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Native Americans and Incorporation: Patterns and Problems

THOMAS D. HALL

I. INTRODUCTION

Contact between Native Americans and Europeans first began in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Since then, societies dominated by transplanted Europeans have had complex effects on Native American groups, sometimes trying to displace or annihilate them, more often trying to include them in one way or another (with varying results), into their respective states. These processes and their results have been highly variable. Native groups that were once major threats to European invaders have all but disappeared, while other groups that were once on the verge of annihilation are now among the most prosperous of contemporary tribes. Still others have managed to survive and preserve much of their cultures.

How might the myriad patterns of interaction be analyzed? One solution is to employ a frame of reference that facilitates comparisons of these processes across time and space, and yet respects the unique characteristics of each case. This paper suggests one such possible frame of reference. It is important to note at the beginning that what follows is not definitive and complete, but suggestive and inchoate. Nevertheless, the examples presented illustrate the utility of this approach for re-analyzing familiar events, for suggesting new research questions, and for indicating directions for further theoretical development. How

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long this particular frame of reference survives is less important than that it serves as a stimulus to developing more refined models of European-Native American interactions.

The goal here is to develop a frame of reference which is useful throughout the history of Native American interactions with European states and which facilitates comparisons of Native American histories with histories of native peoples throughout the world. Because this period spans the rise and expansion of capitalism, the industrial revolution, and the development of the modern state, such a frame of reference must be grounded in long-term processes of change.

By focusing on long-term processes, what Braudel has called *la longue durée*, attention to the ordinary scale (*l'histoire événmentielle* or everyday time) is necessarily attenuated.[1] Still, long-term processes are the necessary contexts for understanding short-term events. This means not only that "historical context matters," but also that the ways in which historical context matters themselves may be part of long-term processes of change. While for any one short-term case study the long-term may be treated as constant, for comparisons among several short-term studies, especially if they span wide gulfs of time or space, the assumption of long-term constancy is untenable. A frame of reference rooted in long-term processes is necessary to make useful comparisons among short-term case studies.

The frame of reference proposed here builds on the concept of incorporation developed in world-system and dependency theories.[2] Although that conceptualization is primarily economic, world-system and dependency theories are particularly apt starting points for developing a conceptualization of incorporation that encompasses the myriad ways in which Native American societies have been incorporated into various European state systems. First, these theories are the most developed and consistently applied theories of long-term change that specifically address the ways in which interactions among societies shape development. Second, they focus on the processes of expansion of capitalist states and their consequent contact with formerly external societies and their incorporation of those societies into an evolving "system." Third, since these theories focus on the expansion of capitalism—broadly construed—they encompass the entire history of European-Native American contacts. Fourth, the preceding three features provide an explicit basis with which the

distinctive process of contact with, and incorporation of, Native American societies into European political economy can be compared with analogous processes throughout the world.[3] Fifth, the converse of point four, explicitly linking the study of Native American-European interaction to existing theories facilitates extending knowledge about Native American History beyond parochial interests to broader theoretical concerns, thereby improving general social theory.[4]

It is important to note that neither world-system theory nor dependency theory is the subject under consideration; rather, they are foils for conceptual refinement. The major utility of this strategy is precisely that it links the study of ways Native American societies were brought into various European state systems with both an extant theoretical body and with analogous processes occurring in other times and other places. It is only with such an explicit linkage that the study of Native American relations with European societies can be used to critique and improve broader social theory. In short, the point is not world-system or dependency theories themselves, but the linkage of the study of Native Americans with broad theoretical issues. Indeed, a point that emerges in the following discussion is that the world-system conceptualization of incorporation is too narrow, both in its own terms and in its relative neglect of social, cultural, political, and administrative aspects of incorporation.

The following discussion begins with the dependency and world-system theories' analyses of incorporation, especially as those analyses have been applied to Native Americans. Then, because incorporation of formerly autonomous groups into state societies entails the creation of "ethnic minorities" and shapes, or more often reshapes, "tribes," it is useful to discuss briefly the terms "ethnicity" and "tribe." The utility of a frame of reference based on a broad reconceptualization of incorporation will be illustrated by historical examples from the American Southwest and reinterpretations of a few contemporary studies.

II. INCORPORATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN GROUPS

Dependency and world-system theories share a few basic assumptions: that modern European state expansion was motivated by the drive for capital accumulation; that new areas or

groups were incorporated into a peripheral or colonial relation with the incorporating core area; and that such incorporation necessarily retarded the development of incorporated areas and benefited core areas. These theories tend to underestimate the importance of differences in the social organizations of absorbed groups.

The significance of this limitation for the analysis of the process of incorporation has been indicated in several studies, although the term "incorporation" typically has not been used in these discussions. Wolf criticizes world-system theory by analyzing the effects of the expanding capitalist world-economy on indigenous groups.[5] He demonstrates that local social structure and local actions shape the processes of incorporation. Lenski and Nolan show that pre-capitalist horticultural societies did not develop as readily as pre-capitalist agrarian societies.[6] Their analysis ignores band societies (e.g., Lenski's hunting and gathering and simple horticultural types).[7] While this omission is reasonable for Lenski and Nolan's agenda, it is extremely important here since a significant proportion of Native American groups were band societies aboriginally. Bands were seldom absorbed. Typically, they were pushed beyond state frontiers or killed. Furthermore, band and horticultural societies do not have ethnic minorities, whereas agrarian and industrial states do. Thus, incorporation of a band or horticultural society into a state society transforms an autonomous group into an ethnic group.[8] These topics will be discussed further below, after a more refined concept of incorporation has been presented.

Other writers have developed market dependence accounts of Native American incorporation. Jorgensen provides some of the earliest and most insightful analyses of Native American dependency.[9] He argues that the lack of development, and hence the slow "acculturation" of Native Americans, is due to exploitation by the incorporating state. Jacobson modifies the internal colonial analysis, arguing that Native American labor was used only sporadically, and then mainly to supplement subsistence activities.[10] He argues that this was because nineteenth century corporate colonialism was interested in Indian lands rather than Indian labor.

Snipp expands the analysis by dividing "underdevelopment" into two phases: (1) a "captive nation" phase, in which Native American groups have become dependent on the federal govern-

ment; and (2) an "internal colonial" phase in which Native American resources are seriously exploited.[11] The transition from captive nation to internal colony only began during the last 40 or so years with increasing attempts to expropriate and exploit the natural resources on western reservations, particularly energy resources.[12] The change from "captive nation" to "internal colony" coincides roughly with the industrialization of America and its rise from a semi-peripheral to a hegemonic core state during the last century.[13]

For the most part these authors discuss band societies in existence long after initial contact with Europeans, during America's nineteenth and twentieth century rise as an industrial state. Thus, they unintentionally limit the range of variation of the type of state doing the incorporating, the types of incorporated groups, the extent, and general timing of incorporation. This is unfortunate because band societies have few resources of interest to industrial or industrializing states, other than land. Hence, the seeming cogency of Jacobson's argument. However, in earlier eras labor was more commonly used in the form of captives for domestic servants (in the Southwest), for slave labor elsewhere in the Spanish empire, and for fur gathering in North America.[14] A broader frame of reference would help curtail such misunderstandings based on unintentional limitations of discourse.

