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A PUBLICATION OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF VISUAL COMMUNICATION
The purpose of the Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication (SAVICOM) is to bring together and support researchers, scholars and practitioners who are studying human behavior in context through visual means and who are interested in: the study, use and production of anthropological films, and photography for research and teaching; the analysis of visual symbolic forms from a cultural-historical framework; visual theories, technologies and methodologies for recording and analyzing behavior and the relationships among the different modes of communication; the analysis of the structuring of reality as evidenced by visual productions and artifacts; the cross-cultural study of art and artifacts from a social, cultural, historical and aesthetic point of view; the relationship of cultural and visual perception; the study of the forms of social organization surrounding the planning, production and use of visual symbolic forms; the support of urgent ethnographic filming; and/or the use of the media in cultural feedback.

The Society's primary tasks are coordination and promotion of interests and activities outlined above. To that end, it publishes Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication, occasional Special Publications and a Filmography. (See inside back cover for a list of publications available from the Society and for Information to Authors.)

SAVICOM works closely with the Anthropological Film Research Institute, a committee of anthropologists concerned with the creation of a national anthropological film archive and research center at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC.

SAVICOM's annual business meeting is held during the American Anthropological Association meetings (usually held in late November). All SAVICOM members are encouraged to attend. During the AAA meetings SAVICOM sponsors a number of symposia and is responsible for the program of film screenings. Members are encouraged to develop symposia and to suggest films for screening at the annual meeting, and for review in the audiovisuals section of the American Anthropologist or in Studies.

The Society is open to all interested persons. To become a member write to SAVICOM, 1703 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009 for an application form. For further information or questions concerning the Society, write to the President at the address listed above.
INTRODUCTION TO
"CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON PERCEPTION"

MARGARET MEAD

The core of this paper was written as a thesis at Temple University School of Fine Arts, soon after the author returned from a field trip to the Admiralty Islands, Papua New Guinea, where she had been a member of a research team. For The American Museum of Natural History Admiralty Islands Expedition in 1952, I had recruited Theodore Schwartz, who was then her husband and a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania; Lenora became a valued third member of the team. Her training had been entirely in the fine arts, and she learned anthropologically fieldwork primarily by direct identification. I realized immediately that her visual and kinesthetic type of perception complemented her husband's finely tuned ear, developed even more acutely during a period of impaired sight, and I counted on this complementary relationship to provide new insights for observation, photographing and filming of the Manus people, and for subsequent analysis of the film and photographs when we returned from the field.

The publication of this paper has been inordinately delayed, by a combination of factors; my original intention was to include it in a series of papers on the Allopsychic Orientation Project, which has never been published because of the dilatoriness of some of the proposed contributors. Then, in attempting to publish materials which demanded color, we ran into further reasons for delay. During the intervening years since she did the original fieldwork and wrote the version of this paper for her thesis, Lenora Foerstel has had many years of creative teaching at the Maryland Institute of Fine Arts and in adjacent institutions, and her conceptions of the relationships between anthropology and art have been steadily evolving. These growing conceptions have provided a changing framework for this final version of her paper. But the core remains as a fresh response to her field experience in 1953 to 1954. The beauty of anthropological fieldwork is that, like the lady on the Grecian urn, it does not fade. The fieldworker grows older and wiser, and those whom we study grow up, age and die, but the descriptions, made at a particular moment in the development of anthropological theory and a particular state of the art, remain.

This has become even more important because both our methods of recording, and the cultures which we study, have been changing so rapidly. One of the little girls whom Lenora studied grew up to become advisor to the prime minister and wrote a sociological thesis on the Paliau Movement, which was the revitalization movement that was in full swing when we were there. Today, those children are scattered all over the new nation of Papua New Guinea, forming the intelligentsia of the new nation state.

It is important also for the reader to understand the particular situation into which I brought my young associates in 1953. In 1928-29, Reo Fortune and I had made an intensive study of Peri, a village of the lagoon dwelling Manus people of the Admiralties. Our reports were published in my Growing Up in New Guinea and Kinship in the Admiralty Islands, and in Reo Fortune's Manus Religion. This study was made soon after pacification; warfare, raiding, capture of women from other tribes (as prostitutes) had been forbidden and there was a population of returned, indentured laborers dating back to the pre-World War I, German colonial period. At that time, photographic methods were still very unmanageable; we had to develop the negatives the day they were taken, and it was only feasible to do so in the dark of the moon; we used tray development. So, we had the usual small collection of still photographs, no film, and no sound recording. In the course of showing photographs of the Manus to the Gesell-Ilg team at the Gesell Institute in New Haven, I found that, even though the photographs had been taken in such an exigent manner, it was possible for Frances Ilg to say a great deal about the children from looking at their posture, stance and physique, although she had no other knowledge of Manus culture. On the strength of that experience, I decided that we would include somatotyping in my proposed restudy in 1953, and plan for extensive film recording of the sort that Gregory Bateson and I had done in Bali and among the Iatmul of the Sepik River, Papua New Guinea in 1936-39. Ted Schwartz had been chosen partly because he had taken the trouble to develop photographic skills; during the years before we went into the field, both Ted and Lenora had extensive practice with the equipment we proposed to use, and exposure to the Balinese work. It was against this background that the photographs used in this monograph were taken, and Lenora's analysis made.

In 1928, the Manus people lived in lagoons, in houses built on stilts over the water; the land people, the Usiai, lived inland on the Great Admiralty, which was the center of the Admiralty Island archipelago. Manus and Usiai traded with each other in frequent set markets, the Manus bringing sea products and Usiai land products. Individual Manus and Usiai men had trade friendships which assured each immunity from attack in the villages of the other; there were occasional intermarriages which then were followed by affinal and eventually more hereditary trade relationships. Usiai villages were sometimes allies of Manus villages against other Usiai and Manus villages in the pre-contact period. But on the whole, the relationship was one of contempt on the Manus side, and a sense of galling inferiority on the Usiai side.

During World War II, the Admiralty Islands were occupied first by the Japanese and subsequently Manus became the staging area for the advance into the Pacific, the largest American installation between Pearl Harbor and Guam. Manus and Usiai men, away at work at the beginning of hostilities, were caught behind the lines and exposed to both Japanese and Allied troop behavior, while those who remained at home had a chance to observe the large scale occupation activities on Manus itself. All the people of the Admiralties had been converted to Christianity beginning before World War I, and the peoples of the South Coast were all Roman Catholics, hence the frequent occurrence of
Christian names. In 1946, a man from the island of Baluwan, where there was an extensive Manus lagoon settlement called Mok, returned to Manus and initiated a sweeping political movement which, assisted by a cargo cult, swept through all the Manus villages, involved part of Usiai villages, and villages on other, smaller South Coast islands. This was called in pidgin English, the New Fela Fashion, to which Lenora refers. Under the leadership of Paliau, the lagoon dwelling Manus villages were all moved ashore and the recruited sections of the mountain dwelling Usiai were brought down to the sea coast. Peri village, where Reo Fortune and I had worked in 1928-29, remained as a purely Manus village, but Bunai, where Ted Schwartz and Lenora were stationed, was a composite village formed from previous Manus lagoon dwelling villages and mountain Usiai villages. Under the ideology of the New Fela Fashion, or NFF, all the peoples of the Admiralties were to become brothers and sisters in the new order; the land people were to learn to handle canoes and fish, and the lagoon people were to learn to plant vegetable foods; sago land was to be socialized, widows and orphans were to become the responsibility of the village as a whole, and harmony was to prevail. In actuality, many of the old hostilities, jealousies and animosities remained and remain to this day. Ted's and Lenora's house was fortunately situated in the middle of the long village and children from both groups frequented there and were available for testing and exploratory games.

Some of the results of the 1953-54 field trip have been published in Ted Schwartz's *The Paliau Movement in the Admiralty Islands, 1946-1954* and my *New Lives for Old*, where I also present comparative observations on the children in the two periods and notes and photographs illustrating our change in method over the twenty-five year period. If the reader feels a need for further ethnographic and historical background for the discussions in this monograph, it can be found in these two volumes and in other publications by Ted Schwartz and me.

At the time of the 1953-54 field trip, it was easy to explain the way the sea dwelling peoples had taken the lead in the new political movement. As sailors and sea traders, they were more open to innovation, embraced new customs more rapidly, and learned very rapidly when given a chance at schooling. Subsequently, however, as all the children of the Admiralties have gained access to schooling in their villages, in the Manus high school and in higher education off the island, the Usiai children have competed successfully with the coastal and small island people. Within the climate of expected high achievement for Admiralty Islanders, they have shown themselves ready to take advantage of the new opportunities and to overcome temporary handicaps experienced when they moved to the coast. They learned the marine techniques practiced by the lagoon dwelling Manus, while the Manus themselves showed little proclivity for agriculture. In 1965, the South Coast Council, founded by the Paliau movement, merged with the North Coast Council; there is less parochial and ideological intransigence, and some of the Bunai Usiai have returned to live on their traditional inland gardening territories.

I am distressed over the delay in the publication of this unique study, but I am somewhat comforted by the fact that the material will be much more intelligible to a much wider audience than it would have been in the mid 1950s, before the field of semiotics (see Sebeok, Hayes and Bateson 1964) had been developed, or very much was known about the cross cultural use of the Lowenfeld Mosaic Test. The subtle contrasts which Lenora found between the kinesics of the Manus and Usiai enrich our knowledge of culture specific behaviors. They will eventually be fitted in also with the later studies of Manus, which have been made in the 1960s and early 1970s by Ted Schwartz, Lola Romanucci Ross, Barbara Honeyman Heath, Fred Roll, and Lawrence Malcolm and by the further field trips which Lenora Foerstel hopes to make next year.
CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON PERCEPTION

LENORA SHARGO FOERSTEL

Introduction

The world today is suffering from an acute attack of territoriality. We not only define natural boundaries on land, but struggle to divide up the ocean and the air. We are boundary-oriented people who must eventually face the reality that boundary concepts create images of enemy camps. When one man’s energies are directed against another, energy becomes dedicated to the destruction of the earth rather than to its regeneration.

Perhaps this study of a non-Western culture’s use of time/space and territory can provide a glimpse of alternatives to the arbitrary and inflexible territoriality plaguing the world.

My study is based on an analysis of the differences between the perceptual behavior of members of two cultures, the Manus and the Usiai. Both groups live on the island of Manus in the Admiralty Islands.

The Manus people lived near the sea and eventually became the model of behavior for the Usiai. The Usiai were known as the bush people, and their life style centered around agriculture.

During our stay on Manus, we witnessed an intensive process of culture change. In 1953, a political movement known as the “New Fela Fashion” was introduced under the guidance of its leader, Paliau. The people consciously worked for change from their old patterns of behavior toward this “New Fashion.” This movement included some thirty-three villages. I centered my study around seven hamlets, which consisted of Usiai and Manus people, in the composite village of Bunai.

The Usiai population joined the Manus people in the “New Fashion,” but when the Usiai attempted to settle into a new way of life, they found it emotionally unpleasant. They had the burden of unlearning traditional behavior and developing a new spatial/temporal understanding. In their awkwardness they were ridiculed by the Manus, who posed as models of behavior and assumed an attitude of superiority.

In the field, we lived in the village of Bunai, which was about a mile and a half from the village of Peri, where Dr. Margaret Mead lived. Twice a week, we visited Dr. Mead’s village where we worked as a team. At other times, Dr. Mead came to our village, where we would discuss our observations, and could compare notes and ideas, or work out new approaches to field problems.

In 1952, as a graduate student in Fine Arts, I had been trained to look at people as part of a social and environmental fabric. With Dr. Mead’s creative guidance, I combined the worlds of art and anthropology into what proved to be a unique and effective form of observation. My early preoccupation with form in art was transformed into a spatial/temporal study of two cultures.

Spatial/temporal concepts are closely related to body image. If one is forced to reexamine one’s use of time and space critically, then one’s body percepts are also called into question.

Every individual within a nation holds within his self-image some of the spatial/temporal and territorial attitudes that his government demonstrates toward the world. It is perhaps for this very reason that individuals within a given culture become defensive and aggressive when their government’s territorial policies are questioned.

It is my hope that the micro-cultural study of the interdynamics of self to spatial/temporal and territorial feelings will aid in developing a better understanding of Western attitudes toward the world at large.

When dealing with non-Western cultures, we are forced to create a new perceptual language. This new language encourages new levels of consciousness and benefits both the observed and the observer.

VIGNETTE

This, my first field trip, was begun with considerable misapprehension. I had heard that the Manus were undergoing a process of dramatic change, but the image of a primitive people running around in grass skirts lingered in my mind. The only accurate information I had acquired was that Manus was a small island about 60 miles long and some 100 miles off the coast of Australia. All other preconceptions would soon be drastically revised.

The storm which our approaching boat entered did not help clear up a turmoil of ideas which were gathering in my head. Suddenly, as the boat began to turn dangerously with the waves, a Manus canoe appeared. In a matter of minutes we were all safely placed in the canoe, and that which had functioned as a sail suddenly became a roof to protect us against the rain.

Wet and confused, we were met by a large group of local people who embraced us and seemed to welcome our arrival. I vaguely remembered unpacking, while a pair of dark eyes watched and smiled at me. I later learned these were the eyes of a young child who was a deaf-mute. I think his eyes were the only clear spots of definition that first day.

Then, to add turmoil to turmoil, a volcano erupted about 25 miles out to sea. A messenger from the Australian district office advised us to climb the highest hill and stay there until the possibility of a tidal wave had passed. And so began.

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the ascent. A procession of people appeared, mostly out of curiosity, under the pretense of seeking treatment for infected sores. Everyone seemed to need bandaging, and to make things worse, all of the women seemed about to give birth. There was hardly a moment to rest. Finally the day came when we were back on the beach, organized to do fieldwork.

I looked around and thought, “Now I am going to study the culture.” But to my surprise, I could not find this elusive thing. Where was the culture? Where was the native and strange behavior? In a few weeks, my stereotyped notion dissolved, and I realized I had been living in the Manus culture from the day of my arrival.

I AN INTRODUCTION TO SPACE AND BALANCE

It was the beginning of a new life. A few women appeared, escorting a pregnant woman, Clara, to a house built on stilts over the water. The group entered the house and Clara found herself a corner and sat down. A slow, quiet moan came from her lips, and at this point the women arranged themselves around her. One, Kuton, pressed her feet against Clara’s back, and found support against the wall of the house. A second woman faced Clara in a sitting position and spread her legs around Clara. A third woman sat parallel to the pregnant woman. In a sense, she was the flexible unit which would replace either of the other women when they grew tired. This small group was using the wall and themselves to create a moving force which would carry the baby forth. The baby would enter the world as a part of a group which enabled it to exist.

Clara relaxed as the rest lit up cigarettes and talked. For a while it appeared that the women were just carrying on a social hour. Clara’s husband walked into the room carrying their three-year-old boy. He sat down facing his wife. They smiled at each other. He whispered something in her ear. They shook hands and he left with the boy. With this contact he shared in the arrival of the new baby. Clara cried out. The women closed up around her and each pressed and rubbed spots on Clara’s body which they felt would make the baby come faster. The room slowly filled up as information about the new birth spread around the village. Among those who entered were the children of the mothers participating in the delivery. Matine, seven-year-old daughter of Monica, the woman in front of Clara, walked over to a crying child. From the youngest to the oldest, each entered knowing exactly his position and function. Clara’s cries became a signal for action, action which was predetermined, organized and serene. Monica was called out, but the gestalt remained unchanged, for someone moved into her place. Hour after hour there was an ever-moving structure which actually never changed. People moved in and out of the room, replacing each other, yet all remained calm and quiet. The women worked together to create a strong structure around the mother. Their body parts were placed to give her security.

A loud scream came from Clara, and she pounded on the floor. A back-and-forth movement began in all three women. It was not obvious from appearances which woman was the mother-to-be. Then the baby, a boy, popped into existence, but no one stopped or moved the baby, for the event was not over. The women continued working until the placenta came out and the cord was cut. Then a few women went out for water, the baby was given to another woman, and the situation continued without climax. The mothers of the other children filed out, and slowly the tight structure spread.
The mother-to-be suddenly moaned loudly. Everyone in the room hushed and directed the children outside to be still. The circle tightened. It seemed that each tried to place a hand on the pregnant woman. The whole room had the feeling of closing up. All heads looked down at the pregnant woman to see if the baby had come. They were not sure. They seemed to want to help, but not to know what to be done. Only one woman, a woman of the New Movement⁴, placed herself in a position similar to a position she had once seen among the Manus. Her figure, firmly placed against the moaning woman, created a sharp contrast to the vague gestures of her companions. A weak gesture, indeed, was made when one old woman leaned over to hold the hand of the pregnant woman. Traditional behavior had no real place here except to lie dormant. The women seemed confused as they self-consciously rocked back and forth with the moans of the pregnant woman.

When the Manus women worked with their new mother they were completely unconcerned with themselves as they twisted their legs and pushed with all of their strength to get the baby into the light. They were the models of behavior for the Usiai, and therefore their actions went unquestioned.

As the hours rolled by, it appeared that the woman would not have her baby that day. The group relaxed. Now and then someone scolded the pregnant woman for being too passive and continually falling asleep, but eventually everyone fell asleep. When I returned the next day I found that the baby had been born dead. Immediately I asked if the placenta had been removed. The few women who remained said that it had not. The placenta was not yet out and no one was doing anything about it. Finally they sent for an old woman who gently rubbed the mother’s stomach. Nothing happened. After some discussion with a male leader of their group, it was decided that a Manus should be summoned.

Maria, a Manus woman, arrived and with a proud look said she had not known that the Usiai approved of the Manus’ interfering. But she had come, and the women were very happy to see her. She placed herself in the proper Manus position, and in three minutes the placenta was discharged. She then stood up, and looking very haughty said, “I would have come sooner, but we Manus women hear that you Usiai women do not approve of our strong method.” The gentle old woman sitting at the side said, “Maria, there are many of us. If one among us said that, then I was not conscious of it, but I, seeing you come, was only too happy to watch and learn.” Maria then left and walked down the road, telling others how much more the Manus knew about these things than the Usiai.

In another house a group of men sat around a tape recorder which had been brought along by our expedition.

When I entered, I heard the voice of Pondret, an Usiai leader from the hamlet of Lawaja. He was wearing an army shirt and long army trousers, and he walked around the room as though he owned the place. Yet something in his manner, or perhaps his voice, revealed the uncertainty and indefiniteness of his orders. Among the group sat Manus men who did not seem to listen. Pondret responded by over-repeating, “You sit here closer to the tape so we can hear you better. Do you hear me? Why do you ignore my voice?” The Manus youths still did not respond. Pondret then walked over to the window and shouted at the Usiai
youth who sat outside, “Be quiet!” With this last order he walked out, leaving the room to the Manus.

I placed myself in a comfortable position in a corner of the room and sat back to listen to the traditional song of the Manus as they sang out to the tape. A great deal of movement, excitement, and noise seemed to keep filling the room, and I soon found myself very tired, even though I had been listening for only about an hour. From outside, a softer sound, almost a murmur, came through the window. One of the Manus standing near the door said it was a group of Usiai young men whom he calls “minstrels” with their ukuleles. We invited them in, and all the minstrels moved in front of the tape recorder. Following them were more Usiai, and a general shift took place. Within a few minutes the Manus had left the room, but later took up places within hearing distance of the house. From the harsh sound of the Manus, the tone now changed to the humming of the Usiai. The feeling in the room was relaxed.

