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## PSI INFORMATION AND CULTURE

DAVID READ BARKER

### *Introduction*

The role of culture in the transmission or creation of psi information is an almost empty frontier in parapsychology. Culture, defined briefly as patterns of learned behavior, is the distinguishing characteristic of humans. Psi information is defined as information not apprehended through known sensory channels. The apprehension, commonly termed ESP, occurs during a psi communication. Animals, as well as humans, have demonstrated ESP, indicating that culture is a sufficient, but not necessary requisite for psi experiences. ESP is supra-cultural; humans inherited it through biological evolution.

What is the role of culture? This question has received little attention, in part because of the difficulty of controlling culture as a meaningful experimental variable. Attitudes and personality traits have been studied in relation to performance on tests of ESP, but culture has been too vague and all-inclusive to be susceptible to direct experimentation. However, since the overwhelming majority of the subjects of ESP experiments have belonged to the industrial societies of the West, culture has been effectively treated as a constant.

Since the 1940's a few ESP experiments have employed subjects from non-Western cultures, but the results have not been consistent or dramatic. Accounts of spontaneous psi communications have gradually been collected. Inglis,<sup>1</sup> Long,<sup>2</sup> and Van de Castle<sup>3</sup> have recently contributed valuable bibliographies of these accounts, but their surveys are neither large nor systematic enough to permit a description of the role of culture in psi experiences.

This paper reports a review of the ethnographic literature of a worldwide sample of 68 non-Western societies, undertaken to identify all the authoritative accounts of ESP in these cultures and thereby begin a systematic and cumulative examination of the huge literature of anthropology.

Two important questions for the cross-cultural study of psi were asked more than 30 years ago by Barnouw:<sup>4</sup> Does culture exert an influence upon the incidence of paranormal phenomena? Does it also dictate the forms which such phenomena may assume? In "Paranormal Phenomena and Culture," he demonstrated that culture plays a significant role in the etiology of paranormal phenomena, through the comparison of the emotional ties in a Chippewa poltergeist case with the British spontaneous ESP cases reported in *Phantasms of the Living*. Barnouw also made a close comparison of Siberian Shamanism and Western Spiritualism.<sup>5</sup>

The investigation of spontaneous psi has advanced considerably since the 1940s, primarily through the work of Ian Stevenson<sup>6</sup> and Louisa E. Rhine.<sup>7</sup> The contemporary American equivalent of the nineteenth century British cases is the L. E. Rhine collection in Durham. Between 1951–1969, L. E. Rhine published 20 articles in the *Journal of Parapsychology* analyzing 15,000 self-reported spontaneous (mostly American) psi communications. Her "Case Study Review"<sup>8</sup> is the best entry point into this collection.

One of L. E. Rhine's early studies was of the forms of psi in consciousness.<sup>9</sup> In a group of 1073 ESP cases, 1000 could be typed as one of four subjective forms: intuitive, hallucinatory, unrealistic dreaming, and realistic dreaming. These are the vehicles through which information (including ESP) enters consciousness. ESP, she concluded, has no form of its own.

The ethnographic literature review reported here identified 15 accounts of psi communications in non-Western societies. These accounts will be examined for indications of the prevalence of psi phenomena and their subjective forms in consciousness.

### *Method*

This literature review was intended to be a systematic sampling of authoritative ethnographies of a large sample of non-Western societies worldwide since 1500. I seriously underestimated the time required for the proposed survey; consequently, systematic sampling was not maintained during the last half of the review. The references consulted are biased toward North American societies and away from Circum-Mediterranean societies and are biased toward English-language publications and away from foreign language publications.

If it had been possible to conduct a quantitative analysis of information on psi among non-Western peoples, the methodological defects of this study would have been far more serious than they

presently appear to be. The result of the survey is a collection of accounts of psi communication that is too small and subjective to be usefully analyzed quantitatively.

*The Original Societies Sample*

The original sample consisted of bibliographic references to ethnographies of 100 societies drawn from the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (SCCS).<sup>10</sup> The SCCS was originally judged to be the most satisfactory sample universe for this survey for four reasons. First, it is promoted as being a *representative* sample of 186 societies distributed in all of the six major culture areas of the world. Second, it avoids "Galton's Problem" of duplication of societies that share numerous culture traits. Third, it specifies a focus in time and space by indicating both the year and a region (village, section, or whole society) for which the bibliographic citations were chosen. Fourth, it specifies the established authorities on each society and provides a bibliography. The SCCS was chosen over other sample universes such as the Ethnographic Atlas,<sup>11</sup> the World Ethnographic Sample,<sup>12</sup> the Human Relations Area Files, the Probability Sample Files, and the Standard Ethnographic Sample,<sup>13</sup> each of which is deficient in one or more of the four strengths of the SCCS.<sup>14</sup>

Two modifications were made in the SCCS before the original sample was drawn. Of the 186 societies in the SCCS, eight are not included in the Ethnographic Atlas; these were removed from the sample. The SCCS contains four societies with a time focus prior to 1500 A.D. These were also removed, leaving a sample universe of 174 societies from which the original sample of 100 was drawn at random.

Of the 100 societies in the original sample, 65 were included in the Human Relations Area Files.<sup>15</sup> The following HRAF codes<sup>16</sup> were used in the reference search:

- 75 Sickness: 753 Theory of disease; 754 Sorcery; 755 Magical and mental theory
- 77 Religious belief: 775 Eschatology; 777 Luck and chance
- 78 Religious practice: 787 Revelation and divination; 789 Magic
- 79 Ecclesiastical organization: 791 Magicians and diviners
- 82 Ideas about nature and man: 828 Ethnopsychology

For the remaining 35 societies for which there were no Human Relations Area Files, bibliographic sources were read completely.