Given these problems, it is useful to reconceptualize incorporation as a continuum which ranges from initial contact through complete absorption.[15] Although the range of incorporation is conceptualized as continuous, historical instances of incorporation are not necessarily smooth and unidirectional. Indeed, a major point of this conceptualization is that incorporation can be sporadic and reversible. Change in extent of incorporation is both a phenomenon to be explained and the major context of local change. Trade and/or geopolitical competition frequently motivate the initial incorporation of external groups by states. Trade relations include such factors as the extent of capital and product flows between an expanding state and an incorporated region or group, the type of goods exchanged (raw products or manufactured goods), the degree of centralization of the exchange process, and the relative importance of the transfer to each economy.[16] The causes and consequences of changes in the degree of incorporation are major foci of research.

Incorporation begins with initial contact between an expanding state and an external area or group. Just when a formerly autonomous group becomes an ethnic minority remains a thorny theoretical and empirical problem. As a state becomes more involved in a local region, primary influence generally flows from the state to the incorporated area. The completion of incorporation remains problematic. World-system and dependency theories see the process as complete with the "development of underdevelopment,"[17] but it is equally plausible to argue that the logical end of incorporation is total assimilation into the dominant group. It is important to note that the flow of influence is asymmetrical: core areas have stronger effects on peripheral areas than the reverse. While net product and capital flows tend to be toward the core, political, social and cultural influences tend to flow from the core.

Several features of this conceptualization of incorporation should be highlighted. These are summarized in Diagram 1. First, this conceptualization extends the process of incorporation to earlier stages than are typically recognized by world-system theory. Full-scale "development of underdevelopment" is achieved rather late in the incorporation process [see "World-System Terminology" in Diagram 2]. Second, the early phases of incorporation, the transition from "external arena" to "contact periphery" in Diagram 2, are empirically problematic. That is, the fuzziness of the beginning of incorporation is real, not an artifact of its conceptualization. Third, while incorporation is conceptualized as a multidimensional continuum, this does not mean that the process of incorporation for any given group is a continuous, smooth, unidirectional process. Fourth, the labels in Diagram 2 are not meant to identity distinct stages, but rather to indicate overlapping portions of a continuum. They are used to draw parallels and distinctions with analogous concepts, such as "Snipp's Terminology" or World-System Terminology" [see Diagram 2] and this conceptualization. Fifth, this conceptualization implies that trajectories or paths of incorporation of specific groups should be important subjects for comparative study.

Two other components of this conceptualization remain unresolved. First, there are other possible end points or conclusions of incorporation besides the "development of underdevelopment" posited by world-system theory. As indicated in Diagram 1, assimilation or acculturation,[18] pluralist accommodation, and

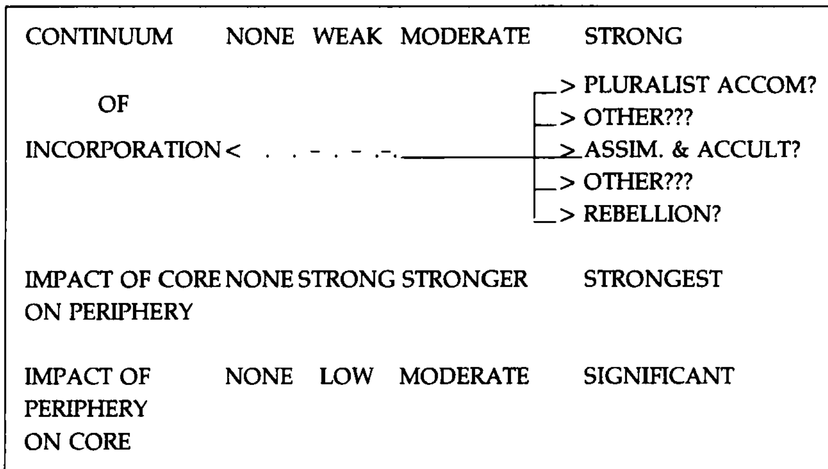

DIAGRAM 1: THE CONCEPT OF INCORPORATION

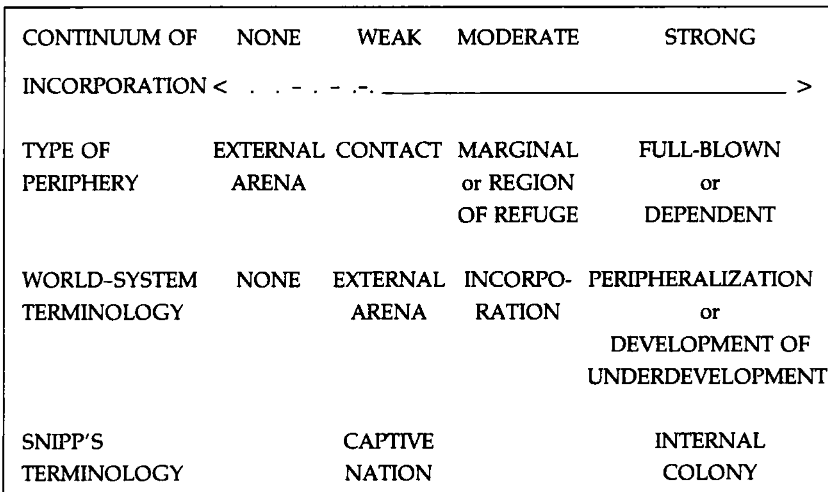

DIAGRAM 2: COMPARISON OF TERMINOLOGIES FOR DEGREE OF INCORPORATION

rebellion are other possible results. The possibilities labeled "Other???" indicate that this list is by no means exhaustive, but suggestive. Clearly, this raises, but does not answer, some thorny theoretical and empirical problems. How many end points are there? Are they mutually exclusive, or can they alternate in some hierarchical fashion?[19] Why does a group arrive at any specific end point? Are there patterns or sequences of incorporation? Are there any correlations between group characteristics, general context and final degree of incorporation? While these questions cannot be answered here, it is clear that this conceptualization of incorporation directs attention to such questions. The second unresolved issue, closely related to the first, is the degree of coupling, or necessary correlation, among economic, political, social and cultural aspects of incorporation.[20] Due to its roots in world-system and dependency theories, this conceptualization tends to emphasize economic components. While this emphasis is maintained here, it is not meant to be deterministic. In addition to the problematic coupling of the economic, political, social and cultural components of incorporation, the possibility must be held open that the coupling—whatever it is—has changed as part of other long-term processes.[21]

These unresolved problems notwithstanding, this conceptualization facilitates consideration of variations in the incorporation process, recognizes different motivations for incorporation, focuses analysis on the extent of trade and the types of goods exchanged, and draws attention to the interactions between incorporated and incorporating groups. Together, these concerns form a frame of reference for further study of incorporation.

It is useful at this point to digress briefly to indicate the differences between this concept of incorporation and the concept developed by Edward Spicer.[22] Spicer compares and contrasts the incorporation of Aztec, Yaqui, Puebloan, and Bajio region groups into the political structure of New Spain. He emphasizes both the diverse strategies of the Viceroys of New Spain and the differing effects of political incorporation on indigenous cultures. His analysis pays close attention to regional context (how tightly each region was integrated into the overall political economy of New Spain), but does not attend to shifts in Spanish (and hence in New Spain's) power and position in the global political economy. This oversight stems, in part, from his restriction of the analy-

sis to the Spanish era (*e.g.*, not following the Puebloan case into the American era) and in part from a failure to imbed the analysis of incorporation in a larger theoretical framework. The frame of reference suggested here differs from Spicer's mainly with respect to this larger issue, and in its emphasis on political economy, as opposed to distinct political and economic spheres.