It seemed curious how the atmosphere had changed with the arrival of one group and the departure of the other. The Usiai men, like their female partners at the birth, seated themselves around the room in a quiet circle, their hands held close to their bodies. There now existed a new kind of unity. Even in the sound there appeared to be more harmony, or at least a simpler form which required less activity on the part of the listener.

At times, when we look at things from a great distance, or perhaps in their most abstract form, we find patterns of which we were not originally conscious. In Manus culture we find a form of behavior that could be called “parallelism” (Mead, 1975). Sometimes a Manus will replicate another person’s movements; at other times he will balance them by a kind of mirror image response on a kinesic level. This balance may be achieved directly by physical contact or visually in space. Let us suppose that one man is sitting on his left leg and leaning forward on his right arm. Someone who is facing him will soon counterbalance this activity by sitting on his right leg and leaning on his left arm. Now we have a small balanced unit. This is occurring all over the room, within other groups, and among the groups in relation to each other. In this manner, the kinesitic energy spreads out to the whole group. This group is defined by its physical endurance and by the situation. The larger the group, of course, the more levels there are within which the individual must function. The individual is constantly shifting to adjust to changes in the group. At the same time, as we noticed in the birth situation, the self plays an important part as an individual unit, and therefore does not lose its identity. This continual kinesitic balancing requires intense energy, which, in turn, sets up very intense living. The fact that this cannot be a sloppy wandering off of limbs creates a strong consciousness of self. The body image is complete to the extent that the individual always knows where his body is in relation to other people in any given situation, and how the parts of his body are placed in relation to each other.

When we observed the Manus for a long period of time, we found that their concept of balance is tied in with a collective sense of behavior. The temporal/spatial orientation of the group determines the kind of physical balance which will come about. The sense of balance between the self and the group is part of a child’s cultural training. The group often surrounds the child in some sort of circle. The child will walk toward one person and may then be called by another. Each time he reaches his goal, he is delighted, and he then sets out for the next person. He finds out that it takes about the same time and space to reach one person as it does to reach another. He develops a temporal/spatial relationship within the self that states that it is easy to reach all people. He holds within his body percept an idea that his physical capacity will determine how long an event can last. He develops a sense of having the physical ability to control all future events and, inherent in this, a wonderful sense of security. In other words, we find that the individual develops a body percept in line with the temporal/spatial structure set up by his culture. The body percept develops an unconscious spatial field which organizes the individual’s perception of reality. We can see within Manus culture that other facts which are not traditionally dealt with in Freudian models play an important role in determining the core of an individual’s sense of acting within the world.

This sense of timing is demonstrated by the story of a deaf-mute whose lack of hearing exaggerated in him the kinesitic sense of the Manus. He would sit in a room filled with Manus children and suddenly get up. Although he had understood little of what the discussion was about, he had picked up the slightest cues of boredom. His response to the other children’s fatigue was to rise and leave. The group, as if stimulated by his action, would follow him.

Most of the Manus seemed to be sensitive to the timing of events: they knew when an event should occur and how long it should last. Due to the type of intensity which characterizes the Manus’ life, they can tolerate only certain units of time, and then seem to drop into complete exhaustion. A dull individual, with a poor sense of timing, usually created friction. In fact, if a dull individual gets into a position of leadership, we get what one might call a drift situation: different aspects of the event he is leading begin.
slowing down, until nothing seems to be functioning properly. A period ensues in which the group relaxes. Yet relaxation that leads to disruption eventually builds up tension, and a new leader springs up who stimulates the group into new activity.

We have looked into the birth situation and found that the Manus child is born with the help of others. It is introduced immediately into a unique network of temporal/spatial relationships which will determine its attitude toward future communications. We also noted that the woman washing the Manus child treated the baby as though it were made up of many parts. If we follow the growth of the child's body image, we find it is determined by the parents' concern over limbs as separable entities. We would find, for example, that the child described above would be wrapped in a cloth and carefully placed on its side. The Manus would never place the child on its stomach or back, for fear that the child would break in half. They feel that there is a weak connection between chest and pelvic areas.

They follow up this theory when helping the growing infant reach for objects. The parent will hold the wrist of the child and lead the hand directly to the object. As the child gains greater power to deal with the world around him, so the parent will move up the arm and create a stronger zone by the elbow. At a still later stage, the parent may direct the child by holding his shoulder. When the child gains more and more control over his motor behavior, the adult reacts by shifting the responsibility of performance onto the child. Eventually physical contact is lessened and though the parent remains in the same field of behavior, the visual field is so constituted that the child feels he is completely independent.

A Manus father takes his daughter for a morning walk through the village. He then lets go of the child's hand and encourages her to walk alone. She starts to follow her father, and is distracted by a group of children. They pick her up and bounce her into a place which makes her the center of attraction. Her parents leave the immediate situation and she is left alone with the group. She runs back and forth from one child to another, and, as she performs, the group around her grows. She is picked up, passed around, put down, and constantly encouraged to perform. Finally the group moves on, and she is returned to her father, who continues his walk. He comes across another father with a child the same age as his. They walk along together until they see an overturned canoe, and they sit down together. The situation which follows we have called "parallelism." In an hour or so, three or four other men with small babies have joined the group. One father will hold his baby up and the others will echo the same performance with their babies. One father may bounce his child, and again, the echoing of that performance by the others takes place. The child now moves from being the center of interest to being part of a group situation. The sense of individuality is very important, yet the Manus can move easily into collective behavior.

Often a new baby arrives at about the time that the previous child is walking and entering new situations without direct leadership of parent or friends. At the age of approximately two years, the child enters into new fields of behavior which constitute perhaps one of the most important periods for the Manus' development of space. At two years of age he finds, perhaps for the only time in his life, that his
parents are too involved with a new child to help him enter a new group situation. We see the Manus child a little less secure than he was at an earlier stage, perhaps displaying a sort of timidity or inwardness which, on occasion, we may witness in dull Manus adults, those who are among the least enterprising of the community. Perhaps such Manus adults are re-experiencing the childhood period of insecurity because they did not originally learn the pleasure of autonomy.

Autonomy begins by being defined only in terms of the mother. Later, as the child moves away from her, it overcomes the fear engendered by the break from this early dependence by being welcomed into the arms of society. Society becomes all of those who will talk playfully to him, encourage him, pick him up and be near him when he leaves the group. This includes his play group and the world of his contemporaries. If this transition is successfully made, it can become a source of a balanced tension system. He can move smoothly in society, feeling the community’s relationship to him to be a friendly, protective one. The community aids in the parental role, when its various members take on the responsibility of caring for the child.

A picture of these relationships and how they evolve for the child may start as follows: we find what I call a “core situation” or a “stable unit.” This may be the building of a boat by a large number of men or by the whole village. It may be a football game which becomes the center of interest for the day. It may be a football game which becomes the center of interest for the day.

Characteristics of the Stable Unit

A clustering of activity originates in a specified field. This cluster, for example, might be a group of men gathering to play a game of kick-ball. The more homogeneous the age group, the longer the activity will go on. If the group involved contains two and three kinds of activities or different age groups, then the action and the direction the group will take will require a different kind of temporal/spatial relationship. If the cluster is heterogeneous, it is likely to divide into several groups, each moving into a different field of activity. The cluster which is most homogeneous becomes the stable performing unit which stimulates other villagers to either join it or perform around it. It can be described as a focus of behavior which gathers loosely patterned clusters unto itself, giving the new participants a definite direction for activity.

A child seeking activity may move into a peripheral group which is watching the group of men playing kick-ball. The observing group is usually made up of different age levels. Members from the observing group often join in the activity of the kick-ball game or mimic its activity by forming another group within the same playing field. The original group now has an appendage or has actually been extended both in population and activity. This continues, more and more of the villagers joining the original cluster. This eventually turns into a heterogeneous group, and small clusters begin to form, leaving the original group until the original group finally breaks up.

It is within the formations of the clusterings that the child develops his collective spatial/temporal identity. The children playing at the edges of an adult kick-ball game often parallel
the adults’ behavior or actually join them in the game. They can move in and out of a group without any objections from the adults. It appears that everyone feels he has the right to belong, and no question of spatial limitations is brought up.

A group of women stands to the side. Their group represents a cluster which is practically devoid of action. They gather a more passive group which sits with them to observe the other groups.

Between these two groups, one providing the action and one gathering observers, the children move. When they move into the male group of players they are the followers, but they freely move out toward the women’s group, becoming leaders as they stimulate more children into activity.

The effects on self are in a sense repeating an earlier pattern in the child’s life, when he alternated between being the performer and a parallel follower. The original cluster or stable unit offers the child a sense of a stable field with which he can identify. The self can always return to the stable cluster after its own group breaks up. Yet, during the time both groups exist, the self has a road of free activity which continually satisfies his need for bodily expression and leadership. Anyone can form his own group or create a new activity. If his group breaks up, he can always go back to another group which is still functioning. At any point, the individual can share in the activities of another cluster, for everyone is an asset. Self is given an open field and a choice, but not complete freedom. The word “choice” here implies the idea of limitation. The individual is given a sense of independence and choice and yet is not completely free. He can exist on many levels, associating the self constructively to other human beings.

Just what happens in the group we called “peripheral,” the group in which the child starts, and which he later uses as a bridge between the core group and other peripheral clusters?

The activities for the children seem endless. A group of children may be looking for something to do. Some may pick up sticks, others play near the water, while still others will sit near the adults, just listening. The boundaries for the group seem endless. One boy may then throw a stick up into the air and soon five or six other children are throwing sticks into the air. Perhaps one stick will hit a coconut tree and get caught in the top. If a boy climbs up to retrieve it, the others will follow him. A few minutes later another boy will walk by playing the ukulele, and the others will join him in singing. Thus we soon become conscious of a continual change in leadership. One child suddenly turns with a spurt of energy toward a new activity. The others follow and he becomes a temporary leader until all parallel his behavior and leadership is gone. It is in the transition to a new activity that we witness temporary leadership and temporary extension of ego into a focus point.

A Game the Manus Cannot Play

It occurred to me that an experiment of creating defined boundaries for the Manus would be interesting. I remembered an American game in which an object is placed in the center of a field and two rows of children are set up, facing each other with the object between them. Each child is given a number corresponding to the number of the child across from him. Someone stands aside and calls out a

Plate 18—Manus, Peri, July 24-26, 1953. Father and daughter.
number. If the Number One is called, the two children with that number run forward, each child trying to get the object before his opponent can do so, and then run back to his place in line before his opponent can tag him. The successful player receives a point.

I set up a group of Manus children for the game. From the very beginning they found it hard to get the idea that one child was supposed to take the object away from the other. In the kick-ball game one kicked the ball away temporarily, but the ball was a moving object functioning as such. Here the object remained still and one actually fought for its possession. This object was not a thing which helped the activity flow on, but rather one which stunted the other person by taking away his points. The game had not gone for more than ten minutes before one of the boys began to cry. It was his turn and he just could not get the idea, so he turned and ran home. The others were disturbed and did not want to play any longer. That evening I spoke to the boys, but they could not verbalize what was wrong with the game. The whole idea of catching the other person off guard is just not part of the Manus personality. One would rather work with, flow with, and become part of a situation. When one goes against another, a hostile situation is created and it is no longer a game.

We began with a description of the very young Manus child, and saw a transference of power from parent to child. The hand of the child was held by the parent until a new source of control was needed. Then the point of control moved to the elbow, the shoulder, etc., and finally the parent stepped aside to allow the child a free field. In this way, the child gained a feeling of autonomy.

This is not true for the Usiai child. The Usiai adult holds power of control over the child for a longer period of time, apparently until the child breaks away.

Little Topo, child of Simol, sat with his father. He was two years old. I presented the child with some red cubes, but he seemed indifferent. Instead, he twisted some bits of odd film he had found around his arm. His father then gave the typical Usiai response, which was to hold the hand of the child and place it on the cube. He then held the child’s hand with his own, and acted as the force which picked up the cube. In other words, the force or power behind the action came not from the child, but from the father. There were more cubes to be dealt with, and the child sat back passively allowing the father to perform for him. At one point the father placed his finger near the child’s eye and led a path down to the cube, hoping the child would follow the finger down and perform. Little Topo flatly refused. This same child could be seen many times hanging in a sling from his mother’s back as she worked on some weaving. This very quiet child would at times suddenly pick up some object and throw it in his father’s face. This is a bursting out of the need to break away from the power which deals through him rather than with him. There is no gradual change of power source as we found in the Manus group; the control through body contact remains a constant for a very long time. This resulted in some curious behavior when we observed a field situation among the Usiai similar to ones we have described for the Manus group.

Bwone, an Usiai child of about five years of age, was drawing in the sand and singing. Three other children, ages four to five, sat around drawing similar patterns. Here too,
Plates 20-22 - Usai, Bunai (Lahan), April 19, 1954. Father guiding son.
COMPARISON
BETWEEN MANUS AND USIAI FATHERS
WITH THEIR CHILDREN

there was some echoing, and perhaps some parallel play. The uncovered buttock of one girl provided a tempting target for Bwone. He took a stick and jabbed the girl sharply with it, causing her to scream and run away. No one paid much attention to this, and the child was soon back.

The children in the group sat around in a circular formation, but worked independently of each other. There was a comfortable amount of space between each, so that body contact did not occur. Yet as the children continued to draw in the sand, the spaces began to close up, making things a bit more uncomfortable. Unfortunately for one little girl, Bwone started to move into her space. He, being the stronger of the two, moved in very bravely. She yelled, “Bwone!” He would not move. Then he pushed her and became more aggressive, until finally she jumped up and left.

This type of incident keeps recurring until more and more conflicts develop and the group becomes chaotic.

Using the Manus model, I observed the Usiai group, looking for a core or stable unit of behavior with which the children might be identified. I wandered through their village and found a group of children playing with a rope. The game was similar to our game of jumping rope. Nearby, sitting on the lower part of a palm tree, were groups of boys. Still further, a group of girls and boys were drawing in the sand. Even in this small area there was the feeling of being spread out. It was hard to determine a clustering similar to that found in the Manus group. Instead I was more conscious of the individual’s role, especially among the boys. Each individual tries to become the center of interest and dominate the situation. As long as the spatial relationships between the boys are open and do not interfere with the activity of the others, all goes well. It takes just one closing up or imposition on the activity of someone else to arouse conflict. Usually the girls are the victims.

The Usiai represent a quiet, almost serene group when left alone. The individual performing toward some goal is the most stable situation for the Usiai. He is creative in solitude, and appears happier without an audience. For this reason we find a continual need for more and better leaders among the Usiai: they resent any authority, and are self-conscious; they need leadership which they cannot question.

One of the most intelligent of the Usiai children was young Pwase. He was constantly busy collecting food, making small canoes for his fishing, and washing his own clothes. Sitting and speaking with him, I found a very intelligent adolescent. However, when he was in a large group he functioned as a destructive individual, as did so many others of his group. We then picture the Usiai field as made up of many individuals who, upon gathering closer without any definite goal in mind, create scatter and conflict. The Usiai enjoys the idea that he is an individual. He focuses on
this during periods of isolation, and this sense of individuality is also associated with creative activity.

The words of the Usiai ballads describe individual objects rather than a series of events. In one ballad, a young man associates himself with the moon, with the sun, and lastly, with the flowers. He states that he is like them, singular and alone. This feeling of isolation and sadness seems to be enjoyed.

The Usiai field is made up of individuals who create their own pathways. When one man’s path is crossed by another individual who represents authority, or imposes on his spatial activity without invitation, there is conflict. It is only when he has unimpeded space that he can feel serene.

To the Usiai child, creativity comes from the self. The presence of an adult introduces authority. The interplay of different age groups, moving into each others’ clusters on a free and unconscious level, does not exist for the Usiai. Here one does not enter the adult group except when specifically asked. Here, authority is felt in an entirely different way from the Manus child, who can move up and down within the different age levels, at times being the leader and at times the follower, extending himself unconsciously and with pleasure. The Usiai tends to close up, and instead of finding association with others pleasant, he sees in it an imposition, for one very important reason: learning starts on a kinesthetic level. The Usiai child is handled as a tool through which someone is asserting his own power, and this leads inevitably in the child to the desire to break away. When group situations begin to create a new energy outside of self, they are felt as a coercive, uncomfortable pressure from which the child strives to free himself.

Perhaps one of the most poetic examples of trying to break away came from the lips of a Manus child. He and I were sitting near the beach, when a small canoe passed. I asked the Manus child who was on the canoe, an Usiai child or a Manus child. He seemed surprised at my question. To him it was obviously an Usiai child. “Look how he ties the sail to the pole of his canoe. The pole can hardly stand. He must hold it with one hand and with the other he tries to protect himself from the wind. He also tries to spear fish with the hand that shields him from the wind. He is like the pole of the canoe rather than being part of the pole of the canoe.” The Manus do not become the canoe, they become part of the canoe. They associate with the structure and, in becoming part of the structure, can still function as a unit without being hindered. Here, as in his social relationships,
USIAI CHILDREN AT PLAY

Plates 29-33  — Usiai, Bunai, February 9, 1954.

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the Usiai child's unconscious dominant motivation is to resist submergence of his individuality: he refuses to become part of the canoe, but must become the canoe; and if he is the canoe, he cannot be the part which does the fishing. Consequently, he must fail in his goal.

Breaking Down the Cluster

I have presented the Manus spatial relationship as safe, and as one which would be extremely pleasant to an American. Americans resent any limitations of space and want to be free to move anywhere. Yet there must be limits or society cannot function. The mere fact that clusters do exist already states a limit. The family unit perhaps, represents the tightest limits which represent closure to the Manus. I have heard young men say they would not leave the Island of Manus as long as their parents were alive and needed them. Others say they would have left New Guinea to go to America, but were afraid to leave their families. The family becomes a source of rationalization, excusing the young man for not venturing further. It becomes what the Manus would call a “Banis,” or a fence.

As odd playing with what exists as limitation goes on it is utilized to avoid a fearful situation, yet it is recognized as possibly a very real limitation and attempts are made to break it down. The Manus, as well as the Usiai, use what is known as “Tryim past time.” This is a Neo-Melanesian phrase which means they will try it for the time being, with the connotation that if it does not work, they will try something else. It becomes a very destructive attitude in situations where it may well lead to the death of an individual. It is like playing with the destruction of the very last thing which limits them. We saw it in almost every part of Manus life. One of the most vivid memories I have of this situation was one which actually did culminate in death. Raphael Mina Kaloy, whom we might characterize as a very domesticated husband, closely tied to his family, was also a man closely tied to the Manus tradition. More than anyone else in the village, he was noted for his knowledge of the Manus laments and genealogies. Unlike many of the other devoted family men, he was not involved in any political activities. His main concern was for his family. He was often mentioned as a man...

Plate 35 – Manus, Peri, August 30, 1953. Manus preparation for a trip, constructing everything in terms of balance.
USIAI BEHAVIOR ON CANOES


who belonged to the generation which worries and looks out for the family. He is not like the present young generation which often neglects its children.

