verbal, or ideational—of all those who make up the society where these responses are dominant. We can then without difficulty think of the pattern phenomenon in culture as a reflection of the common elements in the individual behavior of those who live in the culture into which they have been born.

3

It must be clearly understood that the structure of culture, as described in the preceding pages, exists only for the student. Even when men and women generalize about the customary behavior of their own group, or give the reasons that justify the institutions of their culture, they no more comprehend the structural framework that supports their manner of living than they are conscious of the rules of the grammar that give their language describable form, or the system of scales, modes, and rhythms that govern their singing.

Because the life of every group is unified for those who live it, it is essential that we perceive both the need to study how a culture is synthesized, and the usefulness of breaking down this unity into its component parts. In considering any individual way of life, we must see it as a whole that is more than the sum of its parts, but when we analyze human social behavior, we may isolate form from meaning, action from sanction. We may describe in minute detail the structure of a building, tell how it is made, by whom, and of what materials, and thus have an assemblage of traits whose distribution can be traced without the slightest reference to their functioning. Or, we can study the different uses to which structures are put by a people, indicating that some are lived in, some are used for storage, some are places of worship, and some centers of government, with equal disregard of their formal elements. We could then say, perhaps, that the range of variation in the functions of houses is here broad, there narrow, and draw our conclusions. But the human beings out of whose behavior these structures stem would have no place in our study.

The analysis of culture, first into traits and complexes, and then into patterns, has raised the question whether the patterns may not be comprehended under still broader, psychological formulations, called configurations, or themes, or affirmations. These are thought of as least common denominators of whole cultures, or of great segments of a culture, that yield clues to some of the most deeply recessed springs of behavior among a people. Whether or not they represent the master clues of all the institutions, value-systems and goals of a people is a matter on
which there is as yet no agreement. Later in this chapter, we shall review the arguments advanced for the usefulness and validity of such an approach.

For the moment, we need to bear in mind that the problem of cultural integration presents two faces. One, the functional view, attempts to study the interrelation between the various elements in a culture; the other, the configurational or thematic attack, represents the psychological approach to cultural integration, and seeks to discover the threads of aim, of satisfactions that give to the institutional unity the particular quality, the special "feel" that everyone senses when he compares one culture with another.

The functionalist point of view, as described by B. Malinowski, with whose name this method is most closely identified,

aims at the explanation of anthropological facts at all levels of development by their function, by the part which they play within the integral system of culture, by the manner in which they are related to each other within the system, and by the manner in which this system is related to the physical surroundings.

In terms of the functional method,

the real identities of culture appear to lie in the organic connection of its parts, in the function which a detail fulfils within its scheme, in the relation between the scheme, the environment and the human needs. Meaningless details disappear, shape becomes alive with meaning and with function, and a testimony of irrelevant form falls away as worthless.3

The method is applied both in field research that aims at comprehending a single culture, and in understanding relations that are to be applied in the study of culture as a whole.

Various elements in functionalist theory have been vigorously debated. For instance, Malinowski’s system derives the principal subdivisions or aspects of culture from biological necessity, and sees as the ultimate function of culture the task of satisfying these needs. It has also laid stress on the study of culture on a single time plane, and has argued against attempting to reconstitute unwritten history. We shall examine these points later. But there can be no question of the need to determine how each element of a culture influences and is influenced by these other elements with which it is associated.

The comparatively simple culture of the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana, South America, affords us pertinent materials for

3 B. Malinowski, 1944, pp. 133, 190.
a presentation of this kind. Their numbers are small, their villages
compact, their economy direct, with no middlemen to intervene
between the functions of production and consumption. Their
social structures form an ascending hierarchy of immediate fam-
ily, extended family and tribe; on the latter governmental institu-
tions are based. The universe is for them ruled by a series of
nature deities, worshipped with song and dance. To these the
force of magic and of the dead are to be added as powerful
supernatural agents. Their art, expressed primarily in the carving
of highly ornamented wooden implements, is of great excellence.
In the oral arts they have a full complement of myths and tales,
while their musical resources in the form of singing and drum-
ming show range, versatility, and an extensive repertory. The cul-
ture is a going concern, little influenced either by the Europeans
of the coastal belt or the Indians of the interior. We consider it
here, in the functional manner, in order to lay emphasis on its
integration, and without regard for its historical background of
African origin, or such borrowings as it has effected from these
other two cultures with which the Bush Negroes have had con-
tact.
We can take such a simple element of the culture as the
dwelling place as our starting point. The Bush Negro house, in its
physical appearance, is a rectangular, gabled structure, entered
by a door so low that one must stoop. The sides are woven of
palm fronds in a pleasing basket-weave design; the roof is
thatched, and there are neither windows nor chimney. Air enters
through the interstices of the woven sides, while smoke from the
fire escapes through the thatch. Here, already, we envisage pur-
poseful functioning, in this case in terms of adaptation to the
habitat. The windowless, woven sides permit enough light to en-
ter to see what one is doing, yet leave the house cool and darkened,
a refuge from the tropical sun. The smoke of the fire is an effective
fumigant against the insects that would otherwise infest the
thatch, and it keeps off the mosquitoes that swarm in this tropical
forest.
Inside the house are many of the material possessions of
the household, particularly those of the woman. In the corner lie
the woven hammocks used for sleeping. Low carved stools provide
seats and can conveniently be taken outdoors where a group may
gather. The interstices of the wall hold small objects such as
carved combs and food-stirring paddles. Against the walls are
decorated calabashes, in which possessions such as cloth are kept.