In a second essay, Spicer examines a similar problem from the opposite angle—the adaptability of different "peoples" to a variety of cultural environments.[23] By a "people" Spicer means: " . . . a determinable set of human individuals who believe in a given set of identity symbols" (p. 796). He distinguishes this identity system from the political system so that he can examine the relations between the two. Specifically, he focuses on those internal characteristics that allow some "peoples" to adapt and survive in various cultural environments, noting how participation in a state system can have nearly opposite effects on identity systems.

In the terminology developed here, he examines only those groups that persisted, but fails to note two important commonalities that this frame of reference highlights. First, all the groups he examines were only marginally incorporated (he does not use that term in this essay) into their larger state systems. Second, the process of incorporation necessarily entails a transformation of each "people" into an "ethnic minority," meaning that external definitions of the group now shape identity. These two omissions contain the explanation for the persistence of such groups: a *relatively* low degree of incorporation allows considerable cultural persistence, but the degree of incorporation cannot be explained with solely internal factors. Spicer's analysis lacks a linkage between internal characteristics and the larger context—precisely the types of factors this frame of reference emphasizes.

At least three sets of factors for further inquiry are implicit in the preceding discussion: internal, contextual and interactional. Among the internal factors are the pre-contact social organizations of the interacting groups. For non-state societies this includes degree of and criteria for internal differentiation, mode of production, techno-evolutionary development, and so forth. For states this includes degree of mercantile vs. capitalist organization, degree of industrialization, and relative position in the

world-economy [core or semi-periphery], and direction of change in that position [rising, falling, stationary]. Also included in internal characteristics of incorporated groups is resource endowment, and whether the group was cognizant of its resources and the pre-contact utility of those resources. Among the contextual factors are any supra-societal relations which an incorporated group may have with neighboring societies and its own position within any such system. For both incorporated and incorporating societies, the state of the world-economy is especially salient. This includes simple distinctions such as early or late in the rise of the "capitalist world-economy,"[24] and more complicated and problematic distinctions such as phase of world economy, unicentric or multicentric.[25] Among the interactional factors are the geopolitical location of the incorporated group; whether it is on the frontier or entirely contained within the incorporating state; the significance of local resources to the incorporating state; the relative strengths, military and political, of the two groups; and so on.

These factors are axes along which many different comparisons may be made. The theoretical agenda of a specific study will determine the choice of comparisons to be made. If the theoretical purpose is to assess the impact of initial contact on nomadic foraging groups, then chronological time or geographical location might be ignored, while careful attention must be given to resources sought, the type of state doing the incorporating and its position in the world-economy. If, however, one is studying changes in the incorporation process itself, then such comparisons would obliterate significant differences, and long-term case studies of complete trajectories or paths of incorporation would be more appropriate.

Several points should be noted about this frame of reference. First, it is not exhaustive. Further research is needed to refine and extend the axes of comparison, and probably to add others. Second, it explicitly ignores such issues as the mode of production versus dependency theory debate,[26] and draws attention instead to evidence which will contribute to their resolution. The use of world-system terminology (*e.g.*, core, periphery, semi-periphery) is not an indication of theoretical commitment, but rather a heuristic device.[27] Third, the distinctions among internal, contextual and interactional factors become blurred once the

incorporation process begins. For instance, the significance of physical geography—say, plains versus mountains—changes with the introduction of new transportation technology—the horse—greatly affecting interactions among native groups and with Europeans. Fourth, the major utility of this frame of reference is in asking questions that have important theoretical implications, yet are amenable to being answered empirically. It is *not* intended to provide answers based on strictly theoretical grounds. Finally, this frame of reference underscores the *interactive* and *dynamic* aspects of incorporation, drawing attention to the active roles of both incorporated and incorporating groups in the process. Furthermore, it raises the possibility that the ways in which internal, contextual and interactional factors shape incorporation processes may be changing historically. It is not possible to illustrate every conceivable comparison suggested by this frame of reference, but a few examples will illustrate the range of possibilities.

Since incorporation can transform an autonomous society into an "ethnic minority," and frequently reshapes group boundaries, it is useful to elucidate briefly the meanings of the terms "ethnicity" and "tribe."

III. AN EXCURSUS ON ETHNICITY AND "TRIBES"

While the creation of "ethnic minorities" has probably occurred since the first development of states, "ethnic minorities" have become more common with the rise and expansion of the European world-economy and the development of the modern nation-state, with its attendant emphasis on citizenship. Hence there has been a considerable shift in the empirical referents of the term "ethnicity" over the last half millennium, and consequently some confusion over the meaning of the term.[28] Whereas earlier ethnicities centered on what Spicer calls "peoplehood," in recent centuries ethnic movements have tended to coalesce around "modern" issues such as use of official languages, access to resources, and political access, including voting rights.[29]

Over the last several centuries the boundaries between ethnic groups have become sharper, even while individuals continue to cross them. This is not to deny that the boundaries of modern

societies are not also permeable, but to emphasize the clarity of modern boundaries and that bureaucratic "tracks" typically accompany such movement.[30] Spicer's attempt to deal with this problem, while very insightful, misses the fundamental transformation entailed by incorporation: from "people" to "ethnic group." In particular, the definition of a group is no longer solely, or even mainly, a matter of self-identity, but becomes increasingly subject to external definition. Among other things, this means that ethnicity, and ethnic survival, always must be discussed in an historical and supra-regional context and that both are profoundly affected by processes of incorporation.

There are analogous problems with the term "tribe." Many "tribes," especially simpler ones, exist mainly in the eyes of the beholder, and not for the members. What are frequently labeled "tribes" or even "nations" are in fact collections of bands that share linguistic similarity, and which interact occasionally.[31] Such labels are generated in the contact phase and early phases of incorporation because states—characteristically having some form of bureaucratic structure—have great difficulty interacting with societies that do not have a formal political structure. Fried argues that "tribes" are almost always produced by an amalgamation of related bands, or the fragmentation of a chiefdom as a consequence of interaction with more complex societies.[32] In short, "tribes" typically are produced by incorporation, or occasionally, its failure.

It is now appropriate to flesh out this abstract discussion by turning to some specific illustrations.

IV. SOUTHWESTERN EXAMPLES[33]

Spain, Great Britain, Portugal and the United States have had different impacts on Native American groups.[34] Changes in the positions of those nation-states in the world-economy led to variations in the effects of incorporation. As Spain fell, its effects there decreased, and as America rose, its effects there increased. Such effects are illustrated in a brief history of the people now known as the Navajos.[35]

Athapaskan speakers arrived in the American Southwest some time before the Spaniards. During the course of several centu-

ries of interaction with Spanish settlers and officials, the various Athapaskan "tribes" (Navajo, along with several Apache groups) were formed. During the Spanish era Navajos adapted many Hispanic customs and technologies to their own culture: the horse, sheep herding, wool weaving, etc. After the American conquest (1848), the Navajos were forced onto a reservation (1864–1868). The arrival of the railroads in the 1880s introduced Navajos to wage labor. In the twentieth century urban relocation programs induced some Navajos to leave the reservation, and intensive use of reservation resources began.

The nature of Navajo society changed over the centuries of contact. At initial contact, Navajos were organized in several more or less autonomous bands, independent both from Spaniards and from each other. As they became even marginally incorporated into the Spanish empire through trading and raiding (Navajos raided Spaniards for horses, sheep and other goods; Spaniards raided Navajos for slaves and later sheep) they gradually became a more cohesive group. In the reservation era they became a distinct, encapsulated group. In the twentieth century they have become subject to increasing internal colonial exploitation, and are now an "ethnic minority," politically encapsulated within a larger state.