*Procedure*

Ethnographies were read by the author; by David Howell, Ph.D.; and by two advanced graduate students in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Virginia, Ann Mabe and Alma Gottlieb. The literature review was started with North American societies and progressed to South America, Africa, East Eurasia and the Insular Pacific. The last culture region, the Circum-Mediterranean, was incompletely reviewed under considerable time pressure.

The SCCS bibliography unexpectedly became a second sampling universe. The original intention—to review all the sources in the SCCS bibliographies of the sample societies—was not fully implemented. Some sources are unpublished and unobtainable; others were difficult to locate. There were also sources in the Human Relations Area Files that were not listed in the SCCS bibliography (often because of a different time focus). These were reviewed and included in the bibliography of this survey when the material appeared relevant to psi. Foreign language sources received proportionately less attention than English language sources.

*The Completed Societies Sample*

The final sample consists of 68 societies of the 100 in the original sample. Table A.1, Appendix A, is a comparison of the original and completed samples, by region. Regional summaries of the number of pages reviewed are shown in Table B.1, Appendix B. Maps C.1–C.6, Appendix C, show the location of the 68 survey societies. The time focus, HRAF number, of sources consulted, and the total pages reviewed are given in Tables C.1–C.6, Appendix C.

The number of pages reviewed for each society ranges from only eight (on the Teda) to 1028 (on the Thonga). For six societies, fewer than 100 pages were read; for ten more societies between 100-199 pages were read. In all, the review covered 26,117 pages in 112 sources.

*Criteria for Accounts*

We experienced the common difficulty in cross-cultural studies of establishing objective criteria for accounts of psi communication. Normative generalizations and accounts shrouded in legend and myth were rejected with two exceptions, the accounts of the Lengua and Trumai recorded below. A fully-developed account includes: (1) the source of the report, whether rumor, the narration of an informant or firsthand observation by the reporter, (2) the setting, (3) the major

participants, (4) some details of the event and (5) the outcome of the psi communication.

*Accounts of Psi Communication in Non-Western Societies*

*A Kikuyu Prediction*

The coming of the white man was a catastrophe for many primitive societies. The late Jomo Kenyatta, himself a Kikuyu and the first President of Kenya, recounted Mogo wa Kebiro's precognitive dream of this event.

"Once upon a time there lived in Gikuyuland a great medicine man known as Mogo or Moro wa Kebiro, his national duty was to foretell future events and to advise the nation how to prepare for what was in store. We are told that one early morning the prophet woke up trembling and unable to speak, his body was covered with bruises. His wives on seeing him were very frightened and in a state of hysteria, not knowing what had happened to their husband, who went to bed in perfect health the previous evening. Horror-stricken, the family summoned the ceremonial elders to his side with a view to offer a sacrifice to Ngai (God) and to inquire what the great man had foreseen that had so frightened him. . . . Soon Mogo wa Kebiro regained his power of speech. . . . In a low and sad voice he said that strangers would come to Gikuyuland from out of the big water, the color of their body would resemble that of a small light-colored frog (*kiengere*) which lives in water, their dress would resemble the wings of butterflies; that these strangers would carry magical sticks which would produce fire. That these sticks would be very much worse in killing than the poisoned arrows. . . . He went on to say that when this came to pass the Gikuyu, as well as their neighbors, would suffer greatly. That the nations would mingle with a merciless attitude towards each other, and the result would seem as though they were eating one another."<sup>17</sup>

*A Huron Spark Shaman*

People with powers like those of Mogo wa Kebiro are not unique to the Kikuyu. Under many names—medicine man, witch doctor, juggler, conjurer, shaman—these people are reported in all six culture regions. The Jesuit missionaries encountered them during the seventeenth century among the Huron of the Great Lakes of Canada.

"In the *Relation* of 1636, Brébeuf said there were four classes of shamans: first, those who presumed to command the rain and winds; second, those who predicted future events; third, those who found lost

objects; fourth, those who restored health to the sick. They all worked by deception and imagination, according to Brébeuf, but he thought there was some foundation for the belief that the devil occasionally gave them assistance."<sup>18</sup>

Raguenau said that the same men who undertook to discover the whereabouts of lost objects or the perpetrators of thefts also attempted to forecast events connected with warfare. These shamans worked by pyromancy, hydromancy, necromancy, or received the desired information in sweat baths or in frenzies induced in sweat baths or in songs.

An example of pyromancy practiced by a female shaman to learn the whereabouts of seven warriors was given by Lafitau:

"She began first by preparing a space of ground which she cleaned and covered with flour or ashes very well sifted (I do not remember exactly which of the two). She placed on this powder, as it if were a geographical [sic] map, bundles of sticks, which represented various villages of different nations, observing perfectly their position, and the direction of the wind. She then went into great convulsions during which we saw perceptibly seven sparks of fire come out of the sticks which represented our village, trace a way on this ash or flour and go from one village to the other. After having disappeared during a rather long time in one of these villages these sparks reappeared, nine in number, and traced a new path for the return, until at last they stopped rather close to the village or bundle of sticks from which the first seven came out originally. Then the Indian woman, all the while in a fury, disordered all the piece of ground she had prepared and where this scene had just taken place. Next she seated herself and after having given herself the time to become calm and to recover her senses, she told everything singular which had happened to the warriors, the route which they had kept, the villages through which they had passed, and the number of prisoners they had taken; she named the place where they were at that time and asserted that they would arrive at the village three days later, which was verified by the arrival of the warriors, who confirmed point for point what she had said."<sup>19</sup>

#### *Toda Lifting Stone Diviners*

Among the Todas of southern India at the turn of the century, the British anthropologist W. H. R. Rivers reported an instance of possession with GESP.