and rice, or eureka meal, or in which maize is stored for immediate use. In the corners are carved canoe paddles, while suspended from the cross poles beneath the roof are still other guards containing articles not in everyday use. Both the door and the doorposts are carved; those of a village elder with the symbol of his clan, or with other symbolic designs.

The house is a part of a complex of dwellings and accessory structures; several such complexes form the village. Certain of these structures merit special attention for a moment. One is the guadu-sfon—the house where a man keeps his wealth. Made differently from the dwelling house, it has lattice-work sides so that people can peer through and wonder at the city-bought objects, the carved drums, bush-knives, and other possessions that make the owner a person of substance and standing in the community. The floor will be of wood, raised on poles, above the ground, the door protected by a charm, a knobby, that would be violated by no one who valued his health, his sanity, or his life, except a relative in the male line. This type of structure, forbidden to the women, permits a man to conceal his belongings as well as to reveal them; and, in commenting on the fact, the native does not fail to phrase the advantages of both. For the wealthy man guards himself against wives who are importunate; and the man whose guadu-sfon tells no tales of what he may or may not have is guarded against his nagging or fault-finding wives.

Still another structure that marks the village is the kranu-sfon, the place of assembly which, when death strikes, becomes the center of long and elaborate funeral rites. This is a frame, roofed and open on all four sides. Here men and women sit during the day to discuss matters of interest, and to gossip; here the village council assembles when affairs of common concern are to be decided. This house is at the center of the village, and before it is a broad clearing, the sand meticulously swept each day. When a death occurs, the corpse is brought to lie here for a day or two on a broken canoe until a coffin can be built; and later, for the remainder of the week, in its coffin. From this house the grave diggers leave each day, and here they return to “carry the corpse,” balancing the coffin atop their heads as the spirit of the dead is questioned about the cause of his death or is required to clear itself of charges that the dead person had practiced evil magic. Here, too, the old men sit with the dead the day long, playing intermittently the game of adfi-boto with its permutations and combinations of seeds as they are dropped successively in the holes of the board they use; and here the village gathers each
night the dead lies there, to dance in his honor, or to tell the tales of Anansi, the trickster, that delight his spirit.

We have moved far from the simple element in Bush Negro culture with which we began. We have touched on art, on the economic base of prestige, on one aspect of the relation between the sexes, on the political system, on the rites of death, on games and dancing and folklore. The phrase “touched on” is to be emphasized here, for we have had but fleeting glimpses of the functioning culture in our exposition.

It is unnecessary to continue this account further to make plain how each element in this culture impinges on every other to make a satisfying, integrated way of life. Many of the major divisions of culture, as these are set down by ethnologists, are represented in this account. The traits of the culture we have named stand out, both alone and in the complexes with which they are associated. Yet life, as we observe it from the vantage point of our village, flows as a single current. The generalization “culture” we abstract from our observations is not haphazard or disjointed. The lines cross and recross, but they rarely become entangled. All behavior is meaningful, each act performs some function, every object has its place and its usefulness.

4

It is far simpler to trace relations between the elements of a culture as evidenced in behavior than to ferret out and subject to scientific analysis the unspoken, usually implicit sanctions that are firmly fixed in the cultural matrix. Benedict, who has given the most considered analysis of the configurational point of view, states:

The cultural pattern of any civilization makes use of a certain segment of the great arc of potential human purposes and motivations, just as... any culture makes use of certain selected material techniques or cultural traits... selection is the first requirement. Without selection, no culture could even achieve intelligibility, and the intentions it affects and makes its own are a much more important matter than the particular detail of technology or the marriage formality that it also selects in similar fashion.8

It is thus clear how crucial in thinking is the selectivity of cultures, which causes them to shape “their thousand items of behavior to

8 R. Benedict, 1934, p. 137.
a balanced and rhythmic pattern." 9 Integration results when all items are selected in terms of an overall principle.