These changes in Navajo social organization have been associated with incorporation into the Spanish, Mexican, and American states. This example simplifies the ethnic survival issue because historical continuity permits continued identification of the group, even while its very nature is changing. However, it makes disentangling the combined effects of state strength, position in the world-economy and timing of incorporation difficult since these factors were different for each of the incorporating states. During the Spanish, Mexican and early American eras Navajos lived on the fringes of state control. For the first sixty years of the American era they were part of territories rather than states, which indicates a generally moderate degree of incorporation.

In the Spanish era, interaction was primarily through raiding: Navajo captives were "exchanged" for Spanish horses and sheep. Navajo captives were used for household labor and occasionally sent to the silver mines in north central New Spain.[36] Spanish horses and sheep were the major items taken by

Navajos. Later, after the Indians had amassed their own herds, sheep were taken from Navajos, and trading alternated with raiding. Gradually, land became more important than labor, especially when enslavement of captives was eliminated after the American Civil War (1860–1864). In the twentieth century there was increasing, but still sporadic, use of Navajo labor.

After World War II the increasing importance and exploitation of Navajo mineral resources had dramatic effects on the lives of Navajos[37] and even led to hostilities between Navajos and Hopis in a dispute over the ownership of Black Mesa and its extensive coal deposits.[38] These twentieth-century changes were paralleled by increasingly strong attempts to assimilate and acculturate Navajos. At first this was the work of traders and missionaries. Later it became the work of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and finally of the Navajo Tribe itself.[39] Even now, well after their reservation was formally defined, they are still not fully incorporated into the American state.

Thus, it is clear that both the relatively mild degree of incorporation and the relatively small changes in the degree of incorporation have had important consequences for Native American groups. Incidentally, too, this example sheds light on the relatively recent (*i.e.*, within the last twenty years or so) interest in internal colonial and dependency models of the Native American situation. For the most part it has been only since World War II that the incorporation of Native American groups has approached the "development of underdevelopment" level of intensity of incorporation. It was at this time that these models became increasingly common, due to the combination of American industrial development, technological change, and the presence on many western reservations of now valuable but previously unknown or undervalued resources, such as coal, oil and uranium. The flare-up of the Navajo-Hopi land dispute also illustrates how the degree of incorporation can affect relations between Native American groups.

The effects of changes in intensity of incorporation on ethnicity are illustrated in the creation and destruction of two distinctive ethnic niches in the Southwest. First, during most of the Spanish period there was extensive trade in captives or slaves. Many Native American slaves who as children were adopted into Hispanic families lived in separate communities as adults. These

people became known as "*Genízaros*."[40] The elimination of Indian slavery in the years following the American Civil War (1860–1864) destroyed this niche, and the *Genízaros* disappeared into the Hispanic population. Second, while the Spaniards maintained peaceful relations with Comanche bands (after *ca*. 1786), trade between the sedentary New Mexican population and Comanche nomads took place on a regular basis. A group of traders known as "comancheros" formed from lower class Hispanic settlers and some Pueblo Indians.[41] After the American conquest, Comanches became enemies of the (American) state, and this trade became illegal and was eliminated as the Comanches were "pacified" and forced onto a reservation. The comanchero niche was destroyed and the comancheros also disappeared into Hispanic society. These examples illustrate how changes in intensity of incorporation of a region into a state society can shape local ethnic processes. The changing nature of *Genízaro*, comanchero and Navajo ethnicity illustrates the significance of the transfer of control of the region from Spain to America for Southwestern ethnic relations.

A more complex comparison of the trajectories of change of Comanche and Apache bands under both Spain and the U.S. refines the preceding examples. Under Spain the Comanche bands became more centralized and the Apache bands became more fragmented. This led to Comanche prosperity and Apache decline. Under the U.S. these consequences were reversed. For the early Spanish period (1598–*ca*. 1786) New Mexico was in a state of endemic warfare with surrounding nomadic groups. The taking of captives by Spaniards provoked retaliatory raids, while raids on both Spaniards and other nomadic groups were conducted to gain booty to trade for horses and guns. Beginning in 1786 New Mexicans formed a lasting peace with Comanche bands and induced them to elect a central chief. Thereafter Comanches became an effective frontier buffer group and strong allies in displacing Apache bands from the south Plains into the Basin and Range province of what is now southern Arizona and New Mexico. Apache bands became further fragmented as they adapted to the highly varied terrain and continual raiding necessitated by their geopolitical position amid Spanish and Native American enemies. After the American conquest (1848) the geopolitical positions of these groups were reversed. Comanches

became barriers to internal American trade between Texas and New Mexico and came to compete with expanding farming and cattle ranching in west Texas. Apaches resided in relatively empty territory and used the new border with Mexico to their own advantage.[42] Only with the discovery of useful metals in the area were they finally forced onto reservations late in the nineteenth century. By that time annihilation was becoming politically unacceptable as a resolution of Indian relations, although it was the favored strategy of local settlers.[43]

What is intriguing here is that two initially similar band societies were subjected to pressures from the same states at the same time, but with nearly opposite results. There are two interesting comparisons here: (1) between the effects of different states on nomadic bands; and (2) between the effects of the same state on two similar collections of bands. These comparisons are intelligible because the first holds the social structure of the incorporated groups relatively constant, while varying the type and position in the world-economy of the incorporating state. The second strategy holds the incorporating state constant, while varying the groups incorporated.

The Pueblo Indians present a contrasting example of social organization. They lived in horticultural villages, unrelated languages were spoken in different communities, and there was no apparent political unity beyond the local village cluster.[44] Under the initial Spanish administration there was some effort to combine villages into more compact groups to facilitate administration, taxation and defense. Continued raiding, constant and often cruel attempts at religious conversion, and heavy demands for tribute led to a period of brief unity among the independent Pueblo villages, culminating in the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. In 1693, when Spaniards reconquered New Mexico, the Pueblo villages were granted more autonomy and gradually came to form a symbiotic relationship with Spanish settlers, motivated primarily by the need for defensive solidarity against nomadic raiders. After the American conquest (1848), this symbiosis disappeared because the American state reserved control of nomads to its own military, and because that strategy had been very successful. As the American West was pacified, Pueblo societies were increasingly treated like other Native American groups.

The entire trajectory of Puebloan incorporation into the Span-

ish empire and Mexico contrasts sharply with that of the various nomadic groups, underscoring the significance of aboriginal social organization for the incorporation process. Yet, under the U.S., they received very little special treatment. This illustrates how the significance of aboriginal social organization for incorporation varies with the type of state doing the incorporating.

These Southwestern examples illustrate how this frame of reference can be used to understand many seemingly different trajectories of incorporation. It can also be used to reinterpret other controversial studies, shedding new light on them.

V. REINTERPRETATIONS OF OTHER STUDIES

The first example in this section is very different from the previous examples. Instead of following the trajectory of incorporation of one group or set of closely-related groups over a long period, the author reinterprets the reactions of several groups to the Ghost Dance, a social movement which swept through many Western Native American groups in the 1870s and the 1890s.[45] Participation in the Ghost Dance has been explained as a response to relative and/or absolute deprivation,[46] to isolation and the allotment movement,[47] and to demographic change.[48]

Thornton's demographic analysis of groups participating in the Ghost Dance implies that participation was an attempt to resist assimilation and a rational response to a recent rapid population decline, especially for small groups. That such participation helped re-integrate a group, increase its solidarity and regenerate its energies, hence contributing to its survival, supports this interpretation. The Ghost Dance was also "rational" in the sense that it was congruent with many Native American concepts of cause and effect.[49] Revitalization movements, however, have not been the only response to incorporation.