"... certain Todas have the power of divination, others are sorcerers, and others again have the power of curing disease by means

of spells and rites. . . . Certain men among the Todas are reputed to have special powers as diviners, and are known as *teuodipol*, god-gesticulating men, or more commonly as *teuol*. . . . In several cases these men are said to have inherited their powers from some near relative, often a grandfather, but it seems that anyone who showed evidence of the necessary powers might become a *teuol*."<sup>20</sup>

"Each of the *teuol* is believed to be possessed by a special god when he falls into the divining frenzy, and when in this state it is said that the diviner does not, as a rule, speak in his own language, but in some other, most commonly in Malayalam or one of its dialects."<sup>21</sup>

"The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination; sickness or death of a Toda or his family; . . . loss of a . . . lifting stone. In this last instance the stone at the village of Nidrsi was carried away some years ago by a party of English people who came to picnic near the village while the people were away. They carried the stone for some miles and then threw it down. The Nidrsi people could not find it, and consulted Midjkudr and Mongudrvan [diviners], who were able to reveal where the stone was to be found, and it was restored to the village, where it can now be seen."<sup>22</sup>

#### *Thonga Diviners*

The clairvoyant discovery of lost objects while in a state of ecstasy is also reported among the Thonga, a Bantu people living near Lourenço Marques, in southern Africa. The author, Henri A. Junod, was a missionary among them from 1895–1909.

"[The] *divination by ecstasy* . . . is employed by the magician when smelling out wizards. The old men assert that, in former times, there were diviners who could guess anything when in that peculiar psychological state in which the subliminal faculties may develop to a marvelous extent. . . . [One diviner] used to travel all through the land, practising his art in the villages. He was able to describe minutely a goat which he had never seen; or if somebody had buried something in a certain place to test him, he would go straight to the spot and say: 'Dig in the earth here, and you will find it.' . . . I myself heard trustworthy witnesses assert that a certain diviner who had been called into a village . . . actually discovered some pounds sterling which had been hidden by their owner, who was no longer in the country."<sup>23</sup>

"[A] nervous instability may pass away and they may return to their normal state, but it may be that if they possess those strange mental powers, which modern psychology calls subliminal, and which are

more or less dormant in every individual, these faculties will suddenly develop and the exorcised will become a real magician. A faculty of *second sight* may reveal itself. Or he will become a *diviner*, either by ecstasy or by bone throwing. . . . Or he will be a *wonderworker*, a *prophet*, etc. Mholombo, who was an extraordinarily acute woman, had possessed all these gifts. She could discover wizards; one night, crossing the Mabota country, she met one of the indunas of the chief accompanied by two other men, leading his own wife to the marsh, in order to eat her. They were acting in their capacity of wizards."<sup>24</sup>

#### *A Case of Ajie Telepathy*

A dramatic example of what appears to be spontaneous telepathy was reported among the Ajie of New Caledonia by Maurice Leenhardt, a French missionary who had lived among them for 25 years.

"[There are three types of diviners. First, he] who has the gift of television. . . .

"The case of the seer Belet, chief of Yengebane but originally of Tipindje, had, at the time, a certain fame in the North of the island. In the course of a great joyous feast, he suddenly plunged himself into despair, announcing that he saw one of his illustrious relatives of Arama agonizing. A canoe was speedily sent to Arama, a three hour trip from there. The chief of Arama had just died."<sup>25</sup>

#### *Lengua Visionaries*

There are several reports of clairvoyance among shamans in the New World. W. Barbrooke Grubb, who spent more than 20 years as a missionary among the Lengua of the Paraguayan Chaco, mentioned what appears to be clairvoyance in the context of autohypnosis.

"The training necessary to qualify an Indian to become a witch-doctor consists, in the first place, in severe fastings, and especially in abstention from fluid. They carry this fasting to such an excess as to affect the nervous system and brain. Certain herbs are eaten to hasten this stage. They pass days in solitude, and, when thoroughly worked up to an hysterical condition, they see spirits and ghosts, and have strange visions. It is necessary, furthermore, that they should eat a few live toads and some kinds of snakes. . . .

"It is unquestionable that a few of these wizards understand to a slight degree the power of hypnotism. They appear at times to throw themselves into a hypnotic state by sitting in a strained position for hours, fixing their gaze upon some distant object. In this condition they are believed to be able to throw their souls out—that is, in order to



make them wander. It seems that occasionally, when in this state, they see visions which are quite the opposite of those they had desired."<sup>26</sup>

*Trumaí Extra-visionary Shamans*

Extra-visionary powers, presumably GESP, were also found among Trumaí shamans of the Upper Xingu River of Brazil to Buell Quain, an anthropologist who lived among them for four months in 1938.

"There is . . . a type of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá and it is to this type that the term shaman is applied in the following description. The Trumaí shaman in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and see the afterworld."<sup>27</sup>

*A Cubeo Insect Spirit Shaman*

Northwest of the Trumaí, in the Upper Amazon, a Cubeo shaman was reported to have employed an insect spirit, possibly an instance of clairvoyance. The author is Irving Goldman, an American anthropologist who lived among them in 1939.

"The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiari once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and became lost. He claimed he sent an insect to look for her."<sup>28</sup>

*Quiche Diviners*

Farther north, among the Quiche of the town of Chichicastenango, in Guatemala, belief in clairvoyance is reported by the American anthropologist Ruth Bunzel, who lived with them in 1930–32.

"It is obvious . . . that there is a great deal of suggestion back and forth between the diviner and his client. . . . The process of divination is less a matter of consulting an impersonal oracle than exploring the mind of the patient for hidden guilt and hate and fear. There is nothing extraordinary in the nature of the revelations. It is always the patient who supplies the details. But the diviners insist on the reality of the physiological reactions; their definite sense of what constitutes authenticity in a divination. They believe that they are clairvoyant. Possibly they are. It is still a problem for investigation by someone who is interested in psychic phenomena."<sup>29</sup>

*Riffian Sherif Dreamers*

The Riffians of the Maghreb of the Mediterranean coast of north Africa ascribe precognition to a magical emanation that functions in dreams. The report is by the American anthropologist Carleton S. Coon, who lived among them in 1926.

