Essays in Economic Anthropology

Dedicated to the memory of Karl Polanyi

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POST-WAR ECONOMIC CHANGES AMONG THE HOPI[1]

Edward A. Kennard

This study is focussed upon shifts in the economic patterns of Hopi culture in the years since the end of World War II. The material is all derived from data based upon the three Second Mesa villages of Shipawlavi, Mishongnovi, and Shungopavi, and the statistical tables (in the Appendix) provide comparisons between 1939 and 1961. In brief, it describes a change from what was primarily a subsistence economy supplemented by cash and trade goods to a cash economy supplemented by the persistence of traditional subsistence activities.

The decade of the 1930s was a period of slow changes, largely deriving from the actions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It was a period when the announced aim was one of conserving and utilizing reservation resources, and the shift in educational policy was away from assimilation to the environing society. It saw the construction of a reservation High School at Oraibi to replace the dependence upon non-reservation boarding schools for secondary education. At the same time actions taken by the government to combat the depression had their repercussions on the reservation in making wage work available through the Emergency Conservation Corps, and later in road building and the construction of day schools throughout the Navaho Reservation. Hopi stone masons were in demand, and carpenters and plasterers to a lesser extent.

Except for the two cooks and the two Day School Assistants at the Toreva and Shungopavi Day Schools, who were paid 52 dollars per month, these were the major sources of cash from wage work. The other great source of money was stock raising and sale of wool and cattle. Very few Hopi sold lambs in the fall, as they were usually consumed and constituted the major source of meat in the diet. For those who had no other means, the day schools offered opportunities for the men to work at the schools to acquire clothing for themselves and their children. Others bought them in the local towns, from the traders, or husbanded their money by taking advantage of the Sears-Roebuck catalogue.

The diet of most households was still primarily based upon traditional foodstuffs: beans, corn, and the multifarious ways that had been developed to prepare dishes from a cornmeal base, plus melons, peaches, and apricots in season. Coffee, sugar, and wheat flour were standard items and money, craft products, and corn were exchanged for

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them. Onions and chili peppers were grown in irrigated gardens.

Each household tended to be the primary producing and consuming unit. However, there were a series of regularly recurring occasions which could involve a wider network of kin: the work party for either housebuilding or the planting of fields. Those who worked at these tasks were always fed by the women of the house at the end of the day. In addition, the rites de passage of the life cycle - naming, kachina initiation, girls puberty, Wuwuchim initiation, marriage and konyá homì ("paying for the husband") all involved exchanges of women's labor and skill and men's labor and skill. The other regularly recurring occasions are those tied to the annual ceremonial cycle, which actually involves every house in the village, but weighs particularly heavily upon the household and matrilineage of the sponsor of the dance. They are obligated to provide for the feeding of all the participants in the dance as well as the usual obligations of hospitality.

During this period money was used carefully and sparingly by those who possessed it. There were a number of older men who had worked for a period of years off the reservation, saved their money, and then returned to take up a traditional Hopi life pattern. They used a dollar or two a month for the staples they required, and were spoken of by others as "having money." In fact money and corn were equated in a commonly used phrase, "The Hopi lives on corn, the white man lives on money." In fact the parallel goes even further, since they tended to store, handle, and use money in the same pattern that was used for the storage of corn.

Hopi women store corn on the cob, ranged in rows from floor to ceiling according to color and size: blue, white, yellow, sweet, and so on. Each year before the new crop is brought in, the old corn is taken out, cleaned, rearranged and restacked. None is ever wasted. When they shell the corn before grinding every last kernel is picked up. When they finish grinding, each bit of meal is brushed from the stone and added to the pile. So it is with money: in a box or an old trunk, the money is stacked, ranged in piles according to denomination - ones, twos, fives, tens, and twenties, bound with a piece of string or a rubber band. In many instances, they have to have two different sets, because they still have some of the old size bills that were standard up to 1930, when the Treasury began issuing the present size bill.

The war brought great changes in its wake. Several hundred men served in the armed forces. Others, men and women alike moved to the towns to work for the railroad and in other jobs as far distant as Barstow and Los Angeles. When they returned after the war they usually had savings. Others did not return to the reservation, but sought and obtained employment in the towns adjacent to it, along Highway 66, particularly Winslow and Flagstaff, although a large number of Hopi are regularly employed at Grand Canyon. In the summer of 1962, there were 38 Hopi families living and working in Flagstaff

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alone.