State-building is another response to incorporation. This response seems to occur most typically among internally differentiated groups under specific market conditions.[50] State-building, usually in the direct interests of that class which was most heavily involved in trade with the dominant society, gives a group some control over the incorporation process. Thornton has criticized Champagne's equation of state-building with assimilation and

notes several other types of movements among the Cherokee.[51] Attention to the internal structure of the incorporated groups helps make sense of this debate. For the most part the discussion is about different types of societies. The Cherokee and Choctaw had more internal differentiation than the Iroquois or the Delaware, who had been pushed away from horticulture toward increased hunting by participation in the fur trade.[52] Thus, not only are the internal structures of the groups different, but those differences are to a large extent the consequences of different trajectories of past incorporation.

The association of type of reaction to incorporation (state-building versus revitalization movement) with the social structure of the incorporated group merits further testing. In this light, the existence of revitalization movements among the Cherokee noted by Thornton becomes all the more interesting. Were there different types of movements, or were they a different response to incorporation by a specific portion of Cherokee society? Answers to these questions would shed more light on the interaction between social organization of indigenous societies and their responses to state incorporation. That there apparently is no historical record of revitalization movements among the Comanche or Apache bands during the Spanish era suggests that revitalization movements are not an automatic response to incorporation, or that the nature of the incorporating state shapes the response to incorporation. Finally, in regard to the Cherokee, there is a distinct possibility that both Champagne's and Thornton's positions are correct, but only for the particular segments and times of Cherokee society each discusses.

All these studies show that revitalization movements are one-way foraging bands which can influence the incorporation process. Worsley's studies of similar movements indicate that they may be a general response by band societies to initial incorporation.[53] Wuthnow argues that the timing of such movements seems to be correlated with various cycles of the world-system.[54] This suggests that the Ghost Dance, and other Native American revitalization movements, might be compared with similar movements in other parts of the world, using the frame of reference proposed here to select the axes of comparisons. Global comparisons of revitalization movements would allow some assessment of relative importance of contextual factors like phase of the

world-economy with internal factors like demographic history of a group. A working hypothesis at this point would be that the specific combination of contextual and internal factors accounts for the timing of such movements. However, additional factors are needed to account for which specific groups respond to the general situation.

Champagne demonstrates clearly the importance of internal social structure, especially value and normative systems and their corresponding institutions for the process of incorporation (without using that term).[55] In particular, he describes how some traditional institutions, such as the Tlingit potlatch-moiety, Arapahoe ceremonial age grades, and Cherokee village hierarchy and principal chieftainship, all were used to develop community-wide solidarity. Other groups (*e.g.*, Navajos) who did not have such institutions have had some difficulty in building tribal solidarity and governmental stability. Champagne's analysis illustrates with considerable depth and clarity what this cursory summary cannot convey: the importance of the internal social organization of an incorporated group for the incorporation process. Furthermore, his examples establish that there is not simple correlation between societal type (*e.g.*, band or chiefdom) and process of incorporation. Rather, it is the details of internal social organization, such as pan-community institutions, that are significant. The difference in incorporation processes between bands and chiefdoms or between hunter-gatherers and horticultural societies is probably due to a significant but not perfect correlation of the presence of such institutions with general societal organization, namely that such institutions are more common in horticultural-chiefdom societies. That, however, must remain an empirical question. Clearly, though, the analysis of internal factors of incorporated groups in the incorporation process must go beyond crude sorting and must analyze indigenous institutions, including value and normative systems, in detail.

However, the Navajo example, in the light of this frame of reference, suggests that to stress internal normative and value systems and to neglect contextual and interactional factors could lead to erroneous conclusions.[56] Navajo survival is, at least in part, due to the combination of external factors (*e.g.*, *relatively* weak attempts at incorporation) and traditional Navajo adaptability—an ability to take ideas, processes or goods from

others and "Navajoize" them. The Navajo case points to the significance of contextual and interactional factors in the incorporation process. The key point here is not the relative importance of internal or contextual factors in the incorporation process, but the *interaction* of the two.

One significant utility of this frame of reference is that it points to strategies of comparison which will help disentangle the complex ways internal, interactional and contextual factors shape incorporation processes. These examples suggest another working hypothesis. Namely, the utility and efficacy of internal resources for resisting and shaping incorporation vary with the intensity of incorporation. Under conditions of *relatively* mild incorporation (*e.g.*, Navajos under Spain) the advantages of fluidity, flexibility and adaptability of band societies outweigh the rigidities of more complex societies. However, when incorporation is, or becomes, more intense, flexibility cannot meet the challenge, whereas more differentiated social structures can be a basis for state formation. Here, again, empirical analyses are needed to refine and test this hypothesis.

Two recent analyses emphasize the role of external factors in the incorporation process, suggesting that such interaction is itself shaped by the wider geopolitical context in which it occurs. In the first, Page argues that recent "pan-tribal" and "pan-Indian" movements are a response by Native American groups to their peripheral position in American society.[57] That is, in the terms used here, such movements are a response to attempts to increase the incorporation of Native American groups into the American political economy. Page uses this analysis to critique naive, if well-intentioned, calls for local control, but indicates how the very processes of incorporation may give Native American groups some opportunities both to develop and to maintain native cultural identity.[58] In terms of this frame of reference, Page's analysis interprets changes in the state and changes in the world-economy as the context for analyzing Native American responses based on their currently available organizational and natural resources. Furthermore, her analysis demonstrates that only by placing contemporary processes in a broad historical context can they be properly understood.

In the second analysis, Cornell argues that there has been a crisis in Indian-white relations in the last quarter-century or so.[59] This crisis represents another round of movement from unilateral

to bilateral administration of Native American affairs. This shift was engendered by Indian protest activities directed at government agencies (such as the BIA) which posed a threat to the *status quo* in that radical Indians sought to undermine the structure rather than simply protest its functioning. This led to a new structure that was more bilateral (accepting Indian input) but provided more effective social control, regulating Indian affairs (supposedly) for the benefit of the larger society. A significant aspect of this analysis is that it focuses attention on the active role of Native Americans in shaping their own destinies.

This shift can be seen as part of the increasing incorporation of Native Americans into the American state. While participation in this increasing incorporation has been somewhat voluntary, Native Americans have had little control over the conditions of participation. They increasingly were forced to choose between following a traditional life-style (which, by the twentieth century, is itself the product of a long incorporation process) and assimilating to the dominant American culture.[60] The increasing pressure to choose between tradition and assimilation has given rise to new responses to incorporation throughout the twentieth century: the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), Red Power, American Indian Movement (AIM), Consortium of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), etc. These movements have begun to build new and often competing and conflicting foci of Native American identity[61] and were major initiators of the changes analyzed by Cornell.