"*Baraka*, or *er fthair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet [Mohammed], and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed.

"A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required."<sup>30</sup>

*Bella Coola Active Spirits*

For the Bella Coola of British Columbia, precognition was believed to be the result of an active spirit. One instance was reported by the anthropologist T. F. McIlwraith.

"The most important part of the human body is the *xix-mänoäs*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *sint*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. . . . It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as a means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by a barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. . . . Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. . . . A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that

his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature."<sup>31</sup>

#### *Suku Dreamers*

The Suku, western central Bantus in Africa, also recognize precognitive dreams, as reported by Torday and Joyce.

"Dreams are considered as presages of events to come; for example, if a man dreams that he kills a leopard and then encounters one the next day, he is sure to succeed in killing it."<sup>32</sup>

#### *Ganda Lubale Spirits*

Among the Ganda, of Uganda, in east Africa, precognition was reported to occur during possession. The report is by the British anthropologist Lucy P. Mair.

"The *lubale* are the spirits of persons who gave evidence of supernatural powers during their lifetime, and who manifested themselves after death not only, like other spirits, for their personal ends but also in order to help the living by foretelling the future and by revealing to them magical means of obtaining wealth, fertility, and success in enterprises of all kinds. This they did through the mouths of prophets who, once possessed, were formally dedicated to their service. Two of them were honored by human sacrifice."<sup>33</sup>

#### *Locating a Missing Salteaux Boy*

Salteaux conjurers are sometimes called upon to locate missing persons. This report is by the American anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell, who had spent 12 summers with the Salteaux of the Berens River in Manitoba, Canada.

"Sometimes a conjurer was asked to locate lost persons or articles. One of my informants was present at a seance the purpose of which was to discover the whereabouts of a young man who had been missing for a week. His mother was worried and gave a conjurer tea and tobacco amounting to two dollars in order to locate her son. (The narrator commented that the amount given was very small). After the conjuring performance had progressed for awhile the lost man was discovered. Here he is, said the conjurer, and sure enough he spoke to his mother. He told her that he was all right and was camping at such and such a place. Two days later he arrived home. On the night of the seance he

had been camping exactly where he had said he had been. But the performance took place when he was asleep and he did not know that his soul had been called into the conjuring tent."<sup>34</sup>

*A Copper Eskimo Shaman's Dream*

An apparently clairvoyant dream by the Copper Eskimo shaman Ilatsiak was reported by the Canadian anthropologist Diamond Jenness. The Copper Eskimo live on the coast of the Arctic Ocean in the Northwest Territories, Canada.

"Many of the Shamans' "discoveries" are made in dreams. . . . Ilatsiak asserted that his familiar often visited him in sleep and revealed what was about to happen. . . . [He] entered our house and reported that during the night his spirit had told him that something had gone wrong on our schooner; it was the thing, he said, that made the vessel move. We thought that he must mean the propeller, for we had put a new one on during the winter and had to keep the ice open around it. By a strange coincidence, however, we discovered during the day—what Ilatsiak could hardly have been aware of—that a boom we were using to roof our provision cache had snapped during the night owing to the weight of snow above it."<sup>35</sup>

*Psi Information and Culture*

The 15 accounts of psi identified in this literature review are too few and incomplete to justify more than a tentative delineation of the role of culture in psi communication. We will cautiously examine two areas: the prevalence of psi, and the forms of psi communication.

*The Prevalence of Psi Communication*

Superficially, the results of this literature survey indicate "slim pickings" for accounts of psi in authoritative ethnographies. Few of the anthropologists, missionaries or colonial administrators surveyed indicated any familiarity whatever with paranormal phenomena. One anthropologist, Hallowell, had undertaken a full study of the paranormal, *The Role of Conjuring in Salteaux Society*. One other, Bunzel, suggested a specific topic for psychical research, Quiche divination. Those authorities who reported accounts of psi tended to be first-rank anthropologists (Bunzel, Coon, Hallowell, Jenness, Mair, Murphy, Rivers and the Seligmans) or missionaries with over 20 years of contact with the people they described (Grubb, Junod and Leenhardt). This suggests that awareness of paranormal phenomena in non-Western societies requires exceptional fieldwork abilities and/or long exposure.

ESP is probably underreported in non-Western societies because it is so difficult to observe and comprehend.

Of the 68 societies surveyed, 15 (22 percent) were reported to have some experience with paranormal phenomena. These 15 are in all six of the major culture regions. This means that the worldwide prevalence of ESP, by *society*, is at least 22 percent. Improved survey methods should raise the prevalence of reports of psi considerably.

In most of the 15 societies, paranormal phenomena appear to have been institutionalized through stereotyped training (vision quest), roles (diviners, shamans, visionaries) and settings (seances). In these societies, psi communication may be "routine," but no ethnography suggested that ESP was a feature of the daily life of ordinary people. As in our own society, it may be that most non-Western people have no conscious ESP, while others become specialist psychopomps or psychics.

#### *The Forms of Psi Communication*

Of the 15 accounts of psi in this survey, five can be readily classed as occurring in dreams; these are the accounts of the Kikuyu, Riffians, Suku, Bella Coola, and Copper Eskimo. Two accounts refer to hallucinations: the Ajie ("he saw") and the Lengua ("they see visions"). In the remaining nine accounts the psychological mechanisms through which ESP reached consciousness cannot be identified. Generally, non-Western people tend not to think of ESP as a "parapsychological" event, but ascribe it to external agents: Bella Coola "active" spirits, Cubeo "insect" spirits and Ganda *lubale* spirits. Culture provides a framework of labels and meanings that extends into the supernatural and paranormal and establishes attitudes and expectations.