Benedit makes it plain that there are differing degrees of integration, just as there are different principles on the basis of which various societies develop the configurations of their cultures. One reason for this is a tenacity to borrow cultural elements from societies having different configurations—"exposure to contradictory influences," such as is to be found "on the borders of well-defined culture areas." Or a migrating tribe that "breaks off from its fellows and takes up its position in an area of different civilization" can experience a similar disorientation of fundamental drives.

Let us now examine the configurational approach. Benedict's use of the phrase "the cultural pattern" stands in striking contrast to the manner in which other anthropologists have interpreted it, as illustrated in the first part of this chapter. Various suggestions have been made to distinguish these differing concepts by different names. One such term, that has proved useful in these pages, is sanction. The underlying drives, motivations, "unconscious system of meanings" that govern the reactions of a people can be thought of as the sanctions of their culture. Other designations have been brought forward which, despite their different shades of meaning, are pertinent. Kluckhohn has suggested the division of cultural phenomena into "overt" and "covert" aspects. The overt forms are those institutions and other manifest elements to which, he urges, "the technical term pattern be rigorously restricted." The covert culture includes the sanctions that lie on the unconscious levels of thought. To these he would apply the term "configurations." "A pattern," he states, "is a generalization of what people do or should do, a configuration is in a sense a generalization of 'why' they do or should do certain things."

Opler, on the other hand, prefers to employ the term "themes" which, translated into conduct or belief, gives rise to "expressions"—"formalized" when "conventionalized and ordered," or "unformalized" when their "precise character, time, or place are not carefully defined by the culture." They may, in their direct expression, be "primary," but when given oblique or implied expression are "symbolic"; they may likewise be "material" or "nonmaterial." 10

9 Ibid., p. 113.
10 C. Kluckhohn, 1941, pp. 143-5.
These discussions reflect the ferment that has followed a desire to revise terminology and approach to account for the fact that there is more to culture than its expressions in behavior or the reflection of behavior into institutions. They have especially followed on the widespread use of such expressions of cultural mysticism as “the genius of a culture,” or its “spirit,” or its “feel,” which has emphasized the need for the systematic examination of cultural differences and the factors that lend themselves to such formulations. The terms that have been suggested are, of course, more than mere designations. They are handles to the conceptual tools for our research, on which alone their validity must rest. Let us see how they have been, or can be employed.

We may first consider a configurational study in which a single aspect of culture, in this instance medicine, is analyzed. Data from an American Indian, a Melanesian, and an African culture are utilized as part of a broader configuration. In each case the pattern of curing is shown to conform to the broader underlying sanctions of the culture. Thus among the Cheyenne the cause of disease primarily consists of the “invisible arrows shot by the spirits of wells, the mule-deer and other spirits,” and treatment is in terms of the “small ceremonial,” whereby the expulsion of the intruded object is believed to be accomplished. The Dobuans of Melanesia envisage no supernatural being as bringing on illness, but trace the cause to witchcraft or sorcery. Thus they shape their cures to meet the supernatural dangers that are reported to be so important a manifestation of the basic drives in their culture. The Thonga of South Africa, on the other hand, are reported as conceiving of disease largely as “the outcome of . . . a taboo-situation,” the transgression of a rule laid down by the ancestors. On the basis of these differing configurations, the principle is enunciated that,

the differences between primitive medicines are much less differences in “elements” . . . than differences in the medical “pattern” which they build up and which is conditioned fundamentally by their cultural pattern. . . . Disease may be regarded in its narrowest physiological limits . . . or may become a symbol for dangers menacing society through nature or through its own members. It may seem a more incidental or reach the rank of a godhead. Society unconsciously gives these different places to disease in the course of history.13

Kluckhohn illustrates the meaning of the term “covert culture” by telling how, during the early days of his research among

the Navaho Indians, he approached eleven persons with a request for information about witchcraft. In seven instances, the response was "Who said I knew anything about witchcraft?" Later he repeated the question to twenty-five informants. Sixteen of these responses took the same form. Having established the existence of this pattern, he then juxtaposed it with another, seemingly unrelated, types of response to typical situations. One is the way the Navaho take to hide their faces and prevent others from obtaining anything else that comes from their bodies, such as hair, nails, or sputum. Another is their secretiveness about personal names. All these, when put together, form a configuration phrased by Kluckhohn as "fear of the malevolent intentions of other persons." Only rarely, we are told, does it rise into consciousness enough to permit a Navaho to state: "These are all ways of showing our anxiety about the activities of others."