Accompanying these pressures for greater assimilation has been the creation of new opportunities for Native American enterprises: fishing and canning, sale of cigarettes and liquor, bingo and other gambling, and the tourist trade have become important sources of tribal incomes. These changes have also led to different processes of incorporation: education, relocation,[62] increasing labor force participation,[63] and foster family placement.[64]

In the terminology used here, Cornell's analysis suggests that Native American groups have traded increased local autonomy for increased incorporation, especially in its economic and cultural components. Increased participation in the economy required Native Americans to follow the American state's rules for economic activity and adhere to its political rules. In return they have been granted greater local autonomy and some specific rules (*e.g.*, taxes and gambling) have been relaxed for them, creating

many of the opportunities for enterprise noted above. In this sense they parallel the long-term shifts in ethnicity: boundaries are becoming sharper while the content within the boundaries is becoming more similar. In short, these are problems associated with the transformation from "a people" to "an ethnic group." Here, again, only further research—and in this last case, more time—will sort out what is general and what is particular to Native Americans in these processes.

The preceding examples and discussions are far from exhaustive, but they do illustrate the utility of this frame of reference for both reinterpreting existing studies and suggesting new ones. It is useful to conclude by summarizing some of the benefits of this frame of reference, or other similar ones.

VI. FINAL COMMENTS

Some final remarks about the utility of this frame of reference for the comparative study of Native Americans are in order. First, it is heuristic. Its value is its utility in suggesting productive comparisons. No doubt future studies will add other dimensions of comparison.

Second, it emphasizes that historical setting, local social structure, and local conditions are all vital components of incorporation. This means more than that history is important *qua* history. It means that historical setting is significant in a theoretical and comparative context. Thus, while the social sciences have much to contribute to historical studies of ethnicity,[65] the converse is also true.

Third, and probably most significant from a research point of view, this approach underscores the need to sample broadly among instances of incorporation, and facilitates comparisons of incorporation of Native Americans with analogous processes throughout world history. Only comparisons across the full range of types of incorporation can lead to a better understanding of both the general processes and specific instances of incorporation. Studies are needed which systematically examine variations among the factors suggested above. The examination of the effects of type of resource used by the incorporating state are potentially fruitful. Such studies could include comparisons between fishing and canning in the American Northwest, cotton

production in the American South, and the fur trade.[66] But without systematically placing any such comparative studies in a broad context of social, political, and economic change, proliferating studies increase rather than decrease confusion.

Fourth, this approach emphasizes the importance of activities and internal dynamics of incorporated groups in the incorporation process. Despite concerted attempts in the past two decades to re-examine Native American history from a Native American point of view,[67] Native Americans are still too often seen as victims, rather than as active participants in their own histories. Focusing on incorporation not only underscores their active role, but also highlights the harsh restrictions under which various Native American groups acted, underscoring their creative, and often heroic, responses to these conditions.

NOTES

1. The concept of *la longue durée* was developed by Fernand Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences: The *Longue Durée,*" in *On History,* ed. F. Braudel, trans. Sarah Matthews, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 25-54 [Orig. in *Annales E.S.C.,* 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1958): 725-753], and elaborated in *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century.* V. 3: *The Perspective of the World,* trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1984). Braudel's attempts to link long- and short-term social changes are illuminating. John R. Hall, "The Times of History and the History of Times," [*History and Theory* 19 (February 1980): 113-131] analyzes Braudel's conception in more detail. Joan Lind, "Exchange Processes in History: Integrating the Micro and Macro Levels of Analysis," *Sociological Quarterly* 28 (Summer 1987): 223-246, provides another model for linking long- and short- term social changes.

2. This does not mean to equate world-system and dependency theories, but to highlight shared features which have been applied to the Native American situation. Summaries of world-system and dependency theories may be found in Ronald H. Chilcote and D. L. Johnson, eds., *Theories of Development: Modes of Production or Dependency?* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983); Daniel Chirot, "Changing Fashions in the Study of the Social Causes of Economic and Political Change," in *The State of Sociology,* ed. James Short (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981), 259-282; D. Chirot and T. D. Hall, "World-System Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 8 (1982): 81-106; Charles Ragin, "Knowledge and Interests in the Study of the Modern World-System," *Review,* VIII (Spring 1985): 451-476; and Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16 (September 1974): 387-415; *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), and *The Capitalist World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Chirot and Hall discuss the complex inter-relations of dependency and world-system theories. The

world-system theory conception of incorporation is discussed by Giovanni Arrighi, "Peripheralization of Southern Africa, I: Changes in Production Processes," *Review* III (Fall 1979): 161-191; I. Wallerstein and William G. Martin, "Peripheralization of Southern Africa, II: Changes in Household Structure and Labor-Force Formation," *Review* III (Fall 1979): 193-207; and Joan Sokolovsky, "Logic, Space, and Time: The Boundaries of the Capitalist World-Economy," in *Urbanization in the World-Economy*, ed. M. Timberlake (New York: Academic Press, 1985) 41-52. The concept of incorporation is elaborated in Thomas D. Hall, "Incorporation in the World-System: Toward a Critique," *American Sociological Review* 51 (June 1986): 390-402. That paper summarizes the debates about the concept of incorporation within world-system theory.

3. Whether world-system theory can be applied to "pre-capitalist" settings is a matter of considerable debate. See Jane Schneider, "Was There a Pre-Capitalist World-System?, *Peasant Studies* 6 (1977): 20-29. With respect to Mesoamerica see Richard Blanton and Gary Feinman, "The Mesoamerican World System," *American Anthropologist* 86:3 (Sept. 1984): 673-682; Richard A. Pailes and Joseph W. Whitecotton, "The Greater Southwest and the Mesoamerican 'World' System: An Exploratory Model of Frontier Relationships," in *The Frontier: Comparative Studies*, Vol. 2, eds. William W. Savage, Jr. and Stephen I. Thompson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 105-121; and Joseph W. Whitecotton and Richard A. Pailes, "New World Precolumbian World Systems," in *Ripples in the Chichimec Sea: Consideration of Southwestern-Mesoamerican Interactions*, eds. Frances Joan Mathien and Randall McGuire (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986), 183-204.

4. A general statement of the necessity for studying "peripheral" societies in order to develop truly general theories see T. Hall, "Is Historical Sociology of Peripheral Regions Peripheral?," *California Sociologist* 8: 1-2 (Sum.-Win. 1985): 281-304. For an example of explicit criticism of the world-system theory conceptualization of incorporation see T. Hall, "Incorporation in the World-System."

5. Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

6. Gerhard Lenski and Patrick Nolan, "Trajectories of Development: A Test of Ecological-Evolutionary Theory," *Social Forces* 63 (September 1984): 1-23; and "Trajectories of Development: A Further Test," *Social Forces* 64 (March 1986): 794-795.

7. See Gerhard Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966) for a general discussion of these terms. For present purposes these terms may be defined as follows. Hunting and gathering societies are societies of foragers who do not produce food directly, but who forage for naturally occurring resources. Horticulturalists raise small gardens with relatively simple tools. Agrarians farm, using more complicated tools, typically plows. Bands are "acephalous" societies having no formal political leadership. Leadership is informal based on prestige and personal accomplishment and is usually conducted through influence. Nearly all hunting and gathering societies, and many simple horticultural societies, are band societies. The point is not the labels but the underlying differences. There are many such schemes for categorizing societies, based on a variety of fundamental characteristics. Most are more or less congruent in broad form, differing primarily in details.

8. An important point here is that "ethnic minorities" formed by a process of incorporation are significantly different from "ethnic minorities" composed of immigrant groups. This point was developed by Stanley Lieberson, "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," [*American Sociological Review* 26:6 (Dec. 1961): 902-910]. See the discussion of ethnicity and tribes below, and Thomas D. Hall, "Lessons of Long-Term Social Change for Comparative and Historical Study of Ethnicity," *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 5 (1984): 121-144 for a fuller discussion.