Altered states of consciousness apparently facilitate psi communication: the Huron shaman was convulsed, the Toda diviners and Ganda prophets were possessed, Thonga magicians were in ecstasy, Lengua witch-doctors were "thoroughly worked up to an hysterical condition," and the Ajie chief was at a feast. The descriptions of these altered states of consciousness are inadequate to suggest their precise role in selecting the psychological mechanisms of psi communication.

The major roles of culture in selecting the forms of psi communication are positive valuation, training and institutional support of dreaming and altered states of consciousness.

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## APPENDIX A

TABLE A.1

Original and Completed Society Samples, by Region

Region	All Societies			Societies in HRAF*			Societies not in HRAF*		
	Original Sample	Completed Sample	Per Cent	Original Sample	Completed Sample	Per Cent	Original Sample	Completed Sample	Per Cent
Circum-									
Mediterranean	15	6	40	8	4	50	7	2	29
East-Eurasian	16	12	75	10	10	100	6	2	33
North America	19	17	89	12	12	100	7	5	71
South America	20	15	75	15	11	73	5	4	80
Insular Pacific	16	10	63	11	6	55	5	4	80
Africa	14	8	57	9	5	55	5	3	60

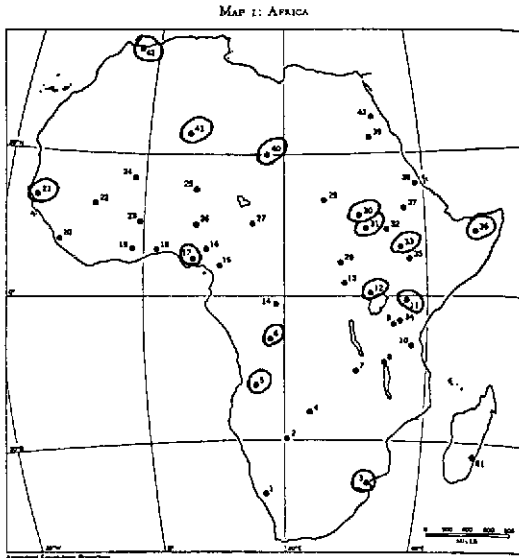
\* HRAF is Human Relations Area Files.

## APPENDIX B

TABLE B.1

Summary of References Consulted, by Region

Region	No. Societies	No. References	No. Pages	Per Cent of Total Pages
Circum-Mediterranean	6	7	1069	04
East-Eurasian	12	17	3767	14
North America	17	37	9065	35
South America	15	19	4057	16
Insular Pacific	10	14	3734	14
Africa	8	18	4395	17
Totals	68	112	26,117	



(After Murdock, 1969)

REGION:  
CIRCUM-MEDITERRANEAN

- 21. Wolof
- 33. Kafa
- 36. Somali
- 40. Teḡa
- 41. Tuareg
- 42. Riffians

REGION: AFRICA

- 3. Thonga
- 5. Mkundu
- 6. Suku
- 11. Kikuyu
- 12. Ganda
- 17. Ibo
- 30. Otoro
- 31. Shilluk

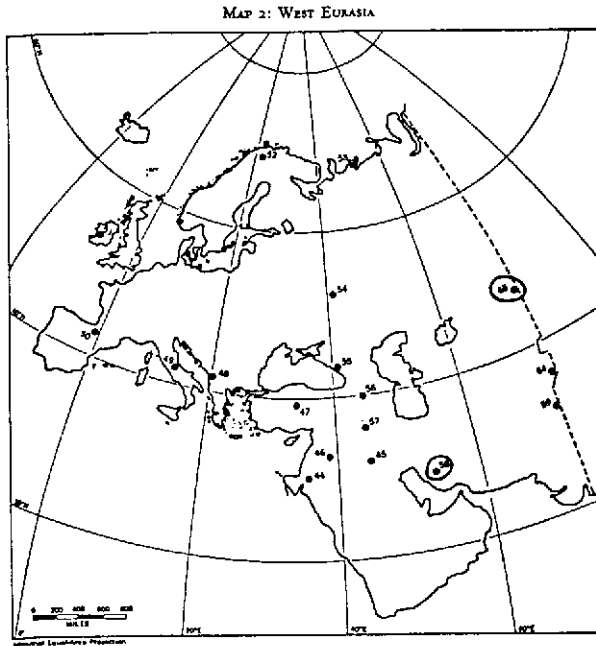
APPENDIX C

TABLE C.1

Africa: Survey Societies

SCCS No.	Society	Time Focus	HRAF No.	No. Sources Consulted	Total Pages
12	Ganda	1875	FK7(a)	2	416
17	Ibo	1935	no file	3	467
11	Kikuyu	1920	FL10(a)	4	699
5	Mbundu	1890	FP13(a)	1	245
30	Otoro	1930	no file	1	447
31	Shilluk	1910	FJ23(a)	4	528
6	Suku	1920	no file	2	565
3	Thonga	1895	FT6(a)	2	1028

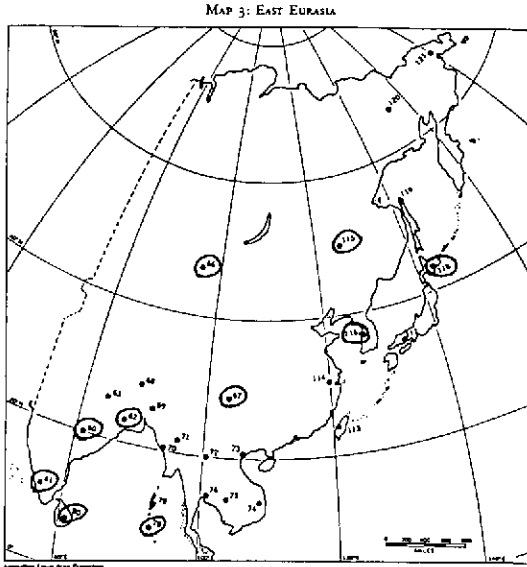




(After Murdock, 1969)