The most important event, so far as the reservation economy was concerned, took place in 1944, when the stock reduction program was put into effect. This was the culmination of a long program of education and persuasion and administrative action to bring the numbers of livestock down to the carrying capacity of the range. It had parallels in all the surrounding Navaho districts, and was no more popular with the stock owners among the Hopi than it was among the Navaho. However, by a combination of controlled breeding, use of pure-bred sires, development of additional sources of water, range improvement through the building of water spreaders and other devices, and improved marketing practices the income of the Hopi stockmen was actually increased, even though the total number of animals grazed was reduced.

In reading the figures in the tables the symbol TSU refers to "total sheep units," the sheep unit being in reality a forage unit, equal to the amount of land required to graze one sheep one year. Cattle require four sheep units per head, horses five. The actual reduction was worked out with committees of stockmen in each of the associations, and then grazing permits were issued in terms of the new allowance. Reductions involved both a maximum upper limit, and a proportionate reduction according to the numbers owned at the time it was effectuated. There was no charge for the grazing permits, but since many were reduced to uneconomic units of 5 or 15, they tended to either buy additional permits or sell theirs to others. The Government was only concerned with the total number of animals grazed.

One of the most obvious results is a shift from sheep to cattle and a severe reduction in the number of horses, since motor vehicles now perform the functions formerly requiring horses. Another indirect result is that more of the livestock is marketed for cash income, and less directly consumed. Furthermore, with so much of the population engaged in wage work both on and off the reservation, the time required for sheep-herding is not available. Cattle raising requires much less direct and continuous attention.

The other great change has come about through the improvement of the road network connecting the Hopi villages with the outside world. Since 1958, paved all-weather roads have been completed from Gallup, N.M., west to a junction with US 89 linking the Agency at Keams Canyon with all the villages. A north-south road runs from a point ten miles east of Keams Canyon to US 66 east of Holbrook. And a paved road from Second Mesa to Winslow was nearly completed by the summer of 1964.

One of the results of this ready accessibility and the widespread ownership of cars is that the relative isolation of the villages has completely disappeared. Before the war all items handled by the traders had to be trucked in. Now, foodstuffs, daily newspapers, fresh meat, citrus fruit, and other items are delivered daily. The old trading post has been replaced by a sort of supermarket. Cash transactions have replaced the trade for goods on credit. Whereas, the value of trade in one Hopi owned store in 1936 was estimated at

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$1200-1500, the modern successor had daily sales that ranged from a low of $240 to a high of $360 during the sixty day period that I checked in the summer of 1961.

Gas stoves and butane tanks have replaced the wood burning stoves, and they are serviced locally as well as from Flagstaff and Holbrook. For those who still need wood, and everyone needs some for piki making and other purposes, Navahos visit regularly peddling a truck load for $15. Most of the homes now have gasoline powered washing machines, which reflects the ready availability of water for domestic use as well as the ready availability of money. Before the War, most domestic water was hauled by burros in a pair of five gallon kegs or kerosene containers. Washing was done at the Day Schools. Now water is stored in 54 gallon gasoline drums. Anyone with a pick-up or other truck can fill up at the windmill five miles east and sell it for $1 per drum. Those men who have regular jobs at Keams Canyon commute to them from the Second Mesa villages like any metropolitan commuter or ex-urbanite, and always pick up two drums of water on the return trip.

As a result of the growth of specialized skills among the Hopi, the whole pattern of house-building has been changed. No longer can any man lay up rock walls. Even before the war, there had been a tendency to hire a mason to put up the walls, to use milled door and window frames and wooden floors. The availability of long beams for vigas meant that the size of the enclosed space could be larger. This brought in its wake furniture: beds, tables, chairs. Formerly, the occupants of a house slept on sheep pelts on the floor, which were rolled up or hung from a suspended pole during the day. They ate on the floor upon a piece of oilcloth, usually dipping the food from a common bowl with their fingers or with a spoon.