Raphael called me to see his sick wife. Upon examination, I came to the conclusion that his wife had a tumor or cancer and should be taken immediately to the doctor. Raphael then tried to convince me that he was sure that this was only a temporary thing and that he would like to "tryim past time." A week later the woman grew worse and I heard him sing a ballad anticipating his wife's death. I learned later that Raphael wrote the ballad to tell what he would do when she died. The song is centered around himself and the sorrow he feels. His children and wife become points circulating around him, giving him happiness and sadness. The "tryim past time" attitude becomes mixed with fantasy as he muses on a desire for experimentation, for an escape from the monotony of life. But the death would mean the breaking up of his family and dividing up of his children. He plays with the idea that it might not happen, and all may be well. The focus of the song is the anticipation of what will happen after the destruction takes place.

We see this same attitude when the Manus play a card game they call "Lucky." They play until they lose everything. One of the most important leaders among the Manus lost house, canoe, and the village savings, yet this same man, who is quite an intellectual, will carefully plan for his village, working and worrying about new constructions.

Our cook condemned the new permissive system which allowed married men to have mistresses. He pointed out constantly how it was destroying so much of what was good in Manus. I later found out that he had more affairs than any other man in the village.

Another example is the sheer delight I witnessed when the villagers were chopping down a tree and no one knew which way it would fall. They anticipated fearfully that the tree would fall and destroy a few houses, yet at the same time, secretly harbored the hope that it would do just that.

This is all part of the continual movement that we experienced in the Manus. Going from one group to another, always hoping for something more interesting, yet not being quite sure what the new group would offer. This physical restlessness is a manifestation of the mental desire for change. The children and wife surround the individual and fence in his movements, causing men like Raphael Mina Kaloy to play with the idea of destroying the "Banis."

II THE COGNITIVE PROCESS

It was our experience to take a Manus with us on his first plane ride. The native, John Kilipak, could have been sitting
on his canoe, for he dealt with this new space in the same manner, and with the same calmness that he demonstrated on water. The plane went up and up until we reached five thousand feet. John looked out of the window and said casually, “Look, there goes the Island of Rambutjon, and out in the distance is the Island of Mok.” No matter how many times I have been on a plane, I still experience some disorientation. It is for this reason, perhaps, that I found John’s reaction to this height so impressive. It seems John had developed a field around himself which uses the self as a frame of reference. He continued his relationship to new events as he did in the clusters he experienced in Manus. The plane became another field with which he had to deal. The stable self can still perform, regardless of the conditions in the field. John lives in a world which does not have fixed measurements in space, but where space expands. The self and the dynamic spatial structure become a frame of reference when familiar frames of reference are not around. As a child, he related to a circle of adults in which everyone stood at about the same distance from him; as an adult, he carries with him this same sense of all things being equally attainable.

It is here that we begin to see how the Manus actually use their body image in relation to the rest of the world, and how it influences their thinking process.

I first became conscious of the process when witnessing a court case which took place for the children of the village. The mere fact that a court case was held for the children is another indication of the continual moving up and down experienced by them. The process the children use is an exaggerated form of the process used by adults. They all lined up in front of the house where the court was to be held. They rubbed their feet in the sand as their heads bent in embarrassment. Little Victoria could hardly stand straight, and looked down at his hands. He started with:

I went to Steven’s house to eat. Upon arrival, I found that Steven’s mother was still in church and there was nothing to eat, so we drank water. Steven suggested that we play kick-ball, and we searched for a lemon. We went out and kicked the lemon until it broke open. Then we looked for fruit in the trees which we could use for a kick-ball. Finally we found one, and as we played, two other children joined us. The game went on until the fruit rolled under Samol’s house. Steven ran to get it, and as he climbed under the house he knocked down Samol’s umbrella. It broke. We put the umbrella back in its place and ran out to the bridge where we played until we were called.

We see then, as this young man tells the story, that he does not seem to hit any climax. It isn’t really until the man judging the case elaborates his questions around the umbrella that we realize why the boys were brought to court. Here we see the actual thinking process reflected as each event in the sequence gets equal emphasis as the circumstances
surrounding the case are being related. There is a leveling-off of the main theme so that we do not have a climax structure, at least in the way with which we are familiar in our own society.

Therefore, events are dealt with as space is dealt with, or as a person deals with his own image. You can be a leader as you initiate a new activity, but everyone ends up doing the same thing and you are no longer a leader but a participant in a group situation. So too, an event can be taken out of a situational context, dealt with, and then placed back into the total structure.

It is important that events can be taken out and separated from the total event structure, as I will point out a bit later when dealing with Usiai thinking process. The separation of events as units is important, in that it does not hamper the adding of new ideas. That is, emotionally each event keeps its own individuality and does not inevitably carry over its emotional impact to the next event, to color what is happening in the new situation.

Steven again demonstrates his ability to separate one event from another. At one point he was terribly angry at his mother, He felt that she had punished him wrongly. He was blamed for teasing a child, which he claims was not true. His anger at his mother soon negated any feelings he had about the child. He left the house with the direct desire to be away from the angry stimulant. He says he left so that his anger would disappear. It took two days for his anger to abate; and once it had left him, he went back to his mother. In this way there is no real climax or carrying over to the next episode. In another village, Peri, anger would echo throughout the village. One family would have a quarrel as soon as another finished. In this echoing we have the negation of the original anger, and that which could have culminated in a climax died out.

One evening when a group of children came to visit me, I handed out magazines. Steven took the lead in commenting on what he thought he saw in the pictures of the American magazines. There was a picture of two men playing tennis. Steven had never seen a racket, nor had he any idea of what was going on. Instead of his acting bewildered, he immediately started to use familiar frames of reference. Again, no new field is bewildering. “This is a bamboo,” he
said, pointing to the rackets. “In fact, this is the child of the kind of bamboo we grow here in Manus. This man looks like the Usiai Bokenbut. This must be Bokenbut’s child who lives in America. His child’s name is Maria Bokenbut Nakanas.” Then Steven went on to name all the relatives of this woman. As he called out their names with complete assurance, the group of children broke into laughter. Steven was then taking a completely strange situation and utilizing familiar content to the point where the situation became part of his experience. Instead of the group being confused by it, they found the whole thing very funny.

I have watched Usiai children in the same situation. Seeing an unfamiliar picture they become confused and embarrassed. If someone tries to define what he sees, the others will follow up by ridiculing him.

Time and time again, Usiai groups at meetings distorted the content of what was being said because they did not dissociate one event from another. I have heard wise leaders explain over and over again the reasons why the meeting was being held. They still got a reaction from the Usiai audience which clearly indicated to the observer that they could not separate the emotional impact of the previous meeting from the present meeting. Therefore, the emotional ties of the last event color and influence what they hear in a new situation to a point where very little can be accomplished. It sometimes took weeks before the new idea could come across and be dealt with.

Again, what accounts for this is the feeling of having no real control. Self therefore fights what is happening around him. Ego becomes its own focus—its constant murmuring, its continual movement toward climax—and its own feelings become the only real tie between one event and another.

Even when speaking to an Usiai adolescent about the events of the day, I got an entirely different feeling about his experiences as compared to those of the Manus adolescent. When you speak to a Manus child he will say that he went to the bush area to cut wood, came home with the wood, then
went fishing and came back with the fish. I might ask the Manus if he went alone and usually he will say, "I went with my father," or, "I went with my brother or a group of friends." Yet from the context of his earlier statement, we would have guessed that he was alone and accomplished all he did by himself.

The Usiai child feels that he was with a group, but that everything he wanted to do was hindered by the group. Komp, an Usiai boy, starts out with, "I went with a group of boys to the bush. The Kapul (an oppossum type animal) I tried to get almost bit me, so I had to fight it with a stick. I brought it down to cook and a snake bit me. When I came back from the bush I had an argument with my father." Before his story was over, he had gone out of the house and had another argument. Then he went fishing and his string broke. Another Usiai adolescent tells how he took a trip with a canoe. The canoe flooded and he lost his cargo. He came back and fell. His companions all laughed at him, so he ran away. One story after another goes on to describe the state of being controlled.

Continuing in this vein, we find that if we ask about a particular event, the following holds true: the Manus child or adult will usually omit the climax of an event. They do not build up to a climactic situation in their descriptions, but
deal with the core of the event, which determines the whole reason for remembering it. If, for example, fishing was the topic being discussed, they would begin with the successful part and then elaborate on the events which led up to it. The Usiai would build up the climax rather than pass it by.

No matter what event we deal with, we find a similar pattern of behavior. Looking into birth, death, a baseball game, or fishing, the following approach to life by the Manus rings true: there does not seem to be any real emotional preparation for, let us say, the birth of a child or anticipation of the death of a loved one in the sense that we see grieving taking place. Instead of a slow building up, we get a feeling of very sudden action. For example, a group of Manus were sitting around a sick old woman, casually discussing past events. Suddenly there was a yell from the daughter of the old woman, a signal that her mother was dead. Everyone had understood that the old woman was dying, yet no one seemed particularly concerned. The alert sound seemed to act as a signal; there was a sudden burst of action. It seems then that there must have been some sort of preparation, unobserved but existing on a kinesthetic level, and involving a high degree of set-in body tonus. The activity which follows generates a high degree of energy. All those who are involved go on to a point of exhaustion. They either fall into a dead sleep, or the village as a whole, if the action is collective, tapers off its activity until we have what appears to be a period of reverie. Because of the system of balance which exists in the group, the plateau period, or reverie, is slowly moved away from, until a new activity is initiated.

The contrast between the two cultural groups shows up on the playing field. In observing the game kick-ball, which both the Manus and the Usiai play, we can find the type of energy patterns that each group utilizes. The Usiai do not play as hard as the Manus, but keep moving at a steady pace. The Manus come out with a burst of energy and keep to this pace until they are completely exhausted. At the point of exhaustion they withdraw and a second group replaces them. In contrast, very few Usiai players will leave the field; the same players continue without interruption through the entire game. Their pace is slower and a sudden burst of energy seldom appears.

These energy patterns carry over into their thinking. Within the Manus group, the leader is the person with the highest energy level. Leadership may be demonstrated through traditional behavior or through innovation. Whatever the activity, the most vital leaders work until exhausted, not wanting to sleep, but when sleep eventually takes over, it is a deep sleep from which it is very hard to wake them.

Emotionally, the Manus seem even-tempered, but when a quarrel breaks out, it explodes through the village until it is replaced by some kind of calm. The resolution of the quarrel negates all hostility, and no one carries over any resentments. The Usiai almost never reach the level of intensity expressed by the Manus. Each Usiai emotional level appears to tone down or become part of the next emotional level. Anger and resentment tend to carry over. Past behavior is very much part of the present.

When a death occurs among the Usiai, there is not the loud ritual outburst of emotions expressed by the Manus; rather, they appear passive, mourning inwardly, and continue to react emotionally as if the dead person were still alive.

How does this affect perception and visualization? It always seems difficult to convince people, especially Americans, that what they see is not necessarily seen in the same way by others. All advertising, especially on television, is geared to please the eye. In a sense, the enormous amount of communication has a hypnotic effect on our vision, in that we no longer dare to see what we think we see. This is reflected in our schools, particularly in the art classes. Very rarely does a child have the courage to paint what he feels
Plate 54  —Usiai, Bunai, July 30, 1953. Children with adults at a meeting.

Plate 55  —Manus, Peri, August 9, 1953. Meeting.
about a subject. The scene he puts down must be symbolically accepted by the child next to him. Distortions in the crudest forms are accepted as long as everyone else in the class recognizes their meaning. The vision of the group becomes homogeneous.

The Manus as a group build visual cues differently from the Usiai. The sequence involved in their seeing the world around them is different, although the end result may be that of seeing the same thing.

I first became conscious of this when Usiai and Manus children were looking at magazines. The Manus child would call the subject matter out on the page much faster than the Usiai child. When one of the braver Usiai children attempted to identify the subject matter, he was usually inaccurate. His second attempt would be better. I asked a few children of each group to tell me what they saw. I approached them individually and told them to describe the actual method they used in seeing. The Manus child would start with a tiny detail. He might say, "I see the holes of the nostrils, the nose, the eyes, the hair, etc.," and then say, "It is the face of a man in America."

As the Usiai child described what he saw, I noticed that he would deal first with the whole page, relying on large sections for his clues. He might form a gestalt from an area of light and shadow, ignoring the lines which formed the actual boundaries of the objects depicted. His process for understanding a photograph was actually the reverse of that of the Manus. The Manus start with a detail and the Usiai with mass. Once the Usiai gains some visual confidence, he seems to move in closer, and examines smaller areas for the detail which will permit him to recognize what is there. The Usiai's perception was like that of a person standing at a distance. He saw the mass and then moved in closer to see the detail, in order to make some identification. The Manus child feels closer to that which is presented, and so starts with details and builds rapid percepts.

Exactly where this process starts is hard to tell. Part is due to actual handling of body parts. I think the Manus child is handled as though he were made of details, while the Usiai, hanging in a cloth behind his mother until he is a year or older, gets the feeling of being bunched up and not having much power. He is farther away from things and carries this feeling of being far away into his process of seeing. Therefore his process of perception involves a delay between seeing and recognition.

The Manus child is handled so that he feels action and power come from himself, and so feels closer to the objects he is dealing with. He trusts his first percept and builds up cues rapidly.
Because of the experience with the magazines, I decided to test this situation further, and turned to everyday events. The ability of the Manus to recognize people sitting in canoes at great distances always fascinated me, for I could never see the canoe, let alone the people who were sitting in it. It was comforting to find that the Usiai children, like myself, had the same trouble. The following day I deliberately stood next to a group of Manus children and listened to their words as they called out at the sudden appearance of a canoe on the horizon.

"How do you know what canoe is coming?" I asked. Gabriel, the brightest in the group, said that the canoe was coming from the Island of Nropiva to our village, Bunai, which meant to the group that it probably had some connection with Bunai. "It is small," said Gabriel. This they have learned to judge from experience, although I still do not know how they do so, since there was nothing on the horizon with which they could compare its size. Another child called out the name of a man living in Bunai. I knew he could not see the man, because the canoe was too far out. This is the way it was explained to me: the child knew that the man whose name he had called had left the island in the morning to go to Nropiva, and that he was expected back at about this time. Therefore, it was highly probable that he would be returning now. They arrived at this conclusion through a series of increasingly accurate approximations.

The canoe came closer and we saw a red cloth. The child called out that he saw Bernard's son. The man who had left in the morning had taken his son with him, and his son was wearing a red cloth. The children described the parts of the boat where each one was sitting. Apparently they were working with a silhouette. The canoe came to the shore and the children, in delight, turned to me and said, "See, we told you it was Bernard and his son!"

**Canoe from Mok**

On another day I tried a further analysis of a similar situation. This time a pinnace was coming from an island known as Mok. The first thing that the children shouted was that it was from Mok. They could tell this because of the black flag flying from the top of it. The direction from which it was coming was also closer to that of Mok than of any other island. At about this time there were some rumors around that a Mok canoe was expected. They said at times they could identify a pinnace by the sound of the motor. They could tell who was on a boat by the shape of the heads of its occupants. They can identify silhouettes. As we follow closely the manner of identification, we realize that they
build up recognition by very small cues. These cues are reinforced by expectation and past knowledge. The building up by details is necessary, due to the physical environment with which they must deal. You cannot see the whole canoe at once, so you learn to recognize things from small bits of information, and from that point on, you make inferences from past experience. Because there is such a gradual inferring of the object, there is no sudden recognition, no surprise, to constitute a climax. There is only a pleasant sense of proof when what you are looking at turns out to be what you had identified it as.

III AN APPROACH TO SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

Until now I have stressed the cultural aspects which influence perception. We started with birth, the handling of the body, and the extension of self into a group. Later we dealt with the body in space and time, and influences on cognitive thinking. In a sense, any aspect of life with which one deals gives insight into the total pattern of a culture. It does not matter whether we start with a playgroup or a birth. An analysis which is true will eventually lead us to the dominant pattern in the group’s approach to life. Yet, each aspect enriches and adds some slightly new element. Perhaps for this reason I decided to use clay as a projective, as well as an aesthetic, means of studying these two groups.

All the men of the Manus group were invited to come to my house one night and all the men of the Usiai group were invited to come the following night. The clay was placed on the table and my only instructions were that the men do as they please with it. The clay was hard and, except for its color, could be described as looking like our traditional red bricks for housebuilding. The Manus immediately looked for knives or sharp instruments which could cut into the clay. They cut the square bricks into strips. Then they placed the strips in a pile. The clay was taken from the pile and rolled back and forth between their palms. Then they would attach one piece of clay onto another in a way reminiscent of their housebuilding, where one log was placed on top of another.

The Manus group started by talking, laughing and joking. They seemed to enjoy rolling the pieces between their palms. At first the hardness of the clay made it necessary to do some pounding, but as it became softer it grew more flexible, and they stopped using it like wood. The leader of the village used a slightly different approach than the rest, in that he attempted to use the clay without cutting it up. He squeezed and patted the material. At times the group gave me the feeling that they did not realize themselves just how much pleasure they derived from rolling the clay over and over.

again. It was probably during this period of preparation that there was the greatest amount of enjoyment. Slowly the group became more and more involved, and there was silence.

Three States of Emotional Development

For all of them, a regression took place. The atmosphere was similar to that created by the Manus children. The men freely rolled the clay, laughed, and completely enjoyed themselves. They apparently did not create abstract problems and then use the materials to find solutions; rather the material itself determined the problem and the approach, as they explored and discovered its properties.

They worked in silence for almost two hours. The leader of the group, Samol, suddenly looked around and took out a cigarette. His action seemed to awaken the group, and some talking began.

It was here that the third stage emerged. At once, each became conscious of the others' work. Most of the men made tools. Instead of working on one figure, each made four or five things. The tools were well made, but did not stimulate much reaction from the group. Samol suddenly noticed the huge penis on a figure made by another man. At this point everyone else also noticed and the room was filled with laughter. Samol tried to place a figure he had made into a canoe he had made. This threw the group into hysterics. The reason for the laughter was hard to determine, possibly the idea of having to help a man into a canoe made even a clay man seem very funny. Bodily awkwardness creates embarrassment. Samol was so involved in creating a man sitting in a canoe that he forgot to include the outrigger. To the Manus this meant that the canoe was not complete. It therefore appeared distorted to them. This kind of distortion apparently is funny, and caused a great deal of laughter.

Looking over the work of the total group, I found that those who had created clay men did something very similar to what I had found in the children's group. If the figures were involved in an action which did not require the use of the hands, then the hands were omitted. It appears that the creator of the clay figure extends his own hands into his creation and somehow feels they suffice for the figure. However, if the figure is holding something, like a pipe, or is leaning for support on his own hands, then hands appear on the figures. There is a kinesthetic rapport with the world outside himself which the Manus maintains regardless of the object with which he is dealing. His self extends into the material which is being used.

In his dealing with appendages, it is also interesting to find that the Manus does not hesitate to add a large genital to the male figure, something few Usiai will ever do. Yet we know that in Manus culture, exposure of the genital is unheard of, while Usiai men, particularly those of the older generation, do not seem to be so self-conscious and do not fear exposure.

In general, the figures appeared to be very serious; one man had the head of his figure leaning hard on his hands as though in deep meditation. All of the men worked from three to five hours until they were completely exhausted. They asked if they could come back the next evening, but I had to refuse because it had been decided earlier that the Usiai from the hamlet of Malé would come and perform.

