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To Run After Them: Cultural and Social Bases of Cooperation in a Navajo Community. By Louise Lamphere.

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Nation wants, the Navajo Nation has got; it is not necessary to make the same mistakes and learn the same lessons over and over. Native peoples, in their dealings with former (and present) contemporary colonial governments must share knowledge and methodology, and extend trust, among one another.

The case for Dene self-governance and territorial and developmental control is a strong one, but it would be more potent and convincing if presented objectively, accurately and clearly. *Dene Nation* has within it valuable elements which will be useful as supplements to other sources; it should have been able to stand on its own.

Michael Dorris Dartmouth College

**To Run After Them: Cultural and Social Bases of Cooperation** in a Navajo Community. By Louise Lamphere. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977. 230 pp. Hardcover \$12.50; pap. \$6.50.

The Navajo idiom for helping people out, literally translated into English, is "to run after them." Hence the title of Louise Lamphere's book, which deals with Navajo mutual aid and cooperation, activities central to Navajo social life and highly valued. A thorough study of an important subject, her book is a welcome addition to Navajo ethnography. It is based on fieldwork in 1965–66 in a pseudonymous community, Copper Canyon, on the Navajo reservation in New Mexico. Copper Canyon is located in an area with marked altitudinal differences and a seasonally transhumant pattern of pastoralism. Its 750 residents (where were another 250 people closely tied to, but living away from, the community) lived by raising livestock and farming, by weaving, and from welfare, railroad work, other wage work, and ten-day tribal work projects.

Lamphere begins with Navajo ethics, pointing out that helping out is a key positive value and that people who can be described as antisocial—the stingy, angry, envious, sexually jealous, and lazy—are those who do not help others out prop-

erly. There follows an analysis of Navajo views of autonomy and consensus that greatly illuminates the understanding of Navajo conceptions about control over decisions and over belongings. Indeed, it turns out that the Navajo word often translated, "boss," is best understood as "the person(s) who can make decisions about" something—but not as the one who commands others.

There is a fine discussion of the etiquette of request making, one of the most delicate problems that Navajos face, since one must try to phrase a request in such a way that no direct refusal is required. Lamphere connects this delicacy with the conflicts that exist between the autonomy of the individual and the strong norm of cooperation. One ought to be able to refuse, but one ought to help out. Her analysis successfully evokes all the sensitivities that arise in request-making situations.

Lamphere wishes to situate her case analysis of cooperation in the context of Navajo social structure, which she analyzes by references to households, residence groups, clans, sets, and networks. She defines a set as "those adults within one or two genealogical links of any particular Ego" (p. 127), and is thus a unit that includes "all the important adult kinsmen within a three-generation range on whom an individual is likely to call" (p. 127). A network is "the sum of individual cooperating sets which are activated, particularly in ceremonial situations, and which acquire a certain amount of regularity over a period of time" (p. 170). Apparently she finds the idea of an "unbounded" network more appealing than concepts of bounded corporate units above the residence group (camp) level.

With this as background, she analyzes cooperation in different contexts: pastoral activities, transportation, ceremonials, and funerals. The case materials are admirably detailed. They will ring true to Navajo specialists, and they provide an amount and kind of information about Navajo cooperation not previously available. The discussion of help at ceremonials is based on quantitative data of unusual quality, since Lamphere is able to say what percentage of potential cooperating primary and secondary kin actually did help out for a given event. In addition, the discussion of kinship includes excellent treatment of the history of segmentation of lineages of various clans, with maps. This information is of great value for other workers, as

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is her analysis of residence patterns and comparison of frequencies at Copper Canyon with those for other communities.

The principal difficulties with the approach in this book are found in a section early on where Lamphere rejects concepts others have used for analyzing Navajo social relationships, those that apply to a unit larger than the residence group and smaller than the clan-somewhat differently defined by various workers, and variously called an outfit, local clan element, lineage, resident lineage, land-use community, etc. Her reasons for this seem to be that she has not been able to find Navajo terms for such a unit (or units), and that even if there are no Navajo terms for set or network, they prove useful—for her—in analyzing cooperation (pp. 92–94). Later, she claims that aid in ceremonies fits better with her conception of sets and networks than with concepts like outfit, matrilineage, or local clan element (p. 170). She has not made her case, but it would take a fair-sized essay to say why. In brief compass, there are two problems. The first is that in virtually every society people seek help from primary and secondary kin-so the demonstration that Navajos do so does not really bear on whether Navajos have organized kin-groups above the residence group. The second is that Lamphere should say more precisely what kind of kin mobilization would imply that concepts like matrilineage were useful for analyzing the Navajo case. I hope soon to provide reasons why I think that Navajos do have lineages. I do not think that Lamphere has disposed of them. I suppose that Navajos operate with sets and lineages, and, as in other matrilineal systems, draw not only on their own lineage (and its spouses), but on their father's (and its spouses), mother's, father's, etc. Nevertheless the virtues of this work far outweigh its deficits. It is a book useful to students of the Navajo, of kinship, and of cooperation. It is full of evocative and fascinating sketches of how an ethic of helping out enables Navajos to cope with problems of daily life.

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