites Linton (1945), Kluckhohn (1941), and Kroeber (1948) to suggest that when cultures undergo considerable change in their overt or explicit levels, they still may maintain continuity through covert or implicit culture (or the implicit content of a particular culture), and that the expectation of unique, immediate consequences under conditions of incessant change is such an underlying factor for the Ojibwa. Hallowell (1947) similarly treats the constancy of Ojibwa personality structure in light of considerable culture change (and their close interrelationship) as an instance of lag between change in culture and in psychological orientation, with the assumption that, though delayed, the corresponding changes may eventually occur.

As research questions, hypotheses, and theories, the above-presented directions have serious problems (i.e., lack of specificity, inability to test empirically, encompassing too many levels of analysis, imposition of ethnocentric world view), however, there is a more serious difficulty that exists when a step back is taken into a broader perspective. Trimble and Medicine (1976), two Indian psychologists reviewing the development of theoretical models and levels of interpretation in relation to the research of Indian mental health (and proposing the "ecosystems analysis matrix" as an alternative model), state the following:

"Social scientists cannot continue to compile volumes of pragmatic, descriptive, and interpretative research without an ultimate objective, an objective of applied science is to offer practical solutions to problems, such problems may be conceived not only by the scientific community but by the very people involved with

them. A point was to be reached where solutions must supplement understanding. At present, it seems that research alone has been the outstanding feature of the focus on American Indian mental health. This calls for a revision in a basic conceptualization of the research model and the types of data analysis that are or have been used, as well as their subsequent utilization."

The body of research (represented above) concerning the Ojibwa, concentrated from just prior to 1950 to just after 1950, has two condemning characteristics: (1) in no way has it generated solutions to problems or benefited the lives of the Ojibwa; and (2) on the basis of the questions asked and data collected there have been virtually no other research efforts generated over the past 25 years which build upon those results or relate to the Ojibwa in similar directions.

The research on Ojibwa personality may further be classified in relation to the conceptual frame of the observations. 1) Ethnographic studies which take into account the cultural history, customs, and practices. The studies may compare differing groups assumed to be the same ethnographic continuum, describe behaviors, traits or development within an ethnographic setting or differing points on 2) ecological studies which focus on systematic descriptions on the individuals in the social-cultural environment.

In focusing upon general areas of potential exploration that have meaning and importance, the body of research mentioned earlier provides a descriptive base from which information concerning pitfalls to avoid and possible seeds of fruitful directions may be obtained.

There have been six related approaches primarily utilized in previous research.

1. Ethnographic studies including descriptive-unsystematic wide ranging observations, both past and present (Densmore, 1929; Hilger, 1951; Crawford, et. al., 1967; Landes, 1969; Hildebrand, 1970).
2. Comparative/descriptive studies, including critical comparisons of past and present observations (Hallowell, 1946, 1955; Hildebrand, 1970).
3. Ecological studies of social pattern analysis, trait analysis/projective techniques - statistical comparison of performance on projective tests by groups perceived to be at different level of acculturation (Caudill, 1949; Hallowell, 1946, 1955).
4. Social pattern analysis - wide-ranging observation of patterns of past and present configurations of social participation and structure (Gillin & Raimy, 1940; Gillin, 1942; James, 1954; Friedl, 1956; Miller & Caulkins, 1964; Red Horse, et. al., 1977).
5. Projective/developmental studies - same as 4) but comparisons also made across age groups (Waltrous, 1949).
6. Interactional/behavioral analysis - statistical comparisons of interactive behavioral patterns of groups of adults and children at different levels of defined acculturation (Boggs, 1954, 1956).

Some of the results for each area are briefly summarized below:

1) Descriptive and 2)Comparative/Descriptive

Living in small bands of perhaps 100 to 150 related persons, the Ojibwa were a nomadic woodlands people who mainly hunted wild game, fished and trapped, gathered fruits and wild rice, and to a limited degree carried on a rudimentary form of agriculture. Food, clothing, shelter, transportation utensils - in essence, all that was needed by the Ojibwa - were created or gathered from the immediately surrounding environment. All essential articles were made by group members, and all adults could perform most of the required tasks of manufacture and daily maintenance. These small self-sufficient and self-contained groups avoided all outside contact except those near neighbors to whom they were related by marriage and with whom they shared traditions, myths, and ceremonies.

A strong medicine society, the Midewiwin, was a cohesive force in what was basically a loose social organization. In addition to magical powers, the religious leaders of this group had an extensive knowledge of herbal and plant medicine with which they treated the injured and sick.