TABLE C.2  
Circum-Mediterranean: Survey Societies

SCCS No.	Society	Time Focus	HRAF No.	No. Sources Consulted	Total Pages
33	Kafa	1905	no file	1	57
42	Riffians	1926	MX3(b)	1	417
36	Somali	1900	MO4(c)	2	474
40	Teda	1950	no file	1	8
41	Tuareg	1900	MS25(a)	1	21
21	Wolof	1950	MS30(a)	1	92



REGION: EAST EURASIA

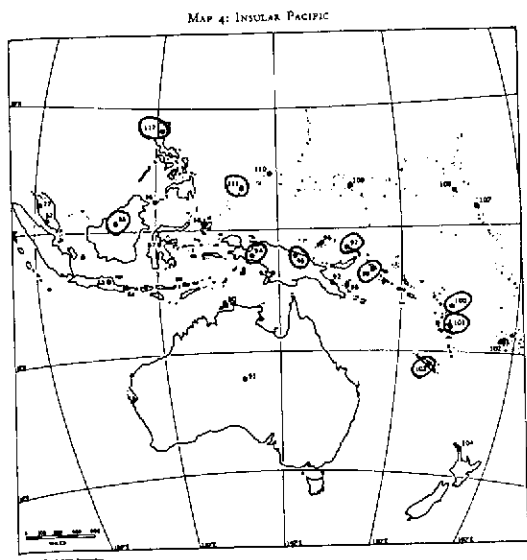
- 60. Gond
- 61. Toda
- 62. Santal
- 66. Khalka Mongols
- 67. Lolo
- 78. Nicobarese
- 80. Vedda
- 115. Manchu
- 116. Koreans
- 118. Ainu

(After Murdock, 1969)

TABLE C.3

East-Eurasia: Survey Societies

SCCS No.	Society	Time Focus	HRAF No.	No. Sources Consulted	Total Pages
118	Ainu	1880	AB6(c)	2	178
58	Basseri	1958	no file	1	250
60	Gond	1938	AW32(a)	1	427
65	Kazak	1885	RQ2(b)	1	109
66	Khalka				
	Mongols	1920	AH7(b)	1	115
116	Koreans	1947	AA1(a)	1	387
67	Lolo	1910	AE4(c)	1	180
115	Manchu	1915	AG1(a)	1	194
78	Nicobarese	1870	no file	1	276
62	Santal	1940	AW42	2	372
61	Toda	1900	AW60(a)	3	806
80	Vedda	1860	AX5(a)	2	473



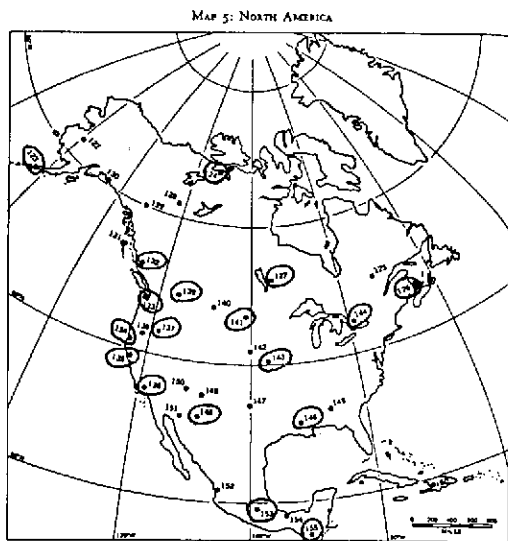
REGION: INSULAR PACIFIC

- 85. Iban
- 94. Kapauku
- 95. Kwoma
- 97. New Ireland
- 99. Siuai
- 100. Tikopia
- 101. Pentecost
- 103. Ajie
- 111. Palauans
- 112. Ifugao

(After Murdock, 1969)

TABLE C.4  
Insular Pacific: Survey Societies

SCCS No.	Society	Time Focus	HRAF No.	No. Sources Consulted	Total Pages
103	Ajie	1845	no file	1	340
85	Iban	1950	OC6(a)	3	528
112	Ifugao	1910	OA19(b)	2	458
94	Kapauku	1955	OJ29(c)	2	796
95	Kwoma	1937	OJ13	1	226
97	New Ireland	1930	OM10(a)	1	352
111	Palauans	1947	no file	1	100
101	Pentecost	1953	no file	1	15
99	Siuai	1939	no file	1	534
100	Tikopia	1930	OT11(a)	1	385



(After Murdock, 1969)

## REGION: NORTH AMERICA

- 123. Aleut
- 124. Copper Eskimo
- 126. Micmac
- 127. Salteaux
- 132. Bellacoola
- 133. Twana
- 134. Yurok
- 135. Pomo
- 136. Yokuts
- 137. Paiute
- 139. Kutenai
- 141. Hidatsa
- 143. Omaha
- 144. Huron
- 146. Natchez
- 148. Chiricahua Apache
- 153. Aztec