No Overt States of Development

This group of Usiai men from Malé did not move through any overt stages as they worked with the clay. Laughter, joking, and talking continued all night long. There was no protracted period of silence as with the Manus. Almost all the men rolled out long pieces of clay and made objects they would like to own. As in the case of the Manus, the clay became a material to express wish-fulfillment. Very few made human beings. The Usiai objects were more delicate, but also more crude. They loosely attached one piece of clay.


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to another, with the result that most of the objects fell apart. A leader among them attempted a chair and found he just could not stand it up. Unlike the Manus, who would have torn the poor structure down and started a new one, this man, Kampo, added another piece of clay to the back of the chair, adding a superficial support to it. This makes the observer conscious of the fact that no one in the group tore down anything he had started. When a mistake was made, it appeared easier to leave it and begin a new form. This was a different attitude from that of the Manus, who preferred to recreate that which was bad. I also found it interesting that this group made forms of birds and snakes.

A few days later I decided to try another quality of clay, suspecting that the soft clay given this group only added to the general insecurity that the Usiai experienced. The men were given a hard block of clay and had to use knives to carve it out. The end result was a much firmer construction. The group in general seemed to perform on a higher level and the general tone now was no longer one of embarrassed laughter.

The Usiai in everyday living, must continue to keep open to new forms, new experiments with organization and space. The constant criticism that each individual faces, not only from the Manus, but also from his own group, creates a pressure . . . to adapt and adapt. In a sense, he must be open to a new scheme which will help him to maintain some sort of equilibrium. A material which is soft and easily falls apart only leads to more insecurity. This firm hard clay created a new level for him which can be described in the following manner: the Usiai took the hard block of clay and proceeded to cut off small pieces from it. They continued to carve away as if they were carving wood. The scraps were disregarded. Although the shape of the clay had changed, the original core of the block was still intact. It seemed that the way the medium was being used was symbolic of how they felt about their own identity. The hard block of clay was like ego, and when the clay changed in form, it was as if ego were also changed, but as in the case of the clay, the original form continued to exist.

When softer pieces of clay were given to the Usiai, there was no core to identify with. They felt uneasy, and disoriented, in the situation in which they had to build up a new form from scraps.

Socially, the Usiai had the conflict of wanting to lose the stigma of being Usiai and build up a new self-concept. Yet, rooted in their behavior was the need to draw from the self. Although they repressed their traditional songs and history, it took only a comfortable situation to draw out their past,
and one was amazed to find that even the younger children of their group know the traditional Usiai laments.

Another interesting thing which showed up in the work with the clay was a difference in spatial orientation. The Manus figures were almost always portrayed looking straight ahead, which gave them a look of a stubbornness which did not allow for criticism. The Usiai clay figures had greater individuality, the group was less homogeneous than the Manus. Most striking, the Usiai figures were twisted and turned in many directions. The Usiai were continually breaking down their own traditions and opening up to the Manus culture which they were trying to borrow. The figures they made reflected a confusion of spatial concepts. In their search for direction they still had not learned how to combine the two cultures into some sort of positively functioning whole.

Superficially, the sculpture and paintings of the two groups look very much alike. Sticklike figures covering a page, or sticklike sculptures repeated over and over again were characteristic. Upon closer observation, exceptional direction and handling of the appendages on figures gave us clues to the undertones of the cultures. Perhaps in opening up to a new form, the Usiai culture faced the loss of something more important: they may find that in throwing away the old tradition they are throwing away parts of the self which they actually enjoyed and respected. When the Usiai becomes upset, his disturbance is reflected through visual distortions; he seems to confuse space with content. A "hodge-podge" forms in which each must somehow guess what is right, and in this unconscious guessing, question the correctness of his own creation. The Manus, holding so much of the traditional approach to life intact, approaches clay and paper with a determination that says, "This is the way to do things!"

It does not matter which age group we observed. Each generation picked up at its stage the security or insecurity of its group. Children tended, in their more naive manner, to exaggerate aspects of the culture which adults pretended do not exist. The children would gather around my door each day in hopes that I would give out the clay for them to play with. One day, as a group of Manus and Usiai children gathered together, I did give out the clay. The mixed group gathered on the road outside my door. Within fifteen to twenty minutes something started to happen. The Usiai children had moved together in a small group and worked quietly, staring intently at the clay. In contrast, the Manus children spread out over the road, and made this a very light social occasion. Instead of staring at the clay, they laughed

and talked to each other, handling the clay almost unconsciously. Each seemed more interested in finding out what the other child was doing than in what he was working on himself. Most interesting was the constant movement of the Manus children toward the edge of a tree, to the steps of my house, to the edge of the water nearby. They moved the whole self with the clay, looking at it only occasionally. In general, the fact that the clay was so flexible and could be easily changed was congenial to the Manus children. Just as they enjoy the fact that they can erase when they are working with a pencil, so now they enjoyed the ease with which the clay could move and turn into many things. We are reminded of the work done by the Manus adults, in which they corrected their mistakes by tearing down and rebuilding. The Usiai adults added more and more, hoping to correct their mistakes, not feeling safe in destroying that which they had already started.

IV BODY IMAGE AND DRAWING

With the use of clay we obtained a form which existed alone in space, and portrayed some sort of extension of the self. In the drawings the same people made, we find a new element, which gives us more insight into the drama of the relationship of self to outer world.

A drawing made by Stephen, a Manus child, reflects his urge to use up all of the materials which were made available to him. Stephen’s drawing was created in the traditional Manus style. It is only through detailed analysis that we can discover the aspects which are unique to the individual.

When an individual uses the traditional forms of his culture, he is basically reflecting the attitudes toward others his culture had and still maintained. When deviation from traditional styles takes place then we can gain more insight into the individual’s uniqueness.

Let us follow how Stephen approaches his paper, see the role tradition plays, and how he and other children, each in his own way, uniquely combine aspects of the present culture to illustrate personal feelings about the world around them. With Stephen’s drawings we are immediately conscious of lines and the lack of mass. The lines are all parallel. There are several large red drawings, all varying in size. After Stephen drew these red shapes around the paper, he filled in the spaces between them with smaller drawings. Between the smaller figures, which were blue, he made still smaller green figures, then even smaller brown shapes. The spaces left he filled with black shapes.

We then see a young child approaching his paper by filling in the spaces. Each shape that is drawn creates for him new spaces which must be filled in. We get the sense that he feels a need to do something with space. Yet each shape has some space around it. We also note that no shape overlaps another. Perhaps we have a continuation here of an earlier development, in which the child learns the parts of the whole figure and feels that to overlap any part is to destroy it. We find this in the early drawings of Western children.

Another thing Western children tend to do is to draw a horizon line close to the bottom of the page and call the lower space the earth and the upper space the sky. The Manus draw their figures around the edges of the paper, rotating the paper until all of the edges have drawings of people standing with their heads pointing toward the center of the paper. Most of the individuals seem to stand alone and no attempt is made to overlap or connect the figures. Yet a connection was often made verbally: when Stephen was asked to describe what he had created, he spoke about the figures in his drawing as being part of a family. This brings to mind the write-up on the breaking away from the “banis” with which we dealt in an earlier chapter. As the child drew, he turned the paper around so that the figures were upside down in relation to each other. There are men walking at the edge of one side of the paper, and the same thing on the other side. Stars do not belong to the sky, and a tree does not belong to the ground. Each belongs to itself, except for
the psychological relationship that this man belongs to this woman, and this child belongs to both.

I have stressed, up until now, the feeling of unlimited space that the Manus experience and how freely they move around. Matter is flexible to them, and a person can use the paper in whatever way he wishes. We note that Stephen does not leave his paper and draw on the table. He does recognize the limits of the paper. This gives us a new insight into the kind of limits that the Manus does experience. His psychophysical fantasies are focused on his village. It does not matter if we discuss leaving New Guinea with this child Stephen, or any other child of the village. All play in fantasy with leaving the village, but the idea of returning gives them a deeper pleasure. Adults often asked me how I felt about returning to my home in America. Actually, this would be a start for their own fantasy of visiting other countries. But the greatest fascination for them was the idea of coming home and of what they would tell the other villagers. The Manus as a group are satisfied with their relationships and the kind of environment they have created. Because of this strong and satisfying image, they do not feel a need to extend into new territory. Instead they take what they have and elaborate on it. They will seek new ideas and incorporate them into their lifestyle. In a sense it is a world modeled after a garden which adds more and more flowers but does not spread to other hills.

Continuing with Stephen's drawing, we now examine the development of each individual shape. We find that whenever the human figure was made, the head was always included. At times, the body would be excluded. Many times the arms were gone, and half of the time the feet were left out. It is the same experience that the Manus male child probably has when he absently manipulates his genital. There is consciousness of the fact that the genital is being manipulated, but little consciousness of the hand which is doing the manipulation. This tells us that the Manus are unconscious of their hands. Greater awareness of feet is discovered when talking to a Manus woman. She will describe how women use their feet while assisting in childbirth. However, it does not dawn on them that the hands are the most active element. When hands are omitted from a drawing we discover that extension of their own active hands takes the place of the hands missing in the figure.

It appears that fantasy concentrates itself mainly in the arms and hands of the Manus drawing. They will sometimes approximate an arm or a hand but more often leave the arms and hands out. A new drawing by a young man named Gabriel shows hands which take on the shape of a mouth. They circle the figure as if creating a fence around the body. Gabriel is one of the more verbally oriented young men of the village. It seems, therefore, consistent that he should combine the Manus area of greatest freedom with his verbal talent to communicate, by combining the arms with a drawing that looks like a mouth. Aside from what it reflects of this individual, the drawing also illustrates the general cultural attitude we picked up earlier, the play with limitation. The figure has a great deal of movement in it, yet the arms serve as the walls in the distance. We feel he knows just where the village ends.

Joseph, another Manus boy, draws a man without hands. All of the body holds a feeling of movement, with bent legs and a swinging penis. In the mouth of the figure, a pipe with smoke adds to the total action taken on by the drawing. The head area, as we have seen before, is drawn in detail. The head, in this case, is about the same size as the body and only gains in importance because of the details it holds. The head is drawn as a separate unit from the body, yet they move in perfect coordination with each other. Joseph had put shoes on his creation, but although the legs begin to enter the shoes, we find that the feet do not continue, the shoes take the place of feet. Once an object comes in contact with the body it becomes part of it and can function as well as that.
part whose place it takes. Just as the hand drawing the figure becomes part of the figure, so the shoes of the drawing become part of the functioning body.

The pipe in the mouth of the figure takes on a slightly different relationship to the body from the shoes. The reason is that it is not an object which remains stable, but serves as a pleasurable thing which can be handled as well as smoked. It is for this reason that the pipe has the feeling of being removable. Yet the smoke which comes from it, and the manner in which it fits into the mouth, has a similar relationship as that of the head to the shoulders, and of the leg to the shoes. We feel that each part is an independent unit, free to move as it pleases, and at the same time that it works as part of the whole.

Joseph's lines are dark and definite. The pipe is the only part which takes on weight because it does have some shading. Although he uses few details, they form such a beautiful symbol of the object that the picture is to represent, that we accept immediately its meaning and feel it is complete.

The ears of the figure illustrate this last statement perfectly. It is just one continuous line, but it approximates in its extreme simplicity, the perfect ear. It becomes particularly pleasing when we consider how he breaks the rest of the body into parts. His mind finds that the ear and the head are one, and not a series of lines. He demonstrates this by creating a single unit.

The eye on the head of the profile is drawn to give the illusion of a side view. This becomes particularly significant when we later go over the Ushai drawing and find that the children, having the knowledge that the head has two eyes, put both eyes in even when they draw the profile. This Manus child put one reality aside and substituted another level of reality. The eyebrow is also included to follow the shape of the eye.

The hairline is drawn from one side of the head to the other. The head was drawn first and then the line of the hair included. This gives us the knowledge that he knows hair is something added to the head, and that the head can be felt through the hair. Unlike most Americans, who feel that the hair is part of the head, to the point where hair actually molds the head, Joseph gives the impression that it is the head which molds the hair, and appears to have greater consciousness of what his head is like.

In another figure drawn by the same child, we are delighted to find a fantasy combined with the human figure. It is a fantasy that combines all of the Manus ability to identify and extend with their immediate environment. The man in this new drawing does not have legs. The legs which demonstrated so much movement and freedom have turned into a fish's tail. Instead of running, he decides to become a fish. However, though he becomes a fish he can also be a man and wear clothes. In fact, the man has pockets in his clothes and smokes a cigarette. We find in this figure a combination of a traditional symbol in which men were drawn with fish tails, and the modern interest in clothes. The total feeling about this figure is that of a stationary object which takes on psychological mobility. Looking over the figure more carefully, we discover that the arms have been turned into wings. The fish, which is associated with water and swimming, creates one type of movement, and the wings, associated with flying and space, another. The man is clothed and smoking. All this is contained in one figure.

To a people like the Manus, who appear to be such realists, this bit of kinesthetic fantasy only stresses how much freedom of movement they feel. This, of course, adds to their sense of confidence that they can do anything. Despite the discrepant elements, the gestalt remains that of a man. It is so well constructed that the wings look like arms and the tail like feet. Not only is the total structure complete, but the details which add to the reality of each part, such as fur on the tail and pockets on the shirt, do not hinder this total feeling, but add to it. The details have the quality of confidence which say that they should be there. If something looks as though it belongs, we do not question its presence. In this way, the details communicate a sense of control.

Actually, we have two sources of control here. It seems that the greater the control a person has over his environment, the greater will be his sense of freedom. If, for example, we know we own something, we feel we have greater control over it than if it is not ours. This idea extends to more abstract kinds of control, such as that of a person over his movements or desires or emotions. Joseph shows control in his drawing, in his ability to present so many parts and still, through his use of detail, to preserve a satisfactory gestalt.

Symmetry

The use of pattern in which each side repeats the other strengthens the gestalt. In a sense, it is using what the gestaltist calls "pregnant form," in which symmetry is one of the attributes. Here, symmetry strengthens perception so that there is little ambiguity in what you are seeing, and therefore your eyes move quickly over the whole, giving you a feeling of complete gestalt. As we now look through many drawings, both by Joseph and by other Manus children, we find a great deal of closure. All of the figures with their individual parts close up around each other, creating no open spaces within or around the forms. Perhaps more clearly, all space is enclosed. This striving for closure becomes a goal which, once accomplished, negates other goals, such as that of adding more detail. It is for this reason that many Manus children, attempting to draw realistic figures, end up by merely approximating the main idea because they have accomplished their main goal of closure before all of the details have been put in.

When the Manus fills in all available space on his paper, he is also using up all of his materials, and bringing his work to completion. In a sense, he seeks out closure for all open forms. A semi-circle would stimulate in the drawer a desire to turn it into a full circle. Open space on a paper is closed up by filling all available areas with drawings. Closing up a situation is associated with accomplishing a goal, and therefore enhances one's self image.

Before ending our description of the Manus body image and how it is projected in his drawing, we should mention the feeling of tonus and autokinetic movement. There seems to be a combination, as we mentioned before, of the figure as stationary and as having all of the elements of tremendous movement. It is this contradiction which makes us aware of
muscular tension. The Manus focuses his tension within the joints of his body. His knees and elbows aid in expressing his emotions. This concentration of tension in the joints gives the Manus a feeling of high body tonus. When the Manus makes contact with an object around him, the point of contact becomes a joint connecting the object to the man as if the object were now a part of his own body. This is why in their drawings all extensions such as clothing, pipes, and tools seem to pick up the activity of the figure. When a child draws a feather in a hat, the feather seems to be moving with the rest of the form. I get the feeling that the Manus have never gotten over the outlook of six-month-old children, who think that feelings and motions of their own bodies can cause motion in other objects without direct connection. Perhaps this is too strong, but we do get the idea from these drawings that all movement does extend from the figure, and therefore from the self. How beautifully this is illustrated when the Manus gets on his canoe, where he has complete control, and the movement of his own body creates the movement of the canoe. Again the point arises that the feeling of control over a situation or object makes that situation or object come closer. It is no wonder, then, that the Manus feels everything is within his reach. For, after all, does he not have control over the movements of everything?

Looking at an Usiai boy’s drawing of a man, we find that the feet and body become one single unit. Arms, unlike in the Manus drawings, are rounded. The feet take on a definite direction and parallel each other’s behavior. They are spread like the legs of a chair and have the same sort of rigidity as well as stability. We find that when the Usiai artist creates a weak drawing of the body, the drawing of the legs also falls down. The arms, which appear to be merely attached, take on an independence from the rest of the body.

Of course, traditional style enters into combination with body image. The Usiai way of life is strongly influenced by their endurance in walking and climbing. Even at this stage of Usiai culture, when he is adopting more and more of the Manus pattern of life, fishing and canoeing, the major part of his economic situation is solved by his journey in and out of the bush. When discussing with the Usiai boy what he did all day, we will find that he speaks about what his feet did more than his hands. In the drawings by the same group, we find the feet and body unit takes on a stronger body image.

Looking over more drawings, we find that the front view of a person is the preferred drawing among the Usiai. The most interesting point seems to be that the mouth replaces the genitals. Whenever we find the elimination of the mouth from a drawing, we can usually expect to find the feet spread in a circular formation. It appears that there is some transfer of the mouth down past the body to the inner side of the feet. Here is, then, another strange phenomenon. The Usiai will draw a front view of the body but a side view of the legs within the same figure. The legs are spread apart each going in the opposite direction. The observer gets the impression that they are projecting a strong self-consciousness about the inner parts of the figure’s thighs. When a parent handles a small child, you often see the parent contacting the child’s inner thighs. This may account for the emphasis placed on this part of the body.

This group of drawings also shows a greater variety of lines. Unlike the Manus, who performed with thin, even lines,
The Usiai varied from thick to thin lines, and even attemptec shading.

The Usiai's greatest interest falls on the part of the body which enables him to find the most freedom. His desire to break away from the powers which control him demonstrates itself at the adolescent level when he becomes the minstrel or goes away to work for Europeans. At the time we visited New Guinea, the Usiai had a stronger desire to leave his village and become a work boy than did the Manus. It also appears in everyday life that the Usiai has greater difficulty adjusting to the canoe with his feet than he does to the pole which moves the canoe and requires use of the hands. That which is the strongest image of the self becomes the hardest thing to change. The canoe, which is so important to Manus culture, and is the most important aspect which the Usiai will have to adapt to in order to fit into the Manus model, is also the object which requires a new use of the feet. Manus walk so freely along the edge of their canoes, balancing and moving with the canoe as they pole it along the water. It is the kind of relationship of extension of self to canoe which the Manus do not find difficult. While the Usiiai, who hold on to self in order not to lose complete control, find it hard to extend, and remain stationary on an object which requires mobility.

V THE MOSAIC TEST AND FIELD IMAGE

I first became conscious of what we may call one performance over many fields during the projective test known as the Lowenfeld Mosaic Test (Lowenfeld 1954). The Test material comes in a box which is opened and presented to the person being tested. Within the box are 24 squares, 48 half-squares, 48 diamonds, 36 equilateral triangles, and 72 scalenes. The colors making up the pieces are: blue, green, yellow, red, white, and black. They are all clear, strong shades. Each shape is represented in all the chosen colors. There is also a tray in which the pieces are to be placed in whatever arrangement the subject wishes.

As each person performed, I observed and took notes. My only instructions were, "Do as you please, using as many or as few of the pieces as you wish." Usually the person presented with the Test would utter sounds of pleasure at the colorful pieces.