In their ceremonial and religious life, the Ojibwa emphasized direct relations with objects in their immediate surroundings. Religious leaders, shamans, were men and women who had magical ways to insure that game animals and fish would be available to the people. In return for the animals making themselves vulnerable, they did not overexploit them, and they performed certain ceremonies of thanksgiving that would ensure their future supply.

There was also a strong cultural belief system that centered around maintaining close and friendly relations with the spirits of the animate and inanimate objects upon which they subsisted. The daily lives and thoughts of each individual were actively bound up in these relationships.

One of the most important behavioral aspects of this culture was Ojibwa child-rearing practices. Several strong value orientations which held strong expectations for behavior were reinforced in several ways. Some of the most important values centered around the following:

- A) Older people should be respected, obeyed, listened to, and modeled;
- B) Pleasant and agreeable relations should be maintained at all times with neighbors and other group members (i.e., do not quarrel, live peaceably);
- C) Qualities of self-control, calmness and composure, patience, and ability to dream and to dance, the maintenance of honor and dignity and striving to live daily by the principles one believes in, should be sought after; and
- D) A sense of humor is desirable.

Several methods were used to inculcate children with these values: 1) a moderate amount of fear, usually appearing to come from an outside source (i.e., the owl, the frightener) was utilized to facilitate the child's desire for an adult-valued behavior or belief; 2) games were played that were structured in such a manner that the adult-valued behavior or attitude was reinforced (i.e., the game of silence, not being caught by the frightener); 3) oral interactions with adults were repeated and reinforced in such a way as to facilitate the child's learning (i.e., repetition of song fragments, encouragement to relate child-

ish dreams); 4) direct verbal instruction, advisement, warning came from parents and other significant adults (especially the "crier") in both public and private situations; 5) adults modeled, and pointed out models through group sanctioned positions (i.e., the crier) that were congruent with highly-valued beliefs; 6) environmental manipulation (i.e., child was bound to cradle board, if ill was rubbed with grease, held up and "danced", pacified by any means to prevent crying); and 7) grandparents instructed parents as to appropriate child-rearing practices.

With respect to older people, Densmore (1929) notes that one or more grandparents were usually a part of every household. A man usually lived with his wife's family and the grandmother talked to the mother, instructing her on how to bring up the girls, and the grandfather advised the father on how to bring up the boys. One advice which was strong and often repeated was "if your children go among the neighbors and make a quarrel, don't you take their part. You must bring them home and make them behave themselves. Do not get into a quarrel with your neighbors because of the quarrels of the children" (Densmore, 1929).

The essence of many of these methods are yet practiced today, as observed by Crawford, et. al., (1967): "Parents are still quite permissive in child-rearing but nowadays the threat of punishment from police or school authorities may substitute for the old bogeyman." However, we cannot speak from much experience about the intimate moments in modern Chippewa family life. One author, Boggs, who lived with several families, reports that praise is seldom used as a reward for children, but that it has great impact when employed. Young children seem to react immediately and eagerly to suggestions from parents when that rare event occurs but soon learn, as they mature, to make their own decisions independently. He also records that Chippewa fathers are relatively uncommunicative with their children except in tasks done together (and modern life has fewer and fewer of these). Mothers, likewise, may answer their daughter's questions about life problems as best they can but seldom initiate this kind of home-instruction nor do they go beyond the questions asked (for example, on sexual relations).

In ease of unwed mothers the children are often accepted into the family by the maternal grandparents.

Children are neither systematically excluded nor necessarily included in adult activities. Their firsthand experience may include exposure to almost everything in the adult world. There is little hostility or gap between age groups per se, and children are frequently found assisting in simple family chores such as babysitting, carrying water, gathering firewood, etc.

There is still considerable affinity for the extended family, sometimes leading to factionalism along family lines. Although direct affection is not often shown, adults are generous with their children in matters like buying treats or toys.

In children, this (teasing and bantering) may display itself as bullying and tormenting of younger children. (The typical adult reaction, incidentally, is to caution the smaller child to stay out of the way or not to provoke the bully)."

Studying past and present maternal-child care among the Ojibwa Hildebrand (1970) observed:

"Some times the child is not weaned until he is three or four years of age. This trend may reflect the nursing pattern of any age . . . when a mother begins to wean her child . . . these days, she often introduces mashed potatoes first. Long ago, when a mother began to wean her child from the breast, she introduced fish broth in a cup, or soft rice from a spoon. There is a certain amount of shame for a girl to have a baby illegitimately, but for a girl to give up her baby for adoption is almost a basis for being ostracized from the community. As was customary a century ago, the grandmothers take care of the baby, if the mother is 14 or so"

As the baby grows older, he/she really in effect has two sets of parents, both of whom are equally permissive in his disciplining. The use of fear in making children behave is still common. Now, mothers or grandmothers will say, "If you don't behave, the ga-ga man will get you." (The ga-ga man is comparable to our "bogey man".) Or they may say, "If you don't watch out, we'll take you to the hospital, where the nurse will give you a pick (injection)." These statements may be counterparts to the owl threat of long ago (Hildebrand, 1970:42).