9. Joseph G. Jorgensen, "Indians and the Metropolis," in *The American Indian in Urban Society*, ed. J. O. Waddell and O. M. Watson (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 66-113; *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); and "A Century of Political Economic Effects on American Indian Society, 1880-1980," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 6 (Fall 1978), 1-82.

10. Cardell K. Jacobson, "Internal Colonialism and Native Americans: Indian Labor in the United States from 1871 to World War II," *Social Science Quarterly* 65 (March 1984): 158-171.

11. Matthew Snipp, "The Changing Political and Economic Status of American Indians: From Captive Nations to Internal Colonies," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 45 (April 1986): 145-157; "American Indians and Natural Resource Development," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 45 (Oct. 1986): 457-474.

12. Joseph G. Jorgensen, *et al.*, eds., *Native Americans and Energy Development* (Cambridge, Mass.: Anthropology Resource Center, 1978); J. G. Jorgensen and S. Swensen, eds., *Native Americans and Energy Development II* (Cambridge, Mass.: Anthropology Resource Center, 1984); and P. Iverson, "Building Toward Self-Determination: Plains and Southwestern Indians in the 1940s and 1950s," *Western Historical Quarterly* 16 (April 1985): 163-173.

13. Christopher Chase-Dunn, "Core-Periphery Relations: The Effects of Core Competition," in *Social Change in the Capitalist World Economy*, ed. B. H. Kaplan, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978), 159-175; "The Development of Core Capitalism in the Antebellum United States: Tariff Politics and Class Struggle in an Upwardly Mobile Semiperiphery," in *Studies of the Modern World-System*, ed. A Bergesen, (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 189-230.

14. On Spain see Lang, *Conquest and Commerce: Spain and England in the Americas* (New York: Academic Press, 1975). On the fur trade see Wolf, *Europe*, Chap. 6, and Stephen Cornell, *The Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence* (New York: Oxford University Press, in press), especially Chapter 2, "Exceptional Beginnings: The Fur Trade and Indian Labor." Cornell argues very persuasively that it was only with the demise of the fur trade that the interest in Native American land increased. Conditions were considerably different in the Southwest, as he recognizes. For discussion of southwestern situation see Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, forthcoming 1988).

15. See T. Hall, "Incorporation in the World-System," for a fuller discussion.

16. Thomas D. Hall, "Peripheries, Regions of Refuge, and Non State Societies: Toward A Theory of Reactive Social Change," *Social Science Quarterly* 64 (September 1983): 582-597.

17. This phrase was coined by Andre Gunder Frank, *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press 1969), and has been commonly used throughout dependency and world-system literature. See note 2.
18. These terms are used as more or less synonymous in this context. Both are viewed as referring to a process by which members of one group so thoroughly adopt the culture of another group that they no longer form an identifiably separate group.
19. Given the definition of assimilation above, rebellion is not possible after assimilation, since assimilation implies the demise of a group *qua* group. Passive acceptance of an unsatisfactory situation should not be confused with assimilation. Clearly, there are some difficult, unresolved problems here.
20. Cornell (*Return of the Native*) discusses the political aspects of incorporation in considerable detail. His analysis of incorporation, developed independently of this analysis, parallels and complements the conceptualization presented here. He stresses political aspects of incorporation. His analysis of the fur trade (in Chap. 2) is an excellent illustration of how a variety of comparisons can be used to yield a deep understanding of the incorporation process and its role in Native American lives.
21. There is some evidence which suggests that in the early contacts (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) between Europeans and Native Americans, political considerations may have had greater salience than has been the case in the twentieth century. The evidence is not entirely clear, so this, too, must await further study. See Hall, "Incorporation" and *Social Change* and Stephen Cornell, *The Return of the Native*.
22. Edward H. Spicer, "Political Incorporation and Cultural Change in New Spain: A Study in Spanish-Indian Relations," in *Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian*, eds. Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969), 107-135.
23. Edward H. Spicer, "Persistent Cultural Systems: A Comparative Study of Identity Systems that can Adapt to Contrasting Environments," *Science* 174 (November 19, 1971): 785-800.
24.See Wallerstein references in note 2.
25. A great deal has been written cycles of the world economy. Useful starting points are Nicole Bousquet, "From Hegemony to Competition: Cycles of the Core?" in *Processes of the World-System*, ed. T. Hopkins and I. Wallerstein (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980), 46-83; Christopher Chase-Dunn, "Core-Periphery Relations; and Albert Bergesen, "Modeling Long Waves in of Crisis in the World-System," in *Crises in the World-System*, ed. A. Bergesen (Beverly Hills: Sage Publication, 1983), 73-92.
26. See Chilcote and Johnson, *Theories*, and Harold Wolpe, ed., *The Articulation of Modes Production* (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1980).
27. For a systematic examination, and confirmation, of the empirical referents of these terms see David Snyder and Edward L. Kick, "Structural Position in the World System and Economic Growth, 1955-1970: A Multiple-Network Analysis of Transnational Interactions," *American Journal of Sociology* 84 (March 1979): 1096-1126.
28. See Hall, "Lessons," for a more elaborate analysis of these changes.
29. Michael T. Hannan, "The Dynamics of Ethnic Boundaries in Modern

States," in *National Development and the World System: Educaitonal, Economic and Political Change, 1950-1970,* ed. John W. Meyer and M. T. Hannan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 253-275; Leslie Laczko, "The Two Solitudes Reexamined: Pluralism and Inequality in Quebec" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1981); Joane Nagel, "The Political Mobilization of Native Americans," *Social Science Journal* 19 (July 1982): 37-45; Joane Nagel and Susan Olzak, "Ethnic Mobilization in New and Old States: An Extension of the Competition Model," *Social Problems* 30 (December 1982): 127-143; Susan Olzak, "Contemporary Ethnic Mobilization," 9 (1983): 355-374; Feliz Padilla, "On the Nature of Latino Ethnicity," *Social Science Quarterly* 65 (June 1984): 651-664.

30. Frederick Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little Brown, 1969), and Hannan, "Dynamics" provide especially useful discussions of ethnic boundaries.

31. Only Ellman R. Service [*Primitive Social Organization,* (2nd ed., New York: Random House 1971)], uses the term with any precision, and his usage marks a range of social organization between large bands and small chiefdoms.

32. Morton Fried, *The Evolution of Political Society* (New York: Random House, 1967) and *The Notion of Tribe* (Menlo Park, CA: Cummings, 1971). See, too, Marshall Sahlins, *Tribesmen* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1968) and Hall, *Social Change,* Chap. 2.

33. These examples are drawn from a number of sources. Only a few references will be given here. More detailed accounts and sources may be found in Warren A. Beck, *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1975); Edward E. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962); and Thomas D. Hall, "Is Historical Sociology of the Periphery A Peripheral Enterprise?" *California Sociologist,* 8 (Sum.-Win. 1985): 281-304; "Change and Assimilation: Native Americans under Spain and the United States," *Free Inquiry* 13 (November 1985): 173-177; "Incorporation in the World-System," and *Social Change.*

34. On the first three see James Lang, *Conquest and Commerce,* and *Portuguese Brazil: The King's Plantation* (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

35. This example very briefly summarizes a long and complicated history. Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); and Spicer, *Cycles* are among the most complete sources on early Navajo history. Peter Iverson, *The Navajos,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976) and *The Navajo Nation,* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1981) provide excellent overviews of more recent Navajo history.