One of the more interesting performances was given by an Usiai leader known as Kompo, from the hamlet of Lahan. What strikes us when we look at his creations (for he did four mosaics) is the impression that he had considered his whole board, and strove for one complete idea. It appeared that the pattern had been conceived at the center of the board and radiated outward toward the sides. As we continue looking at the pattern with fresh eyes, we have a feeling of one side balancing the other. The colors, as those in the Manus mosaics, give the illusion of being carefully thought out. They create balances of color around a vertical axis. In addition to obvious balances like red against red or green against green, the Usiai create less obvious balances out of clusters of colors. The total form takes the shape of an airplane with the left side of the plane containing a tighter, more complicated pattern, as opposed to the more simplified relationship of pieces on the right side. This reflects a tendency, in all Usiai performances, to emphasize the left side. This is the opposite of Manus culture, which concentrates on the right.

Because of the slightly different type of development on each side, we get two areas of tension. The pieces are arranged to form vertical parallel lines, which shift toward the horizontal as they reach the peripheral areas, so that the peripheral area becomes a fence which creates a sense of closure and control.

Insofar as the mosaic picture can be compared to the body image, the peripheral area corresponds to the hands, feet, and head area. However, we cannot be certain, for, in the figure drawings, we found consciousness concentrated around the inner thighs, an extra sensitive feeling of self. If we take our cues from this, and look into the behavior of the children as well as the adults when they are part of an agressive situation, we do find that loss of control shows itself within the body. The Usiai child will usually turn the exposed buttock toward his enemy. The children even have a dance which they perform when angry with other Usiai or
Manus children. They run toward the person who angered them, jump up, and then turn their exposed buttocks toward that person. The hands and feet become secondary factors peripheral to the whole act.

Perhaps one of the more startling moments demonstrating the body aggressiveness of the Usiai occurred on the occasion of the Usiai men coming to my home to do some drawings. Among the group was an Usiai known as Petrus Popo, of Yiru. Petrus was one of the most intelligent informants with whom we worked. He seemed to have infinite knowledge of the kinship system among the Usiai groups. Petrus, like the rest of the men, sat quietly drawing. Suddenly, without any cues from the conversations we were having, he brought up the drawing he had made. It was so poorly done that we were not sure what it was we were seeing. Petrus wanted to make certain that I understood what he was pointing out, and said, “These men are propped up on sticks through their buttocks.” He then went on to describe how this was done in his day whenever his tribe caught enemies from other tribes. Because it was so irrelevant to the topic we had been discussing, I sat back stunned. Petrus seemed very casual about the whole thing. Upon looking at the drawing a second time, we could now make out what Petrus had described, and found also that the arms and legs of the victims were hanging passively.

Although I feel it is wrong to divide the body as I have, calling only that area which is not the limbs the body, I want to make it clear that I divide only for the sake of emphasizing the concentration of certain images of power or lack of power within the Usiai.

It is within his torso that the Usiai feels his strength concentrated. His arms and legs are tools for protecting the torso.

Many interesting things emerge from the finished mosaic, but it is from watching the process of putting the mosaic together that one gets greater insights.

Kompo, like everyone else working on the mosaic, is given a board which becomes a field for performance. To most, I suspect, it is a single field which is enclosed by the edge of the board. Yet Kompo performed differently from a man who conceives of the board as being one field. He started to develop a design near one corner of the board and radiated out from there. Then he would jump suddenly to another side of the board and develop what appeared to be a new design. It seemed as if he were making two designs on the same board, but before they were finished, he jumped to still another part, and the same thing happened a third time. He connects and completes the unfinished parts of the area. In so doing, he tied the figures in so well that they ended up looking like one form. It is better, perhaps, described by imagining that we are to perform for a television audience as an artist. We know that we are going to draw certain figures. We prepare our performance ahead of time by drawing on paper in very light pencil lines. When we are on stage, we use charcoal and draw over our sketch very rapidly. Because the total figure is there, we do not have to follow a logical
development, and can jump all over the page. However, the end result is still a well-developed figure. With Kompo, we got the same feeling. It was as though the sketch of what he was doing was well conceived before he started. Yet I know that Kompo had never seen the mosaic pieces before, and the combination of the different shapes requires that the problem be solved as the person is working. Only through experiment with actually fitting the pieces could Kompo possibly have conceived of how they could be developed into a total form. The Usiai who has a strong self-image can usually project the image onto the mosaic by organizing the different designs into one gestalt. Each idea exists in its own field, until the self pulls them together into one.

It has been our experience to watch Kompo in day-to-day activities and witness a similar train of action to that he carried out with the mosaic. For weeks and weeks, women of Kompo’s village had been washing sago. Sago is an important food for the native population. Suddenly one morning, Kompo rushed into our house and told me to grab my cameras and hurry. I followed his directions, and he led me to a group of natives who were cutting sago. As he shouted orders which everyone seemed to obey, I found myself with the others in a small bush area where a group of women appeared to be organizing themselves for the process of washing the sago. Again, shouts from Kompo, and everyone moved fast. Because of the large group involved, and the number of active people in so small an area where hardly anyone could stand comfortably, there was the feeling, at least on my part, of extreme confusion. Eventually, things seemed to clear up and I was calmly photographing a group of women washing sago. I watched the process. I had been feeling confusion; and later was surprised to find a uniform idea.

In the mosaics done by Kompo we found that his ideas could be carried out successfully as long as he concentrated on the whole concept, and did not get involved with detail. Whenever he tried to correct some internal part of the general design, he would throw the whole design off balance. This always annoyed him. The result was an angry Kompo, who had lost his sense of what he had originally set out to create.

It appears that, in order to hold onto an original idea, he had to allow for a less accurate performance within the internal parts of the design, just approximating his first intentions. No doubt, the loss of the whole becomes a breaking down of the self, and the Usiai feel a loss of power. The Usiai feel safer dealing with the whole and forgetting the unit when performing. It is for this reason, perhaps, the Usiai carries over the subject from one meeting to the next, still holding on to the whole; for dealing with one meeting creates for him a unit situation.

To summarize, the Usiai feels it destructive and disorienting to focus on any part without considering the whole: this is because he derives a sense of control through feeling his self contained within peripheries; within his body, this sense of control is concentrated for him in his legs.

The personality of the Usiai is such that we feel the inevitability of a break in his apparent calmness, though we cannot anticipate at what moment exactly it will occur. In Kompo too, this sudden change in mood would occur. In others of his group the mood could easily turn to rage, but with the more creative Usiai people, it was a transition from a passive, less constructive period, to a constructive period. The Usiai leader uses this period to recreate harmony in the hamlet. Kompo’s tremendous energy has been a binding factor in keeping his group together. He is the only leader within his hamlet. His ability to organize and carry out his ideas has been recognized by other Usiai groups and they often call upon him in times of trouble.

In the village known as Bunai, Kompo continually makes the activities of the other hamlets part of his own. However, even with all of the constructive aspects, if he gets involved in too many fields of activity, he breaks down into carelessness. In addition to other constructive things about Kompo, he is proud of his past and takes great pleasure in talking about his home in the bush. His lack of shame, and his pride in his group, give him security and confidence in his work. Kompo is a model of the most stable and creative in Usiai culture.

Kompo, like so many other Usiai, drew on traditional forms. But what he made were objects that could be held in the hand, while the others, in almost every case, created small things which took on a feeling of being at a great distance.

After looking over many Usiai mosaics we find that they create maplike views of villages. They might create five different symbols of villages: the distant villages are represented by a cluster of mosaic pieces at each corner of the paper. A village which is close up is placed in the center of the paper. Then lines of mosaic pieces representing roads connect up all five villages.

The peripheral villages are often represented by a cluster of green mosaic pieces and are not carefully organized. The center village is made up of carefully placed pieces which are also of brighter color.

One gets the impression that the Usiai is creating his experiences in the bush. That is, of seeing all of life around him as having little detail. When he moves closer to the objects he sees them more clearly, and their color gets brighter. The mosaic illustrates the same principle. At the same time, there is the feeling that everything is far out of reach, and one must move closer to see it.

This makes a very interesting contrast to the Manus, who see everything as being close and within their reach. I do not think that any Manus created a village or any sort of microscopic structure. Form is that which can be handled. It is handled with the hands or with the eye. Form is that which can be recognized, even if only by a minute clue. The whole of a thing need not exist as long as enough of it is there for recognition. From that point on, it is close enough to be dealt with.

**MANUS CONCEPT OF FORM AS SHOWN IN MOSAICS**

For the Manus, to use all available materials is an important part of a successful performance. They see space as part of their material. Space does not have any particular shape. However, when a piece is placed upon a board, the space begins to take form, and immediately suggests where the next shape should go. We get a feeling of orderliness in...
their breaking-up of space. The largest areas are filled in first, and as the areas get smaller, so the pieces which will fit in get smaller. They appear to have a compulsion to use up all available materials and space. When the space and materials have been totally utilized, then the performance is over.

Correlated with this desire to use up the space is the desire to use as much of the material as possible. This shows up in their use of the mosaic pieces. They enjoy adding one shape to another. Many times, a mature and intelligent adult will start his performance with a definite idea in mind, and then suddenly find himself adding more and more pieces to the form until it is destroyed. It appears that they are in a semi-trance: then they suddenly awaken, and the individuals who are more concerned with their performance will try to correct any mistakes that were made when they were less consciously involved in their mosaics. The adolescent girls, who do not play an active social role in Manus culture, seem to be in all situations the group which is most vulnerable to this kind of automatism. They seem to drift around searching between male and female activities for a clearer definition of their position in Manus society. Very often, the adolescent girls would be taken in by this mechanical adding of mosaic pieces, and then become very sleepy. I myself, watching them, would become very sleepy. It was as though we were being hypnotized. Eventually, the young girl performing would stop doing anything, remaining in a state of blankness. Sometimes a girl would stay this way for almost half an hour.

It was usually difficult to tell what sort of stimulants brought people out of this state. I tried to keep track of outside noises, and found that no special sound, or thing, appeared to awaken them. I then came to the conclusion that it was something within the self that created the change. With their return to wakefulness, the best they could do was approximate the original idea.

Color:

There is also a high acceptance of approximation in color. Most of the mosaics started out as an axial balance in color. Yet this type of beginning did not lead to that type of ending. As they continued to perform, they moved from exact color balances into approximations of color balance, so that a blue balanced by a blue at the beginning might later become a blue and green balanced by blue.

The formula for adults is usually the approximation of color and breaking-up of color massing. As soon as two of the same colors are put together, the men or women will separate them. Adolescents, however, do mass their colors: reds will be clustered with reds, blues with blues, etc. Oddly, it seems that the younger groups also prefer black and white creations, while adults delight in more color. This may have something to do with the symbolic value of black and white in reading and writing, which the adolescents are the first generation to have studied. While the adults probably associate the mosaic pieces with the traditional color bands, perhaps the youngsters do not.

Mobility in the Pieces:

The Manus carry their freedom of mobility from the self right into the mosaic performances. As we watch an individual perform, he is continually moving around his board. With the adult group, the movement takes place within the limits of the board, but there were quite a few adolescents that moved the pieces off the board, right onto the table. Another way the adolescents differed from the adult group was in their attitude toward objects and space: they did not hesitate to overlap pieces, while the adult population gave each piece its own space.

Motor Imagery and its Effect on Manus Performance:

The enjoyment of the rhythm of placing one piece after another can in many cases lead to distractibility and loss of purpose. With other Manus this motor activity becomes more playful and leads into adding more colors and forms which eventually give their design a feeling of greater complexity.

Manus Levels of Activity and Consciousness:

Level I: Through an analysis of the way they create forms, both in mosaics and in drawings, we are made conscious of the levels of activity and consciousness that characterize the Manus.

We usually start with the active, wakeful period in which the Manus is consciously thinking about what he is doing. This active period is guided by a clear understanding of what the Manus wishes to project. This is an awareness not only of

Plate 71 - Manus, Peri, 1953. Young child playing with mosaic pieces.
what he is doing, but of the self doing it. In a sense, we feel the Manus is watching himself.

**Level II:** Here, we have the doing of something "mechanically": conscious control is reduced. What is guiding the activity now is imagery or an internalized motor gestalt. The individual is letting himself respond automatically to rhythmical suggestion. We can speculate on the idea that the performance brings up unconscious tensions that keep the performer searching for mistakes and correcting as he goes on. We can see this kind of feedback when the Manus are poling their canoes, steering under a sail, or when women are weaving. They continually adjust their motor behavior to accommodate the changes taking place.

These accommodations consist of internalized patterns previously learned. All such internalized schema of learned acts with memory traces of all experienced acts, whether they were habitual or not, are the material of motor imagery. Energy released as activity may be diffuse or structured, according to a motor schema, drawn either from the mass of motor images as a repetition of some previously carried out activity, or as a fabrication built up of fragments of previously employed motor gestalts. Motor imagery may be conscious, or may be given verbal spatial or visual translation as a plan of action. Motor images create patterns when the contact of their resultant actions with the environment involves a tracer. The kind of tracing we find in electrocardiographs or a pattern of mosaic trials, as the case may be. Such tracing of motor activity is resultant of a motor gestalt, and of visual and conceptual controls of the resultant act. The motor activity acts as a carrier having its own structure, and at the same time, being modulated by the visual and conceptual components of more or less conscious control. Following out the description of levels of consciousness and activity, there is a condition that seems almost like "motor dreaming." This grades into Level III. It consists of low intensity carrier activity, tapping mosaic pieces, pushing around absenty without seeking any definite position, and grading into inactivity.

**Level III (Drift):** Drift may appear to be a period of physical inactivity and visual passivity, with relatively amorphous and uncontrolled content. Distraction may last as long as from 10 to 30 minutes. At this level the Manus show their greatest level of atonicity. During the mosaic test, most subjects go in and out of these inactive periods several times. When a subject emerges from one, he seems disoriented, he seems to have undergone a loss of direction. He does not seem to check the shifted structure against the previous one, even if the previous structure is available to him visually. This leads to a scatter effect and pattern fragmentation in the mosaic.

Activity on the first two levels usually goes on simultaneously, with the second level acting as a carrier to the first. The original motor pattern determines some of the future patterning for motor behavior. The events involving

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Plate 73 — Manus, Peri, October 12, 1953. Mosaic of pattern by a male, age 40.

Plate 74 — Manus, Peri, November 5, 1953. Mosaic of a pattern by a female, age 14.

Plate 75 — Manus, Bunai, April 26, 1954. Mosaic of fish, male, age 50.

Plate 76 — Manus, Bunai, November 7, 1953. Mosaic of fish, male, age 18.
the stimulation of this motor behavior are also modified by
the visual and conceptual relationships taking place. The
concept which underlays the first level is disrupted after a
derift period. When this happens, the gestalt is restructured.
The discontinuities resulting from drift will either be
corrected or the whole mosaic will be destroyed and a new
one constructed.

Level IV: ... cannot be fully described here. There is a
twilight level between sleep, and either Level II or III. Sleep
is usually somewhat more tense than Level III. Overall
muscular tonus seems greater. Sleep is often resisted by Level
II activity, and Level IV may be entered into involuntarily
from Level III.

A more recent examination of the Manus mosaic test
suggests that during “drift,” the period of apparent physical
inactivity and visual passivity, we actually find a time of
creative search. Contemporary studies on information theory
indicate that drift may actually be the individual’s way of
examining accumulated information in what might be
characterized as random search. In Western culture random
search often manifests itself in verbal free association, while
in Manus culture the random search process takes on an
internal free association which becomes part of their motor
kinesic behavior.

The mosaic test represented an unprecedented experience
for the Manus people, but they found a method for carrying
out an intelligent performance. This performance in Manus
culture is expressed through a motor kinesic relationship,
since the Manus always relate to new situations through
motor activity. The internalization of this motor activity is
manifested in the period of drift.

Random search is capable of processing more information
about a particular event than a logical step-by-step analysis.
Inherent in a logical, step-by-step process is the composition
of traditional structure on problem solving. Random search
allows for a greater variety of networks and therefore permits
restructuring of information as a means for solving problems.

CONCLUSION

All cultures train their people to place ordered values on
parts of the human body. The perceptual understanding
determined by any culture may produce either a hierarchical
or a decentralized body image.
Body decentralization assigns equivalent significance but functional independence to all parts of the body. This is in contrast to a hierarchical image in which the dichotomy of self into mind and body is most common.

The North American deals with his body as if his head were a commander and his body parts the crew. This image may have evolved from the Judeo-Christian tradition of a God-figure creating the universe, the life forms in which are thus subservient from their very origin.

This concept of self becomes even more elaborate when Western culture identifies mind with soul or non-matter. It becomes a religious concept that relates mind to volition and volition to God. In contrast, Western culture views the brain as matter performing many complex computerlike functions.

My observations of Western body percepts show that the mind is equated with God, the brain with country, and the body functions, and by extension, decentralize.


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NOTES

1 Thanks are due to the American Museum of Natural History Admiralty Island Expedition 1953-54, under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and National Institute of Mental Health grant, The Factor of Mental Health in Allopsychic Orientation (MH 3303-1, 1961-65) and to the National Science Foundation grant on The Cultural Structure of Imagery, and the Institute for the Intercultural Studies.

2 Photographs from the American Museum of Natural History Admiralty Island Expedition were taken by L.S. Foerstel, M. Mead and T. Schwartz.

3 Throughout this monograph the term parallel will refer to duplicate kinesthetic behavior.

4 The New Movement, sometimes called the New Fela Fashion, was a political organization created to give new behavioral models to the Manus and Usiai.
ATTRIBUTION AND INFERENCE
IN THE INTERPRETATION OF CANDID AND STAGED FILM EVENTS

PAUL MESSARIS
MICHAEL PALLENIK

The two experiments described in this paper deal with the following question: What difference does a viewer’s assessment of the degree of control exercised in the production of a film or videotape make in the way a viewer will interpret the events portrayed? By “control” we mean the assessment by the viewer that the filmmaker or TV producer does something deliberately, with the express purpose of implying something to his audience. In our conclusions we shall discuss what difference these ways of interpreting will make to our understanding of how we deal with real and symbolic worlds.

There are varying degrees to which control can enter into the process of film or TV production. Most fiction films and TV dramas represent one extreme along this spectrum. Actors, costumes, and settings are chosen deliberately, the action is scripted, camera positions and movements are predetermined, and editing conforms to a plan. In short, control is as complete and all-encompassing as possible, and it is exercised in order to communicate a specific story, moral, or observation.

On the other hand, there are many instances in which the person responsible for the production of a film (or TV program, or videotape) exercises less control over the process. One example might be the researcher recording data of “behavior” for further study. An extreme example might be the television tapes that are produced by surveillance cameras in banks. The security agencies which produce these tapes have almost no influence on the content of the final product. Although they set up the camera in a certain position and they determine when it will be on or off, what ends up being recorded by their camera is not of their making. These videotapes may be taken as examples of minimal control.