3) Ecological Studies

Gillin & Raimy (1940) were interested in studying the effects of acculturation upon certain aspects of personality organization through the patterns of social participation of individuals, and also in determining a more precise statement or measurement of "degree of acculturation". They found that there were three outstanding manifestations of acculturation usually apparent in all situations that had potential utility for better measurement of "degree of acculturation": 1) changes in cultural equipment or "material culture"; 2) changes in social organization and in the patterns of incidence of the participation of individuals in group life; and 3) changes in personality structure and organization. In evaluating these areas Gillin & Raimy (1940) found it necessary to select several general aspects of implicit or explicit behavior of nearly all members of both cultures under study; however, cultural counterparts had to be readily distinguishable so that a particular type of behavior definitely could be classified according to the culture of which it formed a part. The results of their effort suggested three such "differentials" which seemed to be useful for determining degree of acculturation. 1. The concept of self as "Indian" or "White." This is a very general concept of cultural affiliation which seems to play a significant part in the thinking of specific individuals and families. In practice, it has been found to be unambiguous despite the double reference to race and culture. 2. The concept of self as Christian or Midewiwin. The religious affiliation is most easily obtainable from an investigation of ceremonial participation among the Flambeau Indians, since many of them were reluctant to discuss religious beliefs with a white investigator. 3. The concept of the self as

a regular wage earner or as a hunter and fisherman. Here the self-concepts and the actual behavior frequently come into definite conflict due to economic necessities. The self-concept as fathered by direct questioning and indirect inferences was accepted as most reliable.

As discussed earlier, Friedl (1956) through the method of historical analysis, found "... that the conditions of aboriginal Chippewa culture were conditions of change; that for the individual Chippewa, the expectation that any given situation will be unique and short-lived in its consequences may well have resulted from these conditions of incessant change, that such an expectation is congruent with the development of a detailed, practical, and noncreative approach to problems; and finally, that these conditions of change were maintained through Chippewa acculturation history, thus making it possible for the same expectations to continue and for the same approach to problems to continue to have some adaptive value." The results of a similar historical analysis by James (1954) suggested that persistent Chippewa personality traits were a function of "the social psychological consequences of the pauper economy and socially depressed conditions of the reservation today", pointing to similar patterns but for different reasons.

Miller and Caulkins (1964) studied the subculture of Chippewa high school students on the Deer Lake Reservation in Minnesota. Through observation, questionnaires, and analysis of social patterns the authors suggested that those Chippewa students who dropped out of school were more traditional than those who remained, and that as students (especially as they advance) Chippewa youth were more thoroughly exposed to the influence of wider society. They found that the relationship between level of education and degree of acculturation was two-directional. Students became more acculturated, and the more acculturated were more likely to remain reliable.

And finally, in the only recent work found in this section, Red Horse, et. al., (1978) studied specific family characteristics in Minneapolis Indians to obtain critical information to use in the development of methodological guidelines for social casework practice with this population. (Data was obtained from actual casework through the Ah-be-no-gee Center.) Three distinct family lifestyle patterns were initially identified: "(1) a traditional group which overtly adheres to culturally defined styles of living; (2) a non-traditional, bicultural group which appears to have adapted many aspects of non-American Indian styles of living; and (3) a non-traditional group which overtly struggles to re-define and re-confirm previously lost cultural styles of living."

4) Trait Analysis/Projective Techniques and 5) Projective/Developmental

Hallowell's (1946) work has already been described. Caudill (1949) administered the Theumatik Apperception Test (TAT) to 44 male and 44 female Ojibwa children enrolled at the Lac Du Flambeau Federal Day School for the academic year 1945-46. Ages of the children ranged from 6 to 17 years of age. Caudill (1949) asked the question of whether or not there was a persistence of personality, a basic continuity under conditions of acculturation despite out-

ward changes in the way of life of individuals in a society. His answer states:

"It does not seem likely that the impact of western civilization among the Flambeau Ojibwa could give rise to the psychological pattern reflected in the data presented above . . . the aboriginal Ojibwa and the relatively unacculturated Canadian Ojibwa of today are psychologically very close. They have in common: a detailed, practical, non-creative approach to problems, a high degree of generalized anxiety, an emphasis on restraint and control, an emotional indifference to things, a lack of warm interpersonal relations, a wariness and suspiciousness, and a great deal of aggression and hostility covertly expressed through sorcery . . . this analysis pictures the Lac Du Flambeau as a psychologically badly damaged group. However, it can be said that the wary and practical approach to life is useful in that it is a good one to have in the natural environment of the Ojibwa; it is certainly a necessity given the social conditions of the Flambeau group."