36. See David M. Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico, 1694-1875* (Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College Press, 1985) for a detailed history of enslavement of Navajos.

37. J. G. Jorgensen, *et al., Native Americans;* J. G. Jorgensen and S. Swensen, *Native Americans, II;* Philip Reno, *Mother Earth, Father Sky, and Economic Development: Navajo Resources and Their Use* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1981); and P. Iverson, *Navajo Nation.*

38. Jerry Kammer, *The Second Long Walk: The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980); G. Mark Schoepfle, R. T.

Morgan, and P. F. Scott, " 'It Used to Be Home,' " *Technology Review* 89 (July 1986): 53–55, 78; Hollis Whitson and Martha Roberge, " 'Moving Those Indians into the Twentieth Century,' " *Technology Review* 89 (July 1986): 47–57.

39. Kathy Iverson, "Progressive Education for Native Americans: Washington Ideology and Navajo Reservation Implementation," *Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science*, 3 (1970): 231-255 and P. Iverson, *Navajo Nation*.

40. Fray Angelico Chavez, "José Gonzales, Genízaro Governor," *New Mexico Historical Review* 30 (July 1955): 190–94; and "Genízaros," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 9, Southwest (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1979), 198–200; Stephen Horvath, "The Genízaros of Eighteenth-Century New Mexico: A Reexamination," *Discovery* (School of American Research, 1977): 25–40; and "The Social and Political Organization of the Genízaros of Plaza De Nuestra Señora De Los Dolores De Belén, New Mexico, 1740–1812" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1979).

41. Charles L. Kenner, *A History of New Mexican—Plains Indians Relations* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969).

42. Oscar Martinez, "Indian Use of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands for Survival" (Paper presented at Western Social Science Association meeting, Fort Worth, Texas, April 1985).

43. Odie B. Faulk, *Crimson Desert: Indian Wars of the American Southwest* (New York: Oxford, 1974).

44. The term "Pueblo" creates confusion for those not closely familiar with their cultures. The term derives from the Spanish word for village and is variously used to refer to a specific individual, to a specific village, or as a cover term for all such individuals and villages. The latter use is unfortunate in that it gives a false sense of unity for a collection whose unity derives from a perceived similarity in their modes of production. See Edward P. Dozier, *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970); and Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *New Perspectives on the Pueblos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972); *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 9, Southwest (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1979).

45. Chapters 1 and 2 of Russell Thornton's *We Shall Live Again: The 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance Movements as Demographic Revitalization*, ASA Rose Monograph (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986) provide concise summaries of the literature on the Ghost Dance Movement.

46. See Michael P. Carroll, "Revitaliation Movements and Social Structure: Some Quantitative Tests," *American Sociological Review* 40 (June 1975): 389–401; "Reply to Brown," *American Sociological Review*, 41 (August 1976): 744–746; "Rejoinder to Landsman," *American Sociological Review* 44 (February 1979): 166–168; and Kaye Brown, "Quantitative Testing and Revitalization Behavior: On Caroll's Explanation of the Ghost Dance," *American Sociological Review* 41 (August 1976): 740–744.

47. Gail Landsman, "The Ghost Dance and the Policy of Land Allotment," *American Sociological Review* 44 (February 1979): 162–166.

48. Russell Thornton, "Demographic Antecedents of a Revitalization Movement: Population Change, Population Size, and the 1890 Ghost Dance," *American Sociological Review* 40 (February 1981: 88–96 "Nineteenth-Century Cherokee History," *American Sociological Review* 50 (February 1985): 124–127; and *We Shall Live Again*.

49. See Raymond J. DeMallie, "The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account," *Pacific Historical Review* 51 (October 1982): 385-405.

50. Duane Champagne, "Social Structure, Revitalization Movements and State Building: Social Change in Four Native American Societies," *American Sociological Review* 48 (December 1983): 754-763.

51. Thornton, "Nineteenth-Century," and Duane Champagne, "Cherokee Social Movements: A Response to Thornton," *American Sociological Review* 50 (February 1985): 127-130.

52. See Cornell, *Return of the Native* and Wolf, *Europe*, Ch. 6.

53. Peter M. Worsley, "Millenarian Movements in Melanesia," *Rhodes-Livingston Institute* 21 (March 1957): 18-31. *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia*, 2nd ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1968).

54. Robert Wuthnow, "Cultural Crises" in *Crises in the World-System*, ed. A. Bergesen, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983), 57-71.

55. Duane Champagne, Strategies and Conditions of Political and Cultural Survival in American Indian Societies. Occasional Papers 21. (Cambridge, MA: Cultural Survival, Inc., 1985); "Culture, Differentiation and Environment: Social Change in Tlingit Society," *Differentiation Theory and Social Change: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, in J. Alexander and P. Colomy, eds., (New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming); and "American Bureaucratization and Tribal Goverments: Problems of Institutionalization at the Community Level," *Occasional Papers in Curriculum Series* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1987).

56. To be fair, Champagne recognizes this, but emphasizes internal factors. Conversely, the examples presented here recognize internal factors, but have emphasized external factors. The exaggeration of the difference between these two approaches is intended to highlight the complementarity of the two and underscore the need for a synthesis.

57. Vicki Page, "Reservation Development in the United States: Peripherality in the Core," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 9:3 (1985): 21-35. This summary does not do full justice to Page's discussion. For discussion of the distinction between "pan-tribal" and "pan-Indian" see Nagel, "Political Mobilization."

58. Page does not use the term incorporation, but essentially describes incorporation in different terms.

59. Stephen Cornell, "Crisis and Response in Indian-White Relations: 1960-1984." *Social Problems* 32:1 (Oct. 1984): 44-59. It is intriguing that Cornell uses the term "incorporation" in ways that closely parallel, but are not precisely the same as the way it is used here.

60. Page's discussion ("Reservation Development") is relevant here, as well as Wilbur J. Scott, "The Difficult Situation: Factors Affecting Success of American Indian University Students," *Youth and Society* 17 (June 1986): 381-395. The latter analyzes this problem in an educational context.

61. Nagel, "Political Mobilization."

62. Kenneth R. Philp, "Stride Toward Freedom: The Relocation of Indians to Cities, 1952-1960," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 16 (April 1985): 175-190.

63. Howard M. Bahr and R. T. Forstee, "Demographic Characteristics of the Navajo Family: Evidence from the Navajo Labor Force Survey" (Paper presented at the Southwestern Social Science Association meeting, Houston, Texas, March 1985).

64. Bruce Chadwick and Stan Albrecht, "The Consequences of Participation in the American Indian Student Foster Family Program" (Paper presented at the Southwest Social Science Association meeting, Houston, Texas, March, 1985).

65. Gary B. Cohen, "Ethnic Persistence and Change: Concepts and Models for Historical Research," [*Social Science Quarterly* 65 (December 1984): 1029–1042] makes a persuasive argument for the necessity of historical and structural analyses to understand the evolution of group identities.

66. As noted earlier, Cornell (*Return of the Native*) is an excellent example. So is Rebecca Bateman, "Strouds, Deer, Wars and Breeches: The Eighteenth-Century Deerskin Trade" (Paper presented at the 12th Annual Comparative Frontier Symposium, Norman, OK, April 1986).

67. W. R. Swaggerty, ed., *Scholars and the Indian Experience: Critical Reviews of Recent Writing in the Social Sciences* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).