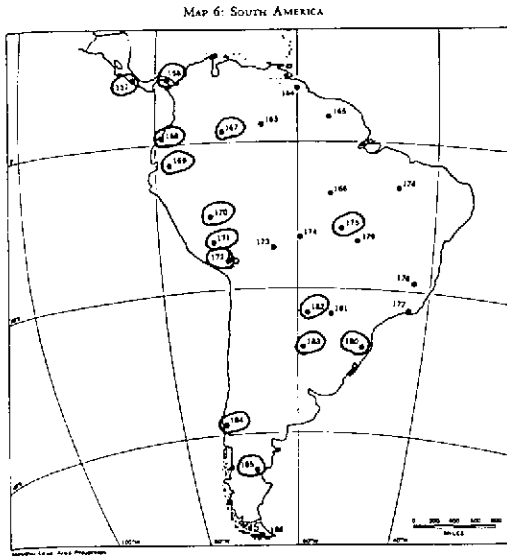
## REGION: SOUTH AMERICA

- 155. Quiche

TABLE C.5

## North America: Survey Societies

SCCS No.	Society	Time Focus	HRAF No.	No. Sources Consulted	Total Pages
123	Aleut	1800	NA6(a)	3	600
153	Aztec	1520	NU7(b)	4	765
132	Bellacoola	1880	NE6(a)	1	763
148	Chiricahua Apache	1870	NT8	1	500
124	Copper Eskimo	1915	ND8(a)	2	627
141	Hidatsa	1836	no file	1	528
144	Huron	1634	no file	3	358
139	Kutenai	1890	no file	1	202
126	Micmac	1650	NJ5(b)	4	1019
146	Natchez	1718	no file	1	387
143	Omaha	1860	NQ12(b)	3	995
137	Paiute	1870	NR13(a)	2	194
135	Pomo	1850	NS18(a)	3	495
127	Saulteux	1930	NG6(b)	2	530
133	Twana	1860	no file	1	576
136	Yokuts	1850	NS29(a)	3	415
134	Yurok	1850	NS31(b)	2	111



REGION: SOUTH AMERICA

- 157. Bribri
- 158. Cuna
- 167. Cubeo
- 168. Cayapa
- 169. Jivaro
- 170. Amahuaca
- 171. Inca
- 172. Aymara
- 175. Trumai
- 180. Aweikoma
- 182. Lengua
- 183. Abipon
- 184. Mapuche
- 185. Tehuelche

(After Murdock, 1969)

TABLE C.6  
South America: Survey Societies

SCCS No.	Society	Time Focus	HRAF No.	No. Sources Consulted	Total Pages
183	Abipon	1750	S14(a)	1	446
170	Amahuaca	1960	no file	1	40
180	Aweikoma	1932	no file	1	215
172	Aymara	1940	SF5(a)	1	250
157	Bribri	1917	Sa19(a)	4	317
168	Cayapa	1908	SD6(a)	1	476
167	Cubeo	1939	SQ19	1	305
158	Cuna	1927	SB5(a)	1	124
171	Inca	1530	SE13(b)	1	147
169	Jivaro	1920	SD9(a)	1	233
182	Lengua	1889	no file	1	330
184	Mapuche	1950	SG4(c)	1	247
155	Quiche	1930	no file	1	438
185	Tehuelche	1870	SH5(a)	2	381
175	Trumai	1938	SP23	1	108

APPENDIX D  
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## DISCUSSION

MORRIS: I'm interested in the various kinds of problems of filtering and excluding of data that might have occurred between the original event and your final paper, especially the attitudes toward psi of the various investigators who were mentioned. Can you comment on the levels at which filtering might have taken place in the pathway of the anecdote from when it happened on through to us? Secondly, do you have any feeling for the attitudes of those anthropologists towards psi? Did they report these anecdotes in any kind of context which would allow evaluation of what they thought was going on, or whether they would accept or reject psi phenomena? It's interesting that they're all

fairly famous, I gather, and it's also rather interesting that Margaret Mead isn't one of them, since she gets all the press.

BARKER: To answer your first question, there are almost innumerable filtering stages through which this information has gone from presumably its original experience to its presentation here. We excluded a great many cases—ten times at least this many cases—which seemed not to even meet the minimum kinds of criteria of reasonableness for what's really going on, legends, mythological tales, instances where anthropologists were obviously extremely hostile to the events and were reporting them in a very overtly contemptuous way. I think that everyone would recognize that none of these accounts would measure up to the criteria developed by the SPR researchers for the investigation of a spontaneous psi case, nor would they come anywhere close to the type of research that Ian Stevenson has done. They are typical of the best of the kinds of reports that one finds in the anthropological literature. None of the anthropologists surveyed were interested in psi, as such. I think they were the best—your point is well taken—these are absolutely first rank anthropologists. They reported this because it was part of what they observed, and they put it down because it was there. None of them seemed to have had the slightest interest in following up on it.

With regard to Margaret Mead, aside from her attitudes, which were favorable, she also never took sufficient interest in psi to ever do any research on it, as far as I know.

NASH: On the basis of your study, what percent of ethnographic reports, if examined, would be found to contain instances of ostensible psi. Did you find any quantitative or qualitative differences in psi between the cultures that you could generalize exist, on the basis of the sample you studied?

BARKER: Well, we found a report in slightly less than a quarter of the societies reviewed, and, from that point of view, I was slightly surprised that it was that high. Ten pages of typed script from 26,000 pages of original material is very little, but it's clear that this kind of account is not limited to one particular area of the world; is most definitely not limited to an industrial society. It is geographically distributed all over the world. There simply are not yet enough accounts collected to really be able to analyze them. My hope was that in establishing a general procedure of random sampling from a well defined sample universe, over the course of perhaps the next decade, anthropologists who were interested in psi can begin to systematically and cumulatively work their way into this literature. It's a superhuman job for one team to

undertake at one time. I hope that with the completion of these 112 sources, if my colleagues trust me to have found what's there, they won't need to do that again, that they can go on to other sources. I will say, however, that the material relating to PK outnumbers the material relating to ESP by probably a factor of four or five. I purposely excluded that in this presentation. It's much more difficult to evaluate PK material, for one thing.

POWELL\*: With the possible exception of the Quiche, the cultures that you described are, I think, almost uniformly at what we could safely call an archaic stage of cultural development, not industrial, perhaps. Do you have any thoughts on the interaction between the actual stage of development of the culture with respect to the institutionalization of psychopomps and various other functions within their society?

BARKER: These cultures have one common feature in that they are pre-literate. Aside from that major common feature, they vary enormously in their socio-economic structures. Some are very small hunting and gathering bands; others are large, quite complex settled agricultural societies. I think it wouldn't be proper, perhaps, to characterize them as archaic, but they are certainly pre-industrial. Again, this is a start, but there have not been enough of these accounts collected systematically with random sampling techniques to be able to say in what ways geographical or evolutionary forces may play a role. We can turn to some of the work on possession and possession trance, which indicates that there are very important geographical factors in the distribution of these phenomena.