Let us return, now, to the question with which this paper opened: How are viewers’ interpretations affected by the degree of “perceived” control that went into the making of a film, videotape, etc.? More precisely, how, if at all, do viewers’ interpretations take account of the degree of control which they believe to have been exercised? As a hypothetical case, assume that a viewer is confronted with a number of video tapes made in a bank with the kind of surveillance camera mentioned above. The viewer picks five minutes’ of tape to look at, and then we ask him to interpret what he saw. Since he knows the circumstances under which the tapes were made, i.e., since he knows that no director or script-writer has staged what he is looking at, we should expect him to use his knowledge of “real life” in making his interpretations. In other words, this hypothetical viewer might reasonably be expected to draw upon his own experience with banks, together with his beliefs about human behavior, in forming opinions about the type of bank shown in the tape, its probable location, the probable backgrounds and personality characteristics of the various customers, and the like.

Now, assume that we take the same five-minute piece of tape and show it to a different viewer. This time, however, we attach a title and a list of credits at the beginning of the video tape, and we tell this viewer that what he is seeing is the beginning of a telemovie. Under these circumstances, we would expect his interpretations to be made in a different way. If he believes us and treats what he sees as a deliberately staged piece of action, we would expect his interpretations to be aimed at inferring the filmmaker’s (or TV producer’s) intended meaning. More specifically, it seems to us a reasonable assumption that, under these circumstances, the viewer would treat the elements of the scene before him as purposeful contributions to the beginning of a story line and interpret them accordingly. (In doing so, he might be expected to use his knowledge of the conventions of whatever genre he thinks the movie represents. If, for instance, he thinks that he is watching a crime drama, he might try to sort out the people appearing in the tape into the various kinds of protagonists of a “typical” hold-up scene.)

We shall refer to the first of the two kinds of interpretational strategies outlined above (i.e., what the first hypothetical viewer does) as attribution. The second kind of strategy we shall call inference. Attribution, then, is the use of one’s knowledge of real life in making an interpretation. Inference is the effort to make an interpretation conform to one’s assumptions about the filmmaker’s intention, or, more precisely, to one’s assumption that the event in question was intended at all—or was other than an accidental or haphazard concatenation of visual events.

The term “attribution” was borrowed from an area of social psychology (attribution theory) which deals with the process by which people interpret behavior they observe in their real-life environment. The correspondence—obviously not exact—between that process and the one for which we are using the term should be apparent. The term “inference” was used to emphasize the fact that, in using this strategy, the viewer goes beyond the events portrayed, to a central, all-encompassing, authorial meaning. This terminology,

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together with the theory which it serves, was developed by Worth and Gross (1974).

To put it briefly, then, this was our hypothesis: The less control a viewer believes to have gone into the making of a film, the more he should use "attribution" to interpret it; the more control, the more he should use "inference." This hypothesis was tested through the two experiments which we shall now describe.

In the first experiment, the situation was very similar to the one described in the hypothetical example above: We took the same piece of film and showed it to two sets of viewers. One group of viewers was told that the film had been made with a hidden camera and that we had picked it out at random from a large amount of similarly made footage. The other group of viewers was told that the piece of film had been clipped out of a longer fiction film which had been written, directed, and acted by a group of film students. In other words, there were two experimental conditions: a minimum-control condition, which we call the candid condition, and a maximum-control condition, which we shall call staged.

The film itself was two minutes long, black-and-white, silent, in 8mm, and it showed a man sitting in a nondescript room, fidgeting a little, and, at one point, picking his nose.

There were no cuts in the film. The film was one uninterrupted length of celluloid. We decided on nose-picking as subject matter because we wanted to present the viewers with a brief, simple event, which would stand out, and which we could reasonably expect most viewers to use in forming judgments of the person in the film.

In the same experiment, we also showed a second film, which was a variation on the first: In that film, there was a second person in the frame, with his back to the camera. This person made talking gestures throughout the length of the film and did not alter his behavior during the nose-picking. Both films were shot at the same time, with two cameras, but in the first one the camera was positioned in such a way as to exclude the talker. We shall refer to the first film as the alone film and to the second as the together film. Each film was shown to two different sets of viewers, corresponding to the two experimental conditions. In all, therefore, four sets of viewers were used. Each group comprised about 15 persons, all of them college students.

After each showing, questionnaires were passed out to the viewers. These questionnaires asked for a variety of things, but for present purposes we shall deal with the following items only. First, each viewer was asked to give five words to describe the person—or persons—in the film. Second, he or she was asked to give an explanation for each word. Finally, each viewer was asked to rate the person(s) in the film on a set of seven bi-polar adjective scales provided by the experimenter. These were seven-point scales, and the viewer had to circle one point of the scale. The adjective pairs were: (1) refined-vulgar, (2) polite-rude, (3) pleasant-unpleasant, (4) calm-agitated, (5) friendly-unfriendly, (6) happy-sad, and (7) intelligent-stupid. Next to each of the scales was a seven-point "confidence scale," ranging from "not at all confident" to "completely confident," on which scale each viewer was to indicate, in a similar fashion, the degree of confidence with which each judgment had been made. Our reasons for soliciting these various response items will become clear in the discussion of the results, below.

Before we present the results, however, let us briefly outline how we expected the experiment to turn out. It should be evident that, broadly speaking, we expected the viewers in the candid conditions to use an interpretive strategy of attribution while those in the staged conditions used a strategy of inference. On a more specific level, we expected the following to happen.

We expected the most obvious interpretation of the nose-picking behavior to be that the nose-picker was rude, vulgar, etc. In the culture of these particular viewers, this is probably the stereotypical interpretation of nose-picking, both in real life and in films. However, we expected the "candid" conditions to result in a variety of other interpretations as well (e.g., "uninhibited behavior," "casual life-style," etc.), since we did not believe that—in the eyes of college students, at least—there would be any necessary connection between real-life nose-picking and the stereotypical interpretation. Thus, we expected the viewers in the "candid" conditions to produce, on the average, relatively moderate judgments of the nose-picker, accompanied by relatively moderate confidence levels.

In contrast to this situation, viewers in the "staged" conditions would be confronted with what they believed was a deliberately staged implication on the part of the filmmaker. Given this belief, we expected them to be much more certain that the most obvious, stereotypical interpretation of the nose-picking was to be accepted. Hence, we expected them to make more extreme judgments of the nose-picker—in the direction of "vulgarity," "rudeness," etc.—and to be more confident in these judgments.

With these points in mind, we may now examine the results. We shall be dealing exclusively with data on the nose-picker. Judgments of the talker in the "candid" condition were almost identical to those in the "staged" condition. This was as expected: viewers had minimal information on the talker, regardless of condition. Thus, their judgments of the talker were uniformly neutral.

To begin with, then, let us examine the results for scale (1), refined-vulgar, and the associated confidence scale (Table 1). There are two important points here. (a) For both the "alone" and the "together" film, the mean rating of the nose-picker was more extreme (tended toward the vulgar end of the scale) in the staged condition than in the candid one. (b) Similarly, confidence levels were higher in the staged condition for both films. These differences were all statistically significant. Clearly, these results conform to the pattern we had expected.

The data for the other bipolar adjective scales (Table 1) need concern us only very briefly. The results for the polite-rude scale follow the pattern of those for the refined-vulgar scale. Note, also, that on the polite-rude scale, judgments on the "together" film were, in each condition, more extreme and more confident than those on the "alone" film. This was a predictable finding, since nose-picking in public is presumably ruder than nose-picking in private. Except for the pleasant-unpleasant scale, the rest of the bipolar adjective scales produced few significant differences between conditions. This, too, is not a surprising finding:
Let us now turn to the words chosen by the viewers themselves to describe the nose-picker. We picked out all those words for which the explanation given was the nose-picking. We then assigned these words to two categories: negative judgments ("vulgar," "rude," etc.) and neutral or positive judgments ("uninhibited," "natural," etc.).\(^1\) Table 2 gives the distribution of these categories by condition for each film. As one can see, these data for the most part conform to our expectations. For the "alone" film, the ratio of unfavorable to other words was 6/9 in the "candid" condition and 8/4 in the "staged" condition. In other words, viewers in the staged condition were more likely to pick the unfavorable, stereotypical interpretation, as expected. For the "together" film, we have, again, a high ratio of unfavorable to other words in the "staged" condition (21/2). However, the data for the "candid" condition are puzzling: Only five judgments were based on the nose-picking (all of them unfavorable), making it hard for us to compare this condition with the others. We have no explanation for the low number of words based on nose-picking in this condition.

Overall, then, the results of the first experiment conformed to our expectations. For both the "alone" and the "together" film, the "staged" condition produced more negative and more confident judgments of the nose-picker than the "candid" condition. We had expected that this would occur if viewers in the "candid" conditions tended toward using attribution and viewers in the "staged" conditions tended toward using inference. Therefore, the results of this experiment are consistent with the conclusion that such was indeed the case. In other words, the results are consistent with our initial hypothesis: The less control a viewer assumes to have gone into the making of a film, the more he will tend to use real-life knowledge to interpret it; the more control he assumes, the more he should base interpretations on what he assumes the filmmaker has intended, and therefore implied by the very way he organized his film.

For the second experiment, we prepared a videotape in which an individual posing as a subject waiting for an experiment picked his nose either while waiting by himself or in the presence of another individual. The second experiment was modelled after the first one, but it was not a straightforward replication. It differed from the first in three important ways. First, all subjects, regardless of condition, observed the nose-picker both alone and in the presence of another person. Second, the experiment used videotape in such a way as to try to convince the subjects in the "candid" conditions that they were watching a "live" event, occurring at the very moment of observation. Finally, by employing an open-ended questionnaire and an interview in addition to rating scales, we tried to get detailed information—lacking in the first experiment—on the reasons subjects gave for their judgments of the nose-picker.

As with the first experiment, two tapes were made. Both tapes contained sound. Although neither tape contained any edits, each tape can be divided into four sections. The first and fourth sections, each approximately five minutes in length, contained a shot of an empty waiting room. Only viewers in the candid conditions saw these two sections. The second section of the tape begins with a "secretary" showing the nose-picker into the room and asking him to wait until "they" are ready. The nose-picker sits down to wait, briefly looks around the room, begins shuffling through some magazines on a table in front of him, and finally selects two to leaf through. This section, lasting approximately a minute and a half, is termed the "alone" section. The third section, the "together" section, begins with the same secretary showing a second person into the room and asking him to wait. (In the tape condition, this person was supposed to be a "fellow-subject," waiting for the fictional "experimenters" to show up. In the real life condition, this person was the administrator of the experiment we are describing.) After trading "hellos," the second person (referred to, from now on, as the experimenter) sits down to wait, and the nose-picker returns to his magazine. After shuffling through some magazines, the experimenter initiates a casual conversation with the nose-picker. The conversation lasts until the secretary reenters about five minutes later and asks both to follow her out of the room. The two tapes differ

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**TABLE 1**

**EXPERIMENT 1: MEAN RATINGS AND CONFIDENCE LEVELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ratings</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>Together</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Candid</td>
<td>Staged</td>
<td>Candid</td>
<td>Staged</td>
<td>Candid</td>
<td>Staged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refined(1)—vulgar(7)</td>
<td>4.1(\text{a})</td>
<td>5.5(\text{a})</td>
<td>4.2(\text{a})</td>
<td>6.0(\text{a})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite(1)—rude(7)</td>
<td>3.8(\text{b})</td>
<td>5.5(\text{b})</td>
<td>4.5(\text{c})</td>
<td>6.2(\text{c})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleasant(1)—unpleasant(7)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.1(\text{b})</td>
<td>4.9(\text{b})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calm(1)—agitated(7)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly(1)—unfriendly(7)</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy(1)—sad(7)</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>intelligent(1)—stupid(7)</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Confidence

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>refined—vulgar</td>
<td>3.3(\text{c})</td>
<td>4.8(\text{c})</td>
<td>4.7(\text{D})</td>
<td>6.0(\text{D})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite—rude</td>
<td>3.4(\text{d})</td>
<td>4.9(\text{d})</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleasant—unpleasant</td>
<td>3.3(\text{e})</td>
<td>4.6(\text{e})</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calm—agitated</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly—unfriendly</td>
<td>3.2(\text{E})</td>
<td>4.6(\text{E})</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy—sad</td>
<td>3.5(\text{F})</td>
<td>5.1(\text{F})</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intelligent—stupid</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Means sharing a common lower-case subscript differ significantly at the .05 level. Means sharing a common upper-case subscript differ significantly at the .01 level.

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**TABLE 2**

**EXPERIMENT 1: DESCRIPTIONS OF THE NOSE-PICKER**

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>Together</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Candid</td>
<td>Staged</td>
<td>Candid</td>
<td>Staged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative descriptions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral/positive descriptions</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
with regard to the point at which the nose-picker picks his nose. In the tape shown in the alone conditions, the nose-picker picks his nose while waiting by himself. In the tape used in the together conditions, nose-picking occurs about half-way through the conversation, while the experimenter is talking.

Forty paid volunteers served as viewers, 10 in each of the four conditions. All were university students and participated in the experiment either alone (20) or in pairs (20). Viewers were told one of two cover stories.

In the candid conditions, viewers were led into an observation room containing a television monitor that was already screening the first section of the tape, a shot of an empty room. The monitor was hooked up to a VTR (videotape recorder) situated in an adjacent office, but the viewers were led to believe that they were witnessing a live monitor. The experimenter announced that several researchers (unidentified) had become interested in the effects on character and personality judgments of viewing people via television; that another subject, whom he did not know, had been scheduled for the same time but would be shown into the waiting room appearing on the monitor; that there was a closed-circuit television system hooked up between that room and the observation room; and that the camera was hidden and the room rigged for sound. The experimenter then told candid-condition viewers that when the unsuspecting person (the nose-picker) was shown into the waiting room, he (the experimenter) would leave and be "shown" into the room, where he would pretend to be a fellow-subject, waiting for the experiment. After about five minutes, he would return to the observation room, where both he and the observing subjects would fill out a questionnaire on their impressions of the waiting individual. A short interview to help the research group structure a more formal experiment would follow the questionnaire.

In the staged conditions, the VTR was in the same room as the monitor. It was turned off when the subjects entered but preset for the beginning of the second section (alone) of the tape. The experimenter wore different clothes from those used in the taping. The experimenter told viewers that he was finishing a television lab in which he had written and directed a film and that, as part of the course requirements, he had cut the film into segments of different sizes and was screening them to groups of students, the purpose being to discover how judgments would change depending on the segment viewed. Viewers would watch one of the segments and then fill out a questionnaire and participate in an interview.

As with the first experiment, then, there were four conditions in this second experiment: (1) alone-candid, (2) alone-staged, (3) together-candid, (4) together-staged. Viewers in each condition made judgments about the nose-picker on 13 bipolar adjective scales similar to those used in the first experiment. Likewise, a seven-point confidence scale was appended to each rating scale. Of the 13 rating scales, six were considered critical to this experiment: refined-vulgar, polite-rude, pleasant-unpleasant, calm-agitated, friendly-unfriendly, warm-cold. The remaining scales were fillers. As expected, there were no significant differences between any conditions in judgments made on the filler rating scales. Our discussion will focus on the critical scales and the statements viewers made about them. How did we expect subjects in each of the four conditions to judge the nose-picker on the six critical scales?

We expected that judgments by alone-candid viewers would be determined by two factors. As with the first experiment, we expected the private, "candid" nose-picking to be relatively uninformative, on the average. In fact, during the interviews, only four of the 10 alone-candid viewers gave nose-picking as a reason for making any judgment about the nose-picker. Furthermore, since the nose-picker was dressed attractively and engaged in a pleasant conversation with the experimenter, alone-candid viewers would see him as "acting naturally" and as a "nice guy." They would make positive, although not necessarily very confident, judgments about him.

In the together-candid condition, on the other hand, the contradiction presented by a conservatively dressed student pleasantly engaged in a conversation while picking his nose would preclude the lumping together of positive judgments across several scales across a broad personality description ("nice guy"). Together-candid viewers would have to pay closer attention to each particular rating scale and to the subtleties of the nose-picker's behavior. Judgments and confidence levels on each critical scale would vary depending on the type and number of reasons which viewers could observe in assessing the nose-picker's traits.

The judgments of viewers in staged conditions would, we believed, be determined by their assumption of the filmmaker's control over the film. Most of us tend to believe that a filmmaker is responsible for what happens within his film; the determination of his intentions and the meaning of his film depend upon this accountability. For the alone-staged viewers then, the nose-picking would be assumed to be intentional and, therefore, relatively more communicatively meaningful than for the alone-candid viewers. In contrast to the alone-candid viewers, seven of the 10 alone-staged viewers gave nose-picking as a reason for making judgments about the nose-picker as a character (distinguished, of course, from the real-life person who was, rather than was portraying, a nose-picker). Since alone-staged viewers would be assessing the nose-picking as a symbolic event, they would treat it with confidence as implying something negative about the nose-picker.

Similarly, we expected that together-staged viewers would make negative judgments about the nose-picker. Unlike viewers in the together-candid condition, who would try to estimate the nose-picker's position on each scale, together-staged viewers would treat the nose-picking as a clear implication by the filmmaker that the nose-picker was not a nice person. Consequently, judgments by together-staged viewers would be very confident.

In Table 3 we have lumped the six critical scales together to give a general overview of the distribution of viewers' judgments in each condition. The scales may be treated as running from extreme positive judgments (1) to extreme negative judgments (7).

Table 3 indicates that the pattern of judgments by viewers in each condition generally—but not entirely—confirmed our expectations. The majority of judgments by alone-candid viewers were positive. A large number of judgments by alone-staged viewers were negative, but not extreme.
Together-candid viewers made fewer extreme, positive judgments and more negative ones than alone-candid viewers. In the together-staged condition, judgments tended to be very extreme; however, the distribution of judgments is bimodal. We shall return to this bimodality a little later.

Table 4 gives the mean rating levels for each of the six critical scales by condition and supports the distribution data shown in Table 3. Judgments by alone-candid viewers are extremely positive. Alone-staged viewers are negative or neutral in their judgments. The exception is the polite-rude scale (mean = 2.1) where alone-staged viewers found specific reasons (e.g., “He didn’t pick his nose while you were with him”; “He kept the conversation going when he didn’t have to”) for making judgments on this scale. Together-candid viewers are less positive than alone-candid viewers, but are clearly negative only on the refined-vulgar scale (mean = 4.7). Judgments by together-staged viewers, while somewhat negative, tend to hover about the mid-point of each scale. Given Table 3, however, this can be seen as resulting from the bimodal distribution of judgments. Significance tests reveal a general candid-staged main effect across the critical scales, with the exception of the polite-rude scale and the refined-vulgar scale.

Table 4 also shows the mean confidence levels for each rating scale by condition. The most surprising finding is that subjects in all four conditions were able to make highly confident judgments. In no case were confidence levels in the lower half of the seven-point continuum. Among the four conditions, the high confidence of alone-candid viewers is the most puzzling. Here, it is interesting to note that in the alone-candid condition mean confidence levels on critical scales averaged 1.5 points higher than mean confidence levels on filler scales. (A similar pattern was found for the other conditions.) The high confidence displayed by alone-candid viewers on critical scales can, perhaps, be best understood by taking two factors into consideration. First, it may be that judgments on the critical scales could be based—partially, at least—on the nature of the situation (i.e., a waiting room in which a certain typical range of behavior may confidently be expected) rather than on the actual behavior of the participants in the situation. Second, alone-candid viewers made statements to the effect that the nose-picker was acting “naturally,” etc. Given these factors, gross behavioral events (e.g., keeping the conversation going) may have been sufficiently reliable indicators of general traits to allow for confident judgments. When the high confidence of alone-candid viewers is taken into consideration, it is not surprising to find a general lack of numerically significant findings in Table 4. The table must be interpreted in terms of general trends.