Although the data presented by Caudill show definite developmental trends across age groups and indicate sex differences, the only comment he makes is that women are able to make more satisfactory adjustment to acculturation conditions because traditionally they carried a less heavy load of individual responsibility and prestige, and were less anxious and vulnerable.

Waltrous (1949) studied the effects of culture change upon personality change by statistically analyzing and comparing obtained Rorschach records of two groups of Ojibwa children. The Berens River Ojibwa in Manitoba, who had experienced relatively little white culture contact, were taken as a baseline from which to measure culture change. They were compared to the Lac Du Flambeau Ojibwa in Wisconsin who had intensive white contact during the previous fifty years. Forty-nine Rorschach protocols of Berens River children, gathered by A. I. Hallowell, were compared with 102 Rorschach records of Lac Du Flambeau children; the age range of the children was from 6 to 16 years and the number of samples in each group was comprehensive, comprising from 40% to 50% of the entire school population. Comparisons were made between Ojibwa groups, between the age groups (developmental), and between Indian and white groups (where data was available). Waltrous (1949) obtained the following results:

"The conclusions listed below are based in large part on the Rorschach data from the two sub-groups of Berens River and Flambeau records, which were analyzed by the use of the T for the test significance. They test the original hypotheses that changes in culture will produce changes in personality. The principal findings were as follows:

1. A larger number of statistically significant quantitative differences between the Berens River and the Flambeau children

- records occurred in the younger age group than in the older.
2. The larger number of quantitative differences result from the greater spontaneity and productivity of Flambeau children, something that seems to be the result of contact with western European culture.
 3. Quantitative differences are more pronounced than qualitative differences in the records.
 4. The range of individual variation is greater at Flambeau.
 5. Specific evidence of Ojibwa culture appears in: A) The Flambeau underproduction of wholes and the resultant disinclination of the children to make generalizations. B) Emphasis upon unusual detail areas in the blots, suggesting a meticulous attention to environmental minutiae. C) Precocious development on M in tiny detail areas which indicates a tendency to passive fantasy.
 6. Qualitatively, the records suggest that the traditionally Ojibwa approach to solving problems continues at Flambeau.
 7. As the Flambeau children approach adolescence, a dramatic withdrawal and a retreat to the traditional personality pattern occurs.
 8. Among the older groups, the proportion of Berens River and Flambeau similarities show a 2 to 1 ratio of increase over the younger group similarities.
 9. The response to bright color among the older Flambeau children decreases, resulting in quantitative and qualitative similarities with the Berens River records.
 10. Certain responses in the Flambeau records are indicative of neither white nor Ojibwa culture; they are considered peculiar to the acculturative situation. These responses indicate more infantile reactions, greater sensitivity and suggestibility, and in general a heightened anxiety - reactions not present in the Berens River records.

In general, the Flambeau children over-react in two ways to the acculturative situation: they exaggerate certain Ojibwa traits, and they over-emphasize certain white traits.

11. The Berens River and the Flambeau records resemble one another more than they do records of white groups.
12. Finally, the data indicate that although personality tends to change with changes in culture, this does not represent a 1 to 1 correlation, but that a continuity of psychological characteristics persists to an impressive degree, and over a long period of time."

It should be noted that all three studies summarized above (Hallowell, 1946; Caudill, 1949; Waltrous, 1949) deal with overlapping of the same Ojibwa populations and individuals.

6) Interactional/Behavioral Analysis

Boggs (1954) and his wife participated in everyday Ojibwa family activities in two communities located in Wisconsin and Manitoba (also studied by Hallowell). Narrative accounts were written after leaving the situation. The hypothesis tested was that changes in culture patterns other than child-rearing would correlate with changes in the personality functioning of children in interaction with their parents. The hypothesis was tested by observing children in families which differed in their level of acculturation with regard to subsistence, kinship, and religion; classifying the children's responses in interaction with parents; and comprising estimates of the relative frequency of these responses. Various acculturation levels differentiated families according to the retention of nine culture patterns (none of which included child-care practices), some of which were related to reliance on traditional subsistence techniques, religious orientation, seasonal movement, participation with an extended family, and the extent of traditional roles of husband and wife. Approximately 2024 observed situations which involved 32 infants and children with their parents, within nine families, for about 390 hours provided data for the study. A child's responses in each situation were classified as an instance of one behavior pattern out of a possible four patterns which together comprised a logically exhaustive classification. The behavior patterns were defined in relation to two tendencies discerned in the functions of the historic Ojibwa personality :

