1977

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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 a 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 man, the life forces of each are diminished. Enemy camps create the need for enforcement of boundaries, the production of weapons, and the loss of human life. Human 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 officer 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 was to be done. Only one woman, a woman of the New Movement\(^4\), 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


out of the room entirely. Clara now relaxed in one corner of the room while the baby was carefully washed in another. Someone cooked over the fire. With one strong arm, the woman enclosed the child firmly, while she washed its feet, arms, and head. She carefully moved upwards along the tiny body, washing as if the child had corners and many parts. The infant was then placed in a cloth and given to a woman who rocked it to sleep.

About a quarter of a mile away, another birth was taking place. There we found a people who had moved down from a bush area to a new environment by the sea. The people, known as the Usiai, were in the process of unlearning their old way of life and gathering together a new one, a way that their neighbors, the Manus, told them was correct. How would the Usiai handle the birth situation without the instruction of a Manus woman?

I entered into the new situation, a quiet room with people arranged in a circle. The pregnant woman was not in some corner relating to a wall, nor was she being touched by other women, but lay quietly in the center of the room. All around her sat mothers with their children. The women casually smoked and waited. Here one was conscious of curved backs.
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 kinesthetic 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 kinesthetic balancing requires intense energy, which, in turn, sets up very intense living. The fact that there 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 perception 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 kinesthetic 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
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 — Usi, 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.
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.

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 singing 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 Rambutjan, 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 rolle’d 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 Nakana." 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 as if the dead person were still alive.
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.

Plate 56 —Manus, Bunai, 1953. Sculpture.
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 inerring 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 hysteric. 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 hand 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 knew 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 the 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 accept 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 did 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 Usuai 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 thought 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 life style. 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

Plates 63-65 — Manus, Bunai, November 5, 1953. Drawings by a Manus child, age 10, male.
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 Usiai 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 gestalist 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'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 then 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 Usiai, 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 strived 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 aggressive 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
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 absently 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 drift 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 computer-like functions.

My observations of Western body percepts show that the mind is equated with God, the brain with country, and the body parts with family. This hierarchical image tends to specialize individual body functions, and by extension, encourages specialized labor within society. This results in the repetition of behavioral modes, rather than the invention of new relationships. In maintaining a specialist's point of view we begin to stereotype behavior and cut down the vast learning and stimulation necessary for human survival.

From my study of the Manus and Usai, I discovered a tendency, particularly among the Manus, to decentralize the body percepts, and project this image onto society.

As we face a world undergoing intensive change, we must consider more and more the collective attributes necessary for world survival. It is necessary to examine our culturally conditioned attitudes toward ourselves, and understand how they relate to territoriality and the world's natural resources.

We have everything to gain by restructuring our self-image in the direction of a more collective whole that will consider local survival in terms of global survival.

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NOTES

1 Thanks are due to the American Museum of Natural History for permission to quote from the 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 Interrelated Studies.

2 Photographs from the American Museum of Natural History.

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

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