With this in mind, Table 4 tends to confirm our expectations. Judgments by alone-staged viewers tend to be somewhat more confident than judgments by alone-candid viewers; and judgments by together-staged viewers tend to be somewhat more confident than judgments by alone-staged viewers. The various confidence scales for together-candid viewers, however, are difficult to interpret, for we had expected that confidence in this condition would vary with extremity of judgment. Extreme negative or positive judgments would be very confident due to careful attention to the nose-picker’s behavior, while lower confidence levels would be associated with neutral responses. Table 4 indicates that together-candid viewers showed relatively little variation in confidence levels.

In general, the together-candid condition produced results which we cannot entirely account for. We have pointed out that in this experiment’s together-candid condition, nose-picking conflicted with the positive attributes of the nose-picker’s dress and conversation. As we had expected, this discrepancy elicited from the viewers closer attention to the more subtle details of the nose-picker’s behavior (e.g.,

**TABLE 3**

**EXPERIMENT 2: DISTRIBUTION OF JUDGMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>scale (mean)</th>
<th>Alone</th>
<th></th>
<th>Candid</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Staged</th>
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<td>1 (+)</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7 (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean=</td>
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<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 4: EXPERIMENT 2: MEAN RATINGS AND CONFIDENCE LEVELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>scale (mean)</th>
<th>Alone</th>
<th></th>
<th>Ratings</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Together</th>
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<th>Staged</th>
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<tr>
<td>refined(1)—vulgar(7)</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
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<td>4.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>polite(1)—rude(7)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleasant(1)—unpleasant(7)</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>calm(1)—agitated(7)</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly(1)—unfriendly(7)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>warm(1)—cold(7)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
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</table>

Confidence

<table>
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<th>scale (mean)</th>
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<th>Ratings</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Together</th>
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<th></th>
<th>Staged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>refined—vulgar</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite—rude</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleasant—unpleasant</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calm-agitated</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly—unfriendly</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warm—cold</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Means sharing a common lower-case subscript differ significantly at the .05 level. Means sharing a common upper-case subscript differ significantly at the .01 level.
"His voice tended to drop off at the end of his sentences"; "His answers came too quickly after your questions"). Contrary, however, to our expectations—or, at least, to our design—some of the together-candid viewers resolved this discrepancy by doubting the "candidness" of the nose-picking (although not necessarily the truthfulness of the experimenter; the possibility was brought up that he too was being duped by the higher authorities for whom the study was being performed). Of the eight viewers who reported that they had observed the nose-picking, six said that they believed that it might have been staged rather than candid. Each of these six had previously participated in at least one psychology experiment; four had been in three or more. Moreover, five of these six viewers reported that, in spite of their doubts about the candid nature of the event they were witnessing, they attempted to treat it as though it were real. They pretended that the waiting-room situation was candid, even though their prior experience suggested that it wasn't. Our interviews with together-candid viewers, however, indicated that the effects of doubt and pretending upon judgments were not uniform. For some viewers, a rating scale was treated as an implication on the part of the experimenters and interpreted in a way similar to that used by together-staged viewers. Other viewers saw or pretended to see the same scale in terms of the nose-picker's "natural" personality. And, finally, some viewers saw the implications of the experimenters as "masking" the nose-picker's true character and either sought out more confirming or disconfirming information in his behavior or simply rated the nose-picker opposite to the inferred implication. Thus, the together-candid condition failed to provide us with the information for which it had been intended, i.e., how viewers who believed in the candidness of the taped situation would interpret it. However, the results of this condition were not without interest within the context of our overall scheme, as we hope to show in the course of the following discussion of the together-staged condition.

We have already noted (Tables 3 and 4) that the distribution of judgments by together-staged subjects was bimodal. What could account for this? As part of the interview, we obtained from all viewers information on whether they had observed the nose-picking, whether they had thought it noteworthy, and how they had used it in making judgments. In the staged-together condition, six viewers reported having observed the nose-picking and used it in explaining their judgments; one viewer reported having observed it but not having considered it noteworthy; and three viewers reported that they were not sure the nose-picker had picked his nose. It is this 6:4 split between users and nonusers of the nose-picking as judgmental evidence which appears to account for the bimodality observed in the distributions in the staged-together condition.

In pursuing this interpretation, we computed the mean rating levels for the six using and four nonusing viewers on each critical scale. These numbers confirm the explanation given above for the bimodality. On each scale, viewers who did use the nose-picking made negative judgments about the nose-picker, while those who did not made positive judgments.

The consequence of using vs. not using the nose-picking in making a judgment of the nose-picker was probably predictable. What is of interest in this condition is that so many viewers (four out of 10) did not attend to the nose-picking. We interpret this result to be illustrative of the difference which "staging" makes to a perceiver's attention to and interpretation of a scene.

As Birdwhistell (1970:151) has pointed out, one of the ways in which fictional conversations (not only in movies but also in literature, the theater, and comic books) depart from reality is in the regularity and orderliness of turn-taking: with relatively rare exceptions, conventional fictional speakers exchange lines without interruption and the focus of the encounter shifts back and forth between the actors in a single frame. All this is quite contrary to many real-life conversational situations, in which speakers' lines overlap or interrupt each other and, even in the absence of verbal synchrony, the meaning of an encounter is nevertheless located not in a single participant (the "speaker") but in an interaction in which all participants are continuously engaged. Given this state of affairs, it is also reasonable to assume that an observer of a fictional ("staged") conversation applies different rules to this observation from those which he would apply to the observation of a real-life conversation. Specifically, we want to suggest that, when in the presence of a staged conversation, the typical viewer has learned to shift his attention from one character to another in conjunction with the exchange of spoken lines; whereas, when confronted with a real-life conversation, the observer cannot as easily disregard the (non-verbal) contribution of a non-speaker to the ongoing event. In terms of this experiment, then, we might say that the viewers in the together-candid condition had to pay attention to both "speaker" and "listener," whereas those in the together-staged condition could selectively focus their attention on the "speaker" alone. Since the nose-picking occurred when the nose-picker was acting as listener, this interpretation would account for the relatively high number of viewers who "missed" the nose-picking in the together-staged condition. It should also be noted, however, that together-candid viewers had an additional reason for paying attention to the nose-picker even when he was not speaking; they had been asked to assess his personality. (Finally, we should also repeat that, in the first experiment, the "talker" was filmed with his back to the camera, thus directing attention to the "nose-picker" at all times and vitiating the comparability of the two experiments in this respect. The reader should also recall that the film used in the first experiment was silent.)
If this interpretation of our results in the together-staged condition is accepted, then it would appear that the second experiment, too, confirms our expectations about the differences between what Worth & Gross have called “attributitional” and “inferential” interpretational strategies (with due regard, of course, for the problematic results in the second experiment’s together-candid condition).

To recapitulate, then: Those aspects of a film or videotape which a viewer assumes to be free of control (or authorial purpose) will be interpreted according to interpretational rules appropriate to the corresponding real-life event (i.e., he will use the interpretational strategy of attribution). On the other hand, those symbolic events which he assumes to have been staged will be interpreted according to what he assesses as the producer’s intent (i.e., he will use inference).

Several observations need to be added to the above explication of our experiments. In the experiments with just described, we were concerned mainly with the polarization and confidence of interpretations. This should not be taken to mean that we believe such extreme interpretations and the confidence with which they were made to be the most important, most frequent, or most typical aspects in which interpretations vary according to perceived degree of control. Our argument in this respect was specific to the films we used and the kinds of viewers who saw them. A different kind of film might have elicited other kinds of differences. All we wanted to show was that, at least in some cases, perceived degree of control does make a difference to the final outcome of the interpretation and that this difference stems from the use of different interpretational strategies (attribution vs. inference).

The “significant event” in our experimental films—a character’s action (i.e., the nose-picking)—represents only one of the many ways in which meaning can be built into a film. We have said nothing in this paper about editing, camera angles, choice of lenses, etc., although it is on these aspects of film, treated as signs of what to attend to, that most film theorists have concentrated. However, some recent film research has gone in the direction of dealing with the characters’ actions, motions, positioning, etc. Some investigators have become exasperated with the long and generally unproductive search for linguistic-like units of the order of editing (and other such essentially “framing” devices) and are now turning their attention toward the actual events within the temporal or spatial “frame.” For example, Bettetini (1973:55) suggests that it may be time to begin borrowing from kinesics and proxemics for the analysis of film. The results of our experiments would suggest the following: Possible similarities between fiction-film events and real-life events on the articulatory level are not to be taken as evidence for a similarity on the level of meaning. In other words, the uncritical application of the findings—as distinct from the methods—of kinesics, proxemics, etc., to fiction film may lead to error. There is another side to the above observation. Some investigators of the communicational aspects of body motion have traditionally used obviously staged films (and posed photographs) with their informants. The implicit assumption behind this kind of work seems to be that the informants’ interpretation of the staged material is identical to what it would be if they were confronted with the corresponding real-life event. This, of course, is the assumption whose fallacy we have tried to show in this study. By using staged material in their research, investigators are ending up with detailed information on the meaning of acted facial expressions, gestures, etc., but questionable evidence on the communicational patterning of body motion in real life. Naturally, there are nuances with which the attribution-inference distinction—as presented here—does not deal. We would be the first to acknowledge that these nuances are lost in our data, in part because of the quantitative form of the bulk of these data. For example, it may well be that a given viewer’s beliefs about some aspects of real-life behavior are actually the product of familiarity with supposedly realistic fictional portrayals of that kind of behavior (on TV or in movies). To the extent that this is true, the viewer’s use of attribution as an interpretive strategy may unconsciously involve reliance on fictional codes, conventions or stereotypes of behavior.

Conversely, since fiction films rarely deliberately proclaim their artificiality—indeed, they usually purport to be realistic representations—we cannot assume that a viewer will always maintain an awareness of the “stagedness” of that which he is watching. In the experiments we described, the brevity (and the pedestrian quality) of the films we used made it difficult for the viewer to forget the explicit introductory information as to the nature (“candid” vs. “staged”) of the films. But with a feature-length fiction film, in which exciting or moving things may happen, whatever detachment a viewer may have started out with can frequently give way to an illusion of reality or to a so-called suspension of disbelief. Under such circumstances, it is reasonable to assume that “attributions” may coexist with “inferences” in a particular viewer’s interpretations of a specific film.

In general then, what seems to have been clarified by these experiments is our understanding that viewers of filmed events do not use the same strategies when interpreting symbolic events which they have assumed to be real that they use to interpret events which they assume to be acted or contrived. Further we have shown that it is the amount of control that the viewers assume to have been exerted in the production of the event which determines in large part the strategy used in its interpretation. This is not only of importance in helping us to understand how we deal with our fictional and real worlds when seen on film in a context of “narrative,” “news,” or “documentary,” but also is important in helping us clarify how we may interpret “scientific” footage of human behavior in field, classroom, and experimental conditions. The assumptions we make about the behavior of the producer of a symbolic event play at least as great a part as the assumptions we make about the behavior of the “actors” in “real” or “symbolic” worlds. It might even be said that these assumptions help us to
determine which events we want to label "real" or "symbolic."

NOTES

1 Here is a list of the words in question, classified into our two categories, by condition. "Alone" film, "candid" condition (N=15); negative words: gross, common, vain, gross, gross/unmanly; neutral/positive words: uninhibited, humanistic, human, real, natural, typical, normal, anyone. "Alone" film; "staged" condition (N=14); negative words: obnoxious, bore, slob, boisterous, inconsiderate, gross, strange, no manners; neutral/positive words: uninhibited, unashamed, open, normal. "Together" film; "candid" condition (N=15); negative words: gross, rude, insecure, bad manners, sick. "Together" film; "staged" condition (N=19); negative words: rude, ill-mannered, crude, common, gross, repulsive, antagonistic, rude, gross, rude, ignorant, slob, repulsive, careless, slob, no manner, rude, impolite, vulgar, rude, rude annoying; neutral/positive words: normal, frank.

2 This is one of the points made by Birdwhistell (1970:153-155) and Mead (1975) in discussions of this type of research.

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REVIEWS AND DISCUSSION


Reviewed by Duncan Holaday
University of Pennsylvania

At a time when visual media are being used and studied with increasing frequency and variety in anthropology, Principles of Visual Anthropology is the first attempt to present in a single volume a comprehensive introduction to the subject. The volume contains 31 papers written and collected in connection with the Eleventh Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Chicago in 1973. These papers cover such topics as the history, techniques, and current problems of ethno- graphic filmmaking; some uses of film and videotape in social science research and teaching; and prospects for developing research film archives. The jacket announces that the volume "has been designed both for use as a graduate and undergraduate textbook for students of anthropology and communications, and as a practical guide for the television programmer and documentary filmmaker interested in taking advantage of anthropological material." The editor, Paul Hockings, introduces another aim of the book in his foreword, namely, "... to put visual anthropology into its proper perspective as a legitimate sub-discipline of anthropology and at the same time a contributor to the history of cinema."

I have come away from a reading of this book with mixed feelings about the success of this book in all three of its intended capacities—as textbook, resource, and theoretical statement.

As a textbook it fails because it isn't comprehensive, it isn't written for a uniform level of student or scholar, and it is too divergent in view and style. As a resource it also fails because it lacks comprehensiveness and theoretical clarity, and as a theoretical statement it fails for reasons I will discuss below. I will suggest further that although the book's title leads one to expect "principles" of visual anthropology between its covers, I was disappointed at not being able to find them. I will also discuss what may be some of the reasons for this lack of congruence between title and content.

Let me qualify these negative conclusions with three positive remarks. First, this collection contains some excellent papers. Among these I would include Emilie de Brigard's "The History of Ethnographic Film," which is a concise introduction for students and professionals alike to what ethnographically oriented people have done with cameras since the 1890s. It will make especially good reading, along with the dozen or so papers by practicing filmmakers, for film students with cameras in hand who are wondering which way to point them. While most of the filmmakers offer practical and technical advice, MacDougall's "Beyond Observation Cinema" is representative of a few, more theoretically oriented discussions, which should appeal to the most sophisticated reader. Two other excellent papers by Joseph Schaeffer and Alan Lomax introduce special uses of film and videotape for gathering data and for analyzing "cultural style." Timothy Asch's "Using Film in Teaching Anthropology: One Pedagogical Approach" should also be included among these especially stimulating papers. All have relevance to interests outside the range of their specific topic, and should make the book a valuable addition to any library.

Second, the editor should be applauded for bringing together these and other, as he calls them, "key persons in visual anthropology." It is unfortunate, however, that other persons are missing from the collection. Conspicuously absent are scholars concerned with visual communication and with the social, psychological, and even the cultural importance of visual media; for example, Adair, Birdwhistell, Byers, De Heusch, Ekman, Hall, Munn, Ruby, Williams, and Worth. This absence is all the more conspicuous in light of the broader theoretical context for studies of visual communication (Worth 1974) given impetus by the founding of the Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication and of this journal—an event which was, by the way, contemporaneous with the publication of the book under review.

Third, the main shortcoming of the book as a theoretical statement is that it fails to place visual anthropology into perspective as a "legitimate sub-discipline of anthropology." This may, however, prove to be its greatest strength by pointing out, especially to the contributors themselves and to members of the Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication, those basic issues which need to be openly debated to the satisfaction of all. It is this last remark that I want to pursue in detail. This will lead to some discussion of specific papers which will, it is hoped, give teachers, students, and professionals a better idea of what is in the book for them.

The failure of the book to make a unified theoretical statement about visual anthropology is best illustrated by comparing the contents of the paper, with the editorial framework in which they are enclosed. The collection is introduced by Margaret Mead, "Visual Anthropology in a Discipline of Words," and is appended with a "Resolution on Visual Anthropology" passed by the Eleventh Congress. These statements set forth certain key assumptions which, it might be supposed, should provide a general and underlying motivation for work in visual anthropology. These assumptions are related primarily to the problem of salvage anthropology, that is, the effort to attain records of disappearing cultures. While most of the papers do mention this problem, comparison reveals that the key assumptions are in some cases supported, in some contradicted, and in others outright denied. Examples follow.

It is stated in the "Resolution on Visual Anthropology" that pictorial records on film and videotape "may contain information for which neither theory nor analytical scheme yet exist." This statement, made in the context of an anthropological concern with culture, implies the assumption that pictures can contain information about cultures
independent of the theoretical framework which generated them. This assumption is supported in the introduction and is given substance within the book, especially by E. Richard Sorenson, as the basis for a theory of sampling. Sorenson, in his paper "Visual Records, Human Knowledge and the Future," proposes the establishment of archives to house records of the world's cultures and suggests a sampling procedure for procuring them. He emphasizes the need to exceed the boundaries of even the most carefully constructed classification of cultures when gathering film records:

In obtaining a world ethnographic film sample meant to be a resource for discovery, it is important to include information interstitial to and extending beyond that reflected by a schema. Simply to fill the slots of a classification system with visual samples would miss much of this and thus many things we might later find important to examine. It would tend to produce a sample reaffirming past knowledge rather than generating new knowledge (p. 470).

In another of his papers co-authored by Allison Jablonko, "Research Filming of Naturally Occurring Phenomena: Basic Strategies," Sorenson proposes, as a practical manifestation of his theory of sampling, a procedure for making film records of cultures. It is suggested that as part of the filming procedure "we turn our attention away from the obvious to the novel—even to what may seem pointless, aberrant, or meaningless. We have to be purposefully digressive, in both space and subject matter turning our gaze from the familiar and 'important' to events that appear incoherent and insignificant" (p. 155). A concomitant of this position is the argument that the inherent selectivity of the filmmaking process need not interfere with the objectivity of such records. Dr. Mead's introduction, which stresses that we stop arguing about the value of film records and get on with the filming, mentions this second point:

... the oft-repeated argument that all recording and filming is selective, that none of it is objective, has to be dealt with summarily. If tape recorder, camera, or video is set up and left in the same place, large batches of material can be collected without the intervention of the filmmaker or ethnographer and without the continuous self-consciousness of those who are being observed. The camera or tape recorder that stays in one spot, that is not tuned, wound, refocused, or visibly loaded, does become part of the background scene, and what it records did happen (p. 9).

The strength with which this theory of sampling and its assumption concerning the objectivity of picture is stated in the introduction and Resolution gives it the flavor of a mandate. But, if the contributing authors are to be considered exponents of visual anthropology, then there is dissonance within the ranks. Criticism of the above position comes most noticeably from filmmakers; that is, from those who have their fingers on the camera button and are therefore constantly faced with the realities of the problem of selectivity. Colin Young presents grounds for this argument as a main theme of his paper "Observational Cinema":

Much of the energy that anthropologists have poured into film in the last decade has been based on the hope that they could be rescued from the subjectivity of their field notes, but they have not stopped to consider the problems that exist within film aesthetics about selectivity and subjectivity... film is not objective. It may OBJECTIFY, but that is a different matter. The first implies a quality of the finished film; the second describes what film does to the viewer...
suggested in the section on ethics, videotape coverage of relatively private activity must be related to specific issues of proven importance; (2) total coverage of all activity is impractical if not impossible; and (3) the benefits of techniques associated with videotape can be fully realized if comprehensive records of random samples of activity are obtained to supplement records acquired during participant observation [p. 277].