STORM: If, instead of industrialization or literacy versus pre-literacy, you focused instead on organization or a degree of institutionalization, would you find any correlation with the encouragement of psi phenomena? I know that's difficult because then you want to know what do you mean by institutionalization—I mean less structured versus more structured societies.

BARKER: Candidly, I think that the data here are an artifact of the anthropological field work methods. If the anthropology were actually of uniform quality; if all anthropologists were first rank, instead of roughly a quarter of the societies probably a great many of them would have reports of psi. The failure to report these phenomena was not the result of their absence, but of either the inability of the field worker to observe them or the fact that they did not correspond to his theoretical

\* Ross Powell, Vancouver, Canada—Observer.

or empirical interest and simply were unreported. There are probably levels of social development that may facilitate or inhibit the experience of psi communication within different cultures, but I don't think we have nearly enough data to be able to pursue that empirically.

MORRIS: I'm curious about how many different cultures may have concepts such as *baraka* which are analogous to psi, i.e., they lump ESP and PK together. Do most cultures tend to compartmentalize those concepts?

BARKER: The tendency seems to be to externalize the phenomenon. It is not a psychological or a parapsychological phenomenon. It is something that is out there that manifests itself through ghosts or spirits or sometimes an external entity. I think we may be at a rather advanced state to associate this phenomenon with something that's part of our basic nature.

MORRIS: But, even so, there's a single term used to describe several powers regardless of where the locus is seen as coming from. It's interesting for a group to conceptually lump them together regardless of what their interpretation of them is.

BARKER: It's not coincidental that the Riffians are an Islamic people and are participants in one of the world's major religions, which has obviously developed itself to a more sophisticated point than some of the other religions that are subscribed to by peoples in this sample.

IRWIN: I'm a little surprised at the lack of apparitional cases in the survey. Were these rejected for any reason, because of mythical overtones, for example? Or did they simply not appear?

BARKER: There were some apparitions, but not many. Again, I think anthropologists are just not accustomed to thinking about them and to describing them.

BYERS: There have been some efforts at doing ethnographic studies in our own societies, such as Middletown or Warner's work. Have there been any reports of this phenomenon in our own society?

BARKER: There have been several very interesting surveys. Greeley has made one. Gallup Poll has made several. They're fascinating reading and the sense that I have from them is that psi is far more common than we, even as parapsychologists, are often led to think.

BYERS: Are these surveys of psychic phenomena in this country? If an anthropologist were to come in and view our country and decided to



write an ethnography about it, would he include psi unless he is particularly focused on it?

**BARKER:** No, I think not, and that's basically the same explanation. For instance, the British structural functional anthropologists are very greatly under-represented in this paper, not because they were poor anthropologists but because their theoretical interests led them to take note of very different kinds of data. Now, it should be pointed out that there are a great many other accounts in those three bibliographies that I cited. There are probably in total several hundred other accounts to which this is simply an addition.

**MORRIS:** When ethnographers do confront this kind of society, who do they look at? Do they do ethnographic studies of chartered accountants on Wall Street? Or do they go into Appalachia, which would be more analogous to another cultural system? Or have they fled from it? Secondly, are we being investigated by people from quite different societies? Who is doing us these days?

**BARKER:** Probably the answer is that there are not many foreign anthropologists trying to study America as such; it's just too big to be handled effectively through the classical ethnographic method, and I don't know of any of them who have concentrated on psi phenomena.

**STORM:** Can you say anything about the trends and the attitudes of anthropologists through history? I mean, say, prior to the industrial revolution and after it. Did they seem to be more attentive to these matters before 1825 than they were after?

**BARKER:** If I were going to do this study again, I would first go to the seventeenth century Jesuits, then I would move on to the missionaries, and then last, to twentieth century anthropologists. If I could come up with a list of ethnographies by missionaries who had spent more than twenty years in the field, probably about ninety per cent would contain accounts of psi. These results are also not different from those of Raoul Naroll who discovered that references to witchcraft occurred in ethnographies written by people who had long exposure to the society which they were studying, and who had command of the language.

**ROSENTHAL:** I was very much interested in the idea that the anthropologists themselves might make a difference, especially their quality. I was wondering if the data that you had were arrayed in such a way that you could change the unit of analysis from the description to the anthropologist, so that you'd compute for each anthropologist—because each anthropologist probably did more than one culture—

what percentage of their cultures did they find psi phenomena in. Then you could run a correlation coefficient between this proportion and their quality as ranked by professors in anthropology. What you might find is the higher the quality of the anthropologist, the higher the proportion of psi phenomena. Then you could statistically correct and get some sort of an estimate. If all the anthropologists were as good as the best, then what would the psi base rate be?

**BARKER:** My prediction would be that if all were as good as the best, the reporting level would be a great deal higher.

**MORRIS:** Perhaps one other way of describing the same phenomenon might be that what you were dealing with would not be who are the really good anthropologists, but who are the anthropologists sufficiently highly regarded not to mind having psi appear in their reports?

**BARKER:** What you're saying is you have to be really good enough to let it hang out.

**MORRIS:** Yes, that's right.

**BARKER:** I think that it is the ability to observe closely, minutely and objectively and put it down that is the key, and not to close your eyes to something just because you can't make any sense of it at all. And my own personal experience from field work is that when you start looking at psi in other cultures, you're seeing stuff that just doesn't make any sense at all, and that is very, very frightening.

**BYERS:** I just wanted to comment about this recurring use of the word "good" anthropologist. Some of our best anthropologists would never acknowledge that there are child rearing practices. It's because their theoretical orientation isn't in that direction. It's not necessarily a matter of being good.