Opler turns to the Chiricahua Apache to document his concept of themes. One theme of this culture, he tells us, is that men are physically, mentally, and morally superior to women. Thus if a fetus has "lots of life," it is assumed it will be a boy. Women are believed less stable than men, and more likely to cause domestic strife. They are held to be more easily "tempted," whether sexually or where witchcraft is involved. Tribal councils are for males, tribal leaders are men. Men precede women on the path; at least men have special places, while women eat where they can. A menstruating woman is believed dangerous to men's health and the well-being of male horses. Another theme is the importance of old age, as evidenced in rituals such as the girl's puberty rites the deference paid the old, the anxieties aroused by the belief that evil beings seek to shorten life, and the like. Yet the influence of such themes, it is pointed out, is not so great that they give society an imbalance that renders its functioning difficult. The influence of the theme of old age is held in check by the value set on performance as against wisdom and experience—a theme Opler terms "validation by participation"; male predominance is checked by the "limiting factors" that arise out of the human situations inherent in the day-to-day relations between the sexes.

An example of what we have called "sanction," but which might be equally describable by any of the other terms just cited, is to be drawn from responses of West African and New World Negroes to many different kinds of situations, in accordance with a principle of indirection. Quite contrary to the too readily ac-

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18 C. Kluckhohn, 1945, pp. 214-5.
ceped stereotype of the "extraverted" Negro, this sanction domi-
nicates their behavior and dictates the circumspection with which
their life is characteristically lived. Indirection takes innumerable
forms. The oblique use of imagery, as exemplified particularly in
the contrast employment of proverbs—in ordinary conversation,
or in arguing a case before a court, or in teaching proper be-
vavior to the young—is one example. "Behind the mountain is an-
other mountain," says the Haitian, when he expresses skepticism
about motives. "It is not for nothing the worm crawls from side
to side," comments a Bindi Negro when he voices his suspicions
of another or "He who has no fingers cannot make a fist," he
says to caution an impulsive person. In West Africa quarrels are
often carried on by the use of songs which, never mentioning an
adversary by name, convey their message of insult and disdain by
metaphor and allusion. Again, one does not ask a direct question.
One waits and observes, until assertion based on some continuum
of fact can open the way to further information. The taxation sys-
tem of the native kings of Dahomey is the best instance of this
sanction manifest in institutionalized form. Here no one was asked
directly what he possessed, or how numerous was his family, or
how much maize he had grown the previous year. Devising in-
quiry, however, elicited all the information required by the royal
bureaucracy charged with gathering revenue, and no sources of
income for the royal treasury were overlooked.14 Only in Guiana
has this reserve, that gives form to the sanction of indirection,
been phrased in non-synthetic terms. "I cannot say more," said
one man after he had for a time discussed a commonplace element
in his culture. "Long ago the ancestors taught us not to tell more
than half of what we know. I have said more than enough."
Similarly probing for deeper-lying drives to culturally con-
ditioned behavior, Hu s has differentiated Chinese and American
societies in terms of the typical response patterns of their mem-
bers, the former, as he phrases it, being "situation-centered," the
latter "individual-centered." In documenting his hypothesis, he
examines "art, especially painting, fiction, the patterns of conduct
between the sexes and certain forms of aberrant behavior such as
alcoholism, drug addiction, mental illness and suicide." The utility
of employing data from the arts and literature of the two peoples,
Hu stresses, derives from the fact that since "the creative indi-
vidual, like others, is a product of a certain cultural context," these
two facets of culture are "fundamentally what may be de-
scribed as mirrors—or as the psychoanalyst says, projective

screen—of the society to which the creative individual belongs."

And since sex conduct and aberrant behavior are favorite topics for art and literature, these are called on to contrast the relevant scenes as found "on the projective screen and in reality," to the end that one may "gain a true picture of their differing mental universes" and from this, of their differing patterned reactions to the situations both must meet.16

5

Whether we analyze the objective manifestations of a culture or approach it along the broader avenues of its fundamental sanctions and intent, whatever the terminology we may apply to clarify our data and set them in a significant conceptual context, the fact of cultural unity, of cultural integration is established. Its outer forms frame inner meanings; sanctions mold conduct; and life as a whole goes on, permitting human beings to seek and find fulfillment.

As a scientist, the student of culture must divide his data into categories, just as the student of living organisms dissects his specimen. Culture is not an organism, so that the analogy must not be pressed too far. It is enough that the ethnologist, like the biologist in his laboratory, recognizes that the subject as he studies it in its several parts is not the living totality. He takes his scientific liberties so that, when he turns again to the functioning whole, he can at least know what these parts are, how they are related to each other, how they combine to make the whole. It is in this sense that he must study structure and distribution. And it is in this spirit that, in another dimension, he again divides culture into the formal aspects, the kinds of institutions to be discerned in all cultures as we move over the earth, comparing one way of achieving a given end with another, assessing the varied means mankind uses to reach the same goal.

16 F. L. K. Hsu, 1933, pp. 10, 17-17, and passim.