TABLE 1: CLASSIFICATION OF A SUBJECT'S BEHAVIOR PATTERNS IN INTERACTION

Subject's Behavior	Has some effect upon another's behavior	Has no effect upon another's behavior
		*
Accords with all proposals and avoids all conflicts	responsive-effective	responsive-ineffective
Does not accord with all proposals or avoids all conflicts	* unresponsive-effective	unresponsive-ineffective

*Allegedly typical Ojibwa behavior patterns.

Boggs (1954) stated his conclusions thusly: "The investigation suggests that far-reaching changes in the culture patterns of the Ojibwa families studied correlate with changes in the personality functioning of children in interaction with their parents. Certain patterns of interaction on the part of children become relatively less frequent in more-acculturation families. These patterns -

(1) to be influenced when not influencing another and (2) not be influenced when influencing another - may have been typical of historic Ojibwa and appear to be typical of a larger proportion of present-day children in the least-acculturated families studied."

In another article Boggs (1956) discussed results of an analysis focusing on the behavior of the parents in the same sample. He found that, while children in more acculturated families were less frequently responsive to parental proposals or interference, they showed greater passivity by failing to influence the parent when dissatisfied. *Interaction initiated by parents becomes less frequent and less intense with greater acculturation.* He concludes: "The persisting characteristics of Ojibwa personality do not appear to be maintained by the formative influence of parental care, insofar as this can be observed in the interaction within Ojibwa homes. Children in more acculturated families appear to be more frequently unresponsive and passive (Boggs, 1956), and parents interact less frequently and intensively. This development appears to accompany less specific child-care techniques and decreasing emotional commitment to children. All of this occurs in a context of disorganization of major adult roles." Boggs (1956) discusses the directions to which these conclusions may lead. He related Hallowell's "low level of psychological integration" to lack of adequate "self-role" in an Ojibwa parent suggesting that if parents love, encourage, discipline, or repress their children because children reflect what the self is or aspires to be, or what it should not be (c.f. Aberle & Naegele, 1952; Bruner, 1956), then lack of self-role may result in a lack of emotional commitment to children which is reflected in infrequent, nonintensive interaction with them.

In reviewing these studies a few important points are evident. In all of the studies the similarities of existing, remote Ojibwa in Canada to historical characterizations of aboriginal Ojibwa, in relationship to personality, is assumed and/or supported by collected data. In relation to "acculturated" Ojibwa, many of the studies suggest persisting traditional characteristics, but some of the conceptual papers suggest that this persistence may be the result of new and different forces, and two of the more sophisticated studies (in relation to the others) (Waltrous, 1949; Boggs, 1956) suggest that there indeed have been changes in the personality of Ojibwa children and in Ojibwa adult-child interactions which are related to acculturation forces. A point of interest occurs when one relates Boggs' (1956) results to those of Waltrous (1949), both of which were obtained from the same reservations (along with Caudill's and Hallowell's - another interesting observation). Although Boggs finds differences in interactions between infants and children within families at different levels of acculturation and Waltrous finds differences between personality characteristics of younger Ojibwa children at different levels of acculturation, Waltrous finds these differences to be more pronounced in quantitative terms rather than in qualitative terms and that similarities show a sudden 2 to 1 ratio of increase for older Ojibwa children as compared to younger between the differently acculturated groups. Waltrous also finds that characteristics of the differently acculturated groups resemble each other more than those of white groups. The question must be raised whether or not certain personality and/or behavioral characteristics of

early Ojibwa childhood are as important to the development of adult Ojibwa characteristics as is the case for white children and adults. In traditional times there was a marked change in roles, responsibilities, and behavior with the distinct fasting and dreaming 'rites of passage' of puberty and the sudden acquiring of adulthood. Bryde (1966), studying IQ, achievement, and MMPI scores of Oglala Sioux at Pine Ridge, found a distinctive pattern of achievement that took a sudden reversal at seventh or eighth grade for Sioux students. He described this sharp reversal as the "crossover phenomenon" and hypothesized that it was a result of the impact of Sioux-white value conflicts occurring during adolescence which created severe adjustments and personality deviations. It would be worthwhile to determine if a similar process occurs in Ojibwa adolescents and, if so, what specific Ojibwa cultural forces (probably in the area of expectations for adult-adult interactions) play important roles in the situation.

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