It should be noted that Schaeffer’s method of random sampling is linked to time, that is to when, with what frequency and duration videotape is being recorded, and not to “space and subject matter” as is Sorenson’s. In fact, Sorenson’s notion of “randomized” sampling has little meaning with reference to the research designs discussed by Schaeffer.

Asch brings important light to the issue of sampling by relating it, like the filmmakers, to presentation although in a different way. He is in the unique position of both making film records of the Yanomamó and attempting to teach with them. This has allowed him to see especially clearly the distinction between the use of film as data about a culture—as records which fit the ethnographer’s theory of selection and observation—and its use in making statements about that culture to students. In discussing the problem of conveying a knowledge of Yanomamó culture to his students he says:

If a film is NOT seen within a broader ethnographic context, the event automatically fixes in the mind of the viewer an image that he immediately generalizes to the whole of Yanomamó society, not in terms of Yanomamó patterns but in terms of behavior in his own society. Even the most sophisticated viewer will tend to integrate what he sees into his view of the world when he sees it without appropriate context [pp. 399-400].

Asch’s statement raises the especially important question of what, in fact, is an appropriate context for viewing and interpreting film records of culture. This question is directly relevant to the main problem we have been discussing, namely, that the various contributors to the book have divergent or contradictory views on the complex issue concerning the relation of theory and data in the scientific use of pictures. It should be clear by now that although the issue is presented unilaterally in the introduction and Resolution, it is far from resolved within the book. The most salient feature of the controversy on this issue (explicit or latent) is that the arguments divide according to the role of the investigator—as archivist, filmmaker, researcher, or teacher—and therefore according to what he or she wants to get out of the data. It is a sobering observation that even these sophisticated viewers, to use Asch’s phrase, tend to integrate what they see into their own views of the world. They have not yet agreed on an appropriate context.

Bearing this in mind, consider a second statement made in the Resolution:

Today is a time not merely of change but of spreading uniformity and wholesale cultural loss. To help arrest this process, and to correct the myopic view of human potential to which it leads, it is essential that the heritage of mankind be recorded in all its remaining diversity and richness.

It is clear and, I would add, a cause for optimism that spreading uniformity has not yet taken hold of visual anthropology. My own response to this statement is that pictures, as symbolic events, are part of the process by which cultures are distinguished and their diversity recorded, but are also part of the process by which cultures are homogenized and destroyed. It is not the pictures as records of human diversity, but the systems of communication in which they are understood that have the potential to affect human history. Almost nowhere in the book does the above statement receive critical attention. This suggests to me, not that the authors have reached a satisfactory consensus, but that the book is seriously lacking in comprehensiveness. Only Alan Lomax broaches this subject directly in a paper intended primarily to introduce the purpose and methods of his choreometric studies.

Even with the best of intentions the Western inventors of electronic media have used them not to foster the growth of other cultures, but to aggrandize their own. The result is an imperialism of the media which threatens the whole man’s environment—his cultural heritage.

Part of the solution is political and ethical. We must struggle for a cultural equality in the communication system as earlier generations struggled for political freedom and economic justice. Here one stumbling block is that we know so little about the relationship between culture and society on the one hand and communication on the other [p. 304].

It is this “stumbling block” which receives too little attention in the book. Where it might have been discussed at length in John Weakland’s paper “Feature Films as Cultural Documents,” it is only briefly considered in relation to Bateson’s Hitlerjunge Quez study (Bateson, 1943). Weakland expresses regret that Bateson’s study is not more readily available to students, but rather than presenting in detail the issues and questions raised by Bateson he chose to emphasize problems of methodology—a subject much less stimulating of bold new approaches. The possibility of stimulating new studies of this important problem is further decreased by Hockings’ decision to place Weakland’s paper in a section of the book titled “Specialized Uses of Film and Videotape.” This, no doubt, is a case in which the editor made too little of an important difference. That is, he relegated the problem of culture and communication to a position peripheral to, instead of central to, the problem of ethnographic filmmaking.

A related issue which receives some attention is raised in Dr. Mead’s introduction:

... the isolated group or emerging new nation that forbids filmmaking for fear of disapproved emphases will lose far more than it gains. In an attempt to protect a currently cherished national image, they will rob of their rightful heritage their descendants, who (after the recurrent spasms of modernization, technological change, and attempts at new forms of economic organization) may wish to claim once more the rhythms and handicrafts of their own people [p. 8].

A contradictory point of view to this statement of the problem is offered by Sorenson:

A quick way to unpopularity in New Guinea would be to suggest that these people keep their stone axes or high infant mortality rates and the kinds of cultural organization which go with them. The argument that we should make movies for their cultural renewal would be laughable to them and should be to us. . . . [p. 465].

The problem to be dealt with here, once these conflicting opinions have been taken into account, is to learn how, in fact, people do respond to and interpret pictorial statements
about themselves and their own past. One paper in the book which purports to offer evidence on this problem is Edmund Carpenter’s “The Tribal Terror of Self-Awareness.” Unfortunately, his evidence is not supported by specific or systematic observations and his initial assumption, that New Guinea highlanders have never looked at themselves, seems rather untenable. It should be pointed out with reference to this paper and to most others that the use of photographic illustrations is generally careless and not accompanied by sufficient explanation. For example, referring to the use of a Polaroid camera by New Guinea highlanders in a remote village, Carpenter shows a picture of a man holding a Nikor-mat. Later, he refers to this same photograph while discussing “would-be camera owners” in a not-so-remote village. In neither case does the illustration add to an understanding of the topic of his paper. Only de Brigard’s use of photographs is exemplary, but in her case there are simply not enough. (Her paper is a precis of her forthcoming Ethnography of a Village. In this paper, she examines the way people tend to respond to pictures of themselves and of exotic peoples. He adds his own observations of the way Netsilik Eskimos responded to his own films which are dramatic reconstructions of their past traditions:

As for the Netsilik Eskimo films they are at the present time being definitely disfavored in the Canadian North. Young Eskimos today point to their girls wearing mini-skirts and their shiny motorcycles and say: “We don’t like these Eskimos in the film; they are savages, we are civilized people.” Attitudes are radically different in Alaska where acculturation has gone far enough to make the Netsilik Eskimo films highly appreciated as an invaluable record of the people’s own history (p. 199).

This observation suggests that the realities of this problem are more complex than either Mead or Sorenson suggest.

To conclude this discussion of the book as a theoretical statement, it can be said of the two assumptions set forth as underpinnings for studies in visual anthropology that one is not supported by its own exponents and the other is not sufficiently examined within the volume. Little remains to legitimize visual anthropology as a sub-discipline of anthropology.

Finally, I would like to suggest that the book has been wrongly titled. For students and professionals it would have been more appropriately titled Directions in Visual Anthropology. The use of the term “principles” might lead these readers to expect that the ideas expressed in the papers they happen to read are generally accepted and represent a unified approach or purpose; that is to say, the title is misleading. As a theoretical statement, the book should have been titled Problems in Visual Anthropology. But, this is more than just an error in titling. In this case, the problem is in the attempt to define the scope of a prospective discipline too narrowly. Had the book been conceived and organized with an eye to problems instead of principles, its value as a theoretical statement would have been made more apparent by pointing out those basic issues which require further debate.

Notes

1 For more on this point I would refer the reader to Jay Ruby’s review of Principles of Visual Anthropology.

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Ruby, Jay

Worth, Sol


Reviewed by Jay Ruby
Temple University

Irving Penn is a fashion photographer of some note who, while on assignment for Vogue magazine, compiled a series of images of exotic peoples. Worlds in a Small Room represents a sample of these photographs organized into 10 sections—some on the basis of exotic locale and culture, e.g., Dahomey, and some because they were exotic to the experience of the photographer, e.g., the Hell’s Angels of San Francisco.

Penn’s stated intentions which inform this work are balanced between an aesthetic conviction that natural north light “is a light of such penetrating clarity that even a simple object lying by chance in such a light takes on an inner glow, almost a voluptuousness” (p. 7) and an ethnographic—like concern to make records of “the disappearing aborigines in the remote parts of the earth” (p. 8).

Unlike most anthropological picture takers, Penn decided to accomplish his goals by employing a studio rather than natural contexts. “I had come to enjoy and feel secure in the artificial circumstances of the studio and had even developed a taste for pictures that were somewhat contrived. I had accepted for myself a stylization that I felt was more valid than a simulated naturalism ” (p. 8).

Penn’s decision to move his subjects into the controllable environment of the studio is more reminiscent of the methods employed by the archaeologist photographing an artifact or the early photometric pictures of the human form created by physical anthropologists than the typical “snapshots” taken by ethnographers in the field. I don’t think that a good argument can be made to reject Penn’s deliberate stylizations in favor of the naive realism of the anthropological field snapshots on the basis of the latter being inherently more scientific or anthropological than the former. On the contrary, Penn’s photographs are clearly related to the late 19th century tradition of the photographic portraits of native Americans by Edward Curtis and Clark Vroman. Like Penn, these photographers were motivated by a compulsion to photograph the disappearing cultures of the world before their demise. While Penn is not a trained anthropologist he comes out of an intellectual and romantic tradition that produced gigantic museum collections, volumes of writings, miles of movie footage, and countless photographs reflecting—the need to save “it” before “it” went away. Salvage ethnography, the anthropological variant
of this western passion, dominated much of American anthropology in the first half of the 20th century and is still used as a major justification for scientific film work (Sorenson 1975). I would argue that since there are no well articulated traditions in anthropological photography and moreover since it is difficult if not impossible to distinguish, on a formal level, a photograph taken for anthropological reasons from a photograph taken for other reasons (Ruby 1973), and since almost any photograph of an exotic person taken by anyone for any reason will be regarded by both lay and professional audiences as somehow being anthropological or at least ethnographic, it seems reasonable to examine Penn’s work as if it were ethnography.

On a formal level, Worlds in a Small Room contains many of the elements found in most ethnographies—a statement of theory, a description of method, and a text which describes—albeit in a somewhat sketchy manner, the culture of the “key informants” in the photographs. As popular ethnography the book is adequate. It is on a humanistic level that I find this book troublesome. Penn makes the assumption that the studio (in some cases he actually took a portable studio into the field—again reminiscent of Curtis) was a sort of neutral area where both subject and photographer were away from the protection of their normal environments. Stripped of their defenses these strangers would be free to communicate themselves “with dignity and a seriousness of concentration” (p. 9). There is a fundamental flaw in Penn’s logic. While he was out of his culture in the sense that he did travel to these various locations, he always rented or constructed a studio to work in. The studio environment is one where Penn is clearly at home and totally in control. As wielder of the technology, Penn was literally calling the shots.

In fact, because Penn lacked familiarity with the language and culture of the people that he photographed, he had to pose them by physically manipulating their bodies into place.

“I posed the subjects by hand, moving and bending them. Their muscles were stiff and resistant and the effort it took on my part was considerable.” (p. 12). The results are hauntingly beautiful and frightening images of human statues: people totally at the mercy of a technology and an aesthetic which is not theirs and which makes them into beautiful objects for our contemplation (Kolodny 1975).

If Penn were less of a photographic artist, the moral dilemma would not be so apparent. I am moved by the beauty of an image which has been constructed because a photographer was able to find people who were sufficiently passive to allow themselves to become aesthetic objects. Science and particularly the social sciences have been soundly criticized for dehumanizing people and exploiting them as subjects and informants (both terms suggest a submissive role) in the name of science. It is revealing to see that photographic artists can be open to the same criticism. A photographic aesthetic based on the objectification of human beings is as ethically problematic as scientific methods which employ people as informants. If we question one it seems reasonable to subject the other to similar scrutiny.

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NOTES AND NEWS

□ NEW BOOK REVIEW EDITOR FOR STUDIES CHOSEN Richard Chalfen, Department of Anthropology, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122 has been selected to replace O. Michael Watson (Purdue) as the Book Review Editor for Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication. He will take office immediately and is actively seeking reviewers.

□ NEW PUBLICATION SERIES ANNOUNCED The Department of Anthropology at Temple University announces the publication of the first volume of Working Papers in Culture and Communication. Volume 1, Number 1 contains six papers from the 1975 Conference on Culture and Communication; Volume 1, Number 2 consists of five papers given during the AAA symposium on “Doing the Anthropology of Visual Communication” in San Francisco. Working Papers will be published irregularly twice each academic year. Copies are available for $2 (make check out to Temple Conference). For further details or copies, write Richard Chalfen, Editor, WPC, Department of Anthropology, Temple University, Phila, PA 19122.

□ THE DIRECTORS GUILD OF AMERICA has developed a speakers bureau for over 400 of its members interested in visiting schools, film societies and other related groups to talk about their work. For a list of those available, contact DGA, 7950 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood, CA 90046.

□ FILM STUDY COLLECTION AVAILABLE Feature Film excerpts providing examples of the work done by recognized Hollywood directors are available from Indiana University for rental and long term lease. Study guides can be obtained that contain background and content information as well as suggestions for classroom utilization. For information write Indiana University Audio-Visual Center, Bloomington, IN 47401.

□ SOCIOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN is a book authored by John Zeisel. It attempts to relate sociological and other social science concepts to the problems of design. It is available free of charge from the publisher—Publications, Russell Sage Foundation, 230 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10017.

□ VISIONS is the newsletter of the Boston Film/Video Foundation, a non-profit organization of Boston area moving image artists. Write to BF/VF, 232 Hurley St, Cambridge, MA 02141.

□ VIDEOSCOPE, which incorporates Radical Software, is a magazine devoted to all aspects of the video world—cable TV, video art, video documentaries, electronic journalism, futuristic communication, community access to the mass media. Edited by John Reilly, of Global Village, personal subscriptions are available for 9.50 per year from Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, LTD, 42 William IV Street, London WC2, England.

□ RESEARCH ON COMMUNICATION IN BANGLADESH Communication and Rural Development in Bangladesh, by Sed A. Rahim, takes an historical perspective in examining communication in the political and cultural milieu of Bangladesh. Particular attention is given to the experience of the Comilla Academy for Rural Development, whose agricultural and training projects are utilized as concrete examples of how communication about development was institutionalized in a specific context. The study is available from the East-West Communication Institute, 1777 East-West Road, Honolulu, HI 96822.

□ ORGANIZATION SEEKS FILMS AND VIDEO-TAPES The Independent Cinema Artists and Producers is a service organization by and for independent filmmakers. It represents them in negotiations with pay cable television systems. ICAP returns to the artist 75% of all payments received for the cablecasting of the film or tape. Persons interested should send information about your film or tape to ICAP, P.O. Box 775, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 (212) 624-4388.
The following publications are available from SAVICOM, 1703 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009. Payment must accompany orders.

Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication

Studies is a publication of the Society. It is published two or three times a year and contains verbal and visual material describing and analyzing research in the areas of interest described under the purposes of the Society. Studies also publishes reviews of relevant books and larger review articles of groups of related books and other publications. It contains a section of correspondence and brief communication. The publication committee encourages members as well as non-members to submit written and visual materials for publication. Write to the Studies editor for additional instructions for submission.

From time to time SAVICOM will publish special publications related to the interests of its members. The following is a list of current publications:

Films for Anthropological Teaching

The fifth edition of Karl Heider's Films for Anthropological Teaching lists over 500 films together with their distributors, bibliographic references and has subject, distributor and author indices. The cost is $3.00 for Society members and $5.00 for non-members and institutions.

Handbook for Proxemic Research

Edward T. Hall, author of the Silent Language, The Hidden Dimension and other works, is allowing SAVICOM to publish this new handbook detailing his methodology for proxemic research. The Handbook includes computer programs, illustrations about the placement of cameras and observers, and an extensive bibliography. It is available to members at $3.00 per copy and to non-members and institutions at $5.00. In order to keep the price down for teachers, students and active workers in proxemic research, Hall is not accepting royalties on sales to SAVICOM members. Bookstores, teachers and others wishing to place bulk orders should write to Sol Worth for special instructions. All others wishing to obtain copies should write directly to SAVICOM.

News, Notes, Correspondence and Brief Communications

In addition to the section of correspondence and brief communications which appears in Studies, the Society is responsible for a section of news and notes in the Anthropology Newsletter of the American Anthropological Association. All interested persons are encouraged to contribute news of fieldwork, announcements of conferences, festivals, training opportunities and any other pertinent news and notes to Jay Ruby, News and Notes Editor, Temple University, Department of Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA 19122.

Gender Advertisements

Volume 3(2) of Studies was devoted to a full length study by Erving Goffman. This issue containing the 500 photographs of the study is available for $5.00.

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

STYLE. Issues of the current volume should be consulted, along with the Manual of Style of the University of Chicago Press. Major subheadings should be kept to a minimum and, where possible, roman numerals only should be used. Under no circumstances are second-level subheadings to be used. MANUSCRIPT PREPARATION. Manuscripts must be typed double-spaced (including abstract, quotations, notes and references cited) one side only on 8½ x 11 noncorrasable bond, with ample margins for editorial markings (at least one inch on all sides). Do not break words at the ends of lines. Retype any page on which complicated corrections have been made. The original and two copies must be submitted. Author should keep a copy. ABSTRACT. The text should be preceded by a 50-75 word abstract and a list of up to five headings under which the paper should be indexed. FOOTNOTES. Footnotes appear as “Notes” at the end of articles. Authors are advised to include footnote material in the text wherever possible. Notes are to be numbered consecutively throughout the paper and are to be typed on a separate sheet (double-spaced). REFERENCES. The list of references which accompanies an article should be limited to, and inclusive of, those publications actually cited in the text. References are not cited in footnotes but carried within the text in parentheses with author’s last name, the year of original publication, and page, e.g., (Kroober 1948:205). Titles and publication information on references appear as “References Cited” at the end of the article and should be listed alphabetically by author and chronologically for each author. Write out the names of journals and other publications in full. Provide complete references following the style of recent issues for form of citation, punctuation, capitalization, use of italics, etc. References cited should be typed on a separate page (double-spaced). References not presented in the style required will be returned to the author for revision. TABLES. All tabular material should be part of a separately numbered series of “Tables.” Each table must be typed on a separate sheet and identified by a short descriptive title. Footnotes for tables appear at the bottom of the tables and are marked *, †, ‡, §, ¶, etc., according to standard usage. Marginal notation on manuscript should indicate approximately where tables are to appear. FIGURES. All illustrative material, drawings, maps, diagrams, and photographs should be included in a single numbered series and designated “Figures.” They must be submitted in a form suitable for publication without redrawing. Drawings should be carefully done with India ink on either hard, white, smooth-surfaced board or good quality tracing paper. Photographs should be glossy prints and should be numbered on the back to key with captions. All figures should be numbered consecutively and all captions should be typed together on a separate sheet of paper (double-spaced). Marginal notations on manuscript should indicate approximately where figures are to appear. PROOFS. Galley proofs are sent to authors who are expected to check for typographic mistakes and errors in fact. No part of an article can be rewritten in galley proof. Significant new data or an absolutely necessary comment may sometimes be added as a brief footnote. All changes and addenda submitted by the author on his corrected galley proofs are suggestions only and may be disregarded at the discretion of the Editor. The corrected proofs should be returned to the Editor within 48 hours of receipt. It will be impossible to make corrections not promptly received by the Editor. REPRINTS will be supplied to authors who return with payment by the specified deadline reprint order forms mailed to them at the time of publication of the journal.

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