The increased wealth also shows in the additions that have been made to the exchange of goods at a Hopi wedding. While traditionally, the groom's male relatives wove the wedding robes (2 white ova plus a wide white belt with elaborate fringe) and made the white buckskin moccasins for the bride, and were paid by four or eight or twelve plaques full of blue and white corn meal, there has been a sort of escalation both in the garments woven, and the kinds and amount of foodstuffs and other goods that are distributed at the wedding feast, and later at the konyá homì. Now the black woolen dress, the red-bordered white robe used in women's ceremonies and by kachina mana are also woven and given to the bride. But this is really as elaboration on what was basically a traditional pattern of economic exchange. Now, sacks of flour, sets of dishes, pots and pans, sheets, pillow slips, quilts and other items of modern housekeeping are added to the list of gifts provided for the bride. And all require counter gifts from the groom's side. The number of sheep butchered and the quantities of hominy made for nöqkʷivi (hominy and mutton stew) mount with each passing wedding. At one such wedding that I observed, not only did the bride and her female relatives march in procession to the groom's house, but they were followed by a pick-up loaded with all

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the extra gifts that could not be carried. And after eating, each guest carries home pots and buckets full of food that must be consumed or thrown out. It almost seems as if the "waste not" values of a culture that survived precariously despite recurrent famines (the last in 1870) have been supplanted by those of the affluent society. Are there shades of the rotting yams so proudly displayed in the Trobriand village? Or the valuable goods destroyed in Northwest Coast potlatches? Is this a type of economic behavior that is generalizable when a subsistence economy produces unconsumable surpluses?

The other great expansion in traditional activities involves the frequency and duration of dances. Anyone can ask for a dance either at the time of the Soyalangwu in December when the whole cycle of activities for the coming year is prepared or by requesting any of the winter night dancers to dance during the day at a future time. In most villages before the war, one day-long kachina dance was customary in late May or June before the Home Dance in July closed the season. It was a great mark of honor to sponsor a dance, and it was also expensive since all the dancers--from 28-45 or more men--had to be fed. As the Hopi phrase it, "On the day of the dance, the one who put up the dance steps in front of the Village Chief." But in recent years, with cash so plentiful a large part of the labor can be avoided by purchasing prepared foods and buying gifts in the stores rather than making them. To be sure, piki still has to be made, and nöqkʷivi prepared, but not in the quantities required when they were the only foods along with home baked bread.

The result is that every week-end from late May until July there will be dances in two or three of the villages every week-end. Not only have they adjusted the calendar to the five day-forty hour week, but they now dance both Saturday and Sunday. This permits all those Hopi who live and work nearby to attend, but also when it is important to participate.

The Second Mesa villages have tended to be conservative in preserving the ceremonial structure, and in this respect have even expanded it. But it seems that its traditional function has also been altered. As one old man put it: "They are not dancing for rain. They just want to show everyone how well they are doing." In one way, it is reminiscent of the older generation of Osage when they suddenly became rich from oil in 1923. Not knowing what else to do with their new found wealth, they bought ceremonies from all the neighboring tribes.

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APPENDIX

Second Mesa Hopi Census Data

1939

	Shipawlavi	Mishongnovi	Shungopavi	Total
Population	123	280	337	740
Households	25	45	54	124
Nuclear	13	12	17	42
Extended	12	33	37	82
Average size	5.6	6.2	6.2	
Range	2-10	1-13	2-14	
Non-Res. Pop.	26	9	8	43

1961

Population	143	294	455	892
Households	22	45	71	138
Nuclear	10	11	20	41
Extended	12	34	51	97
Average size	6.5	6.7	6.4	
Range	3-12	1-19	2-14	
Non-Res. Pop.	118	77	119	314
Households	26	21	31	78

Motor Vehicle Census - 1961

Pick-ups	18	23	31	72
Passenger	13	4	17	34
Trucks	2	0	5	7
	33	27	53	113

Income From Social Security and Other Pensions

	M	F	M	F	M	F	
ADC		5		14		7	26
OAA	5	1	12	1	13	11	43
RRR				1		1	2
SMI				2	2		4
CRP					1		1

ADC - Aid to Dependent Children
OAA - Old Age Assistance

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RRR - Railroad Retirement
SMI - Survivor's Military Insurance
CRP - Commercial Retirement Plan

Job Descriptions - Second Mesa - June 1961

Full Time	Shipawlavi		Mishongnovi		Shungopavi		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Farming	5		6		17		28
Farm-Herd	10		9		21		40
Road Work	3		6		3		12
Forest Serv.			3		7		10
Hospital		2		1		3	6
Restaurant		1				2	3
Gas Station	1				2		3
Custodial	1		2		2		5
Painter	1		1		2		5
Mason					1		1
Carpenter					2		2
Trading Post		1	2		3	1	7
Cook		1		2		1	4
Baker			1		1		2
Bus Driver			1		1		2
Silversmith					5		5
Other Federal Government	3	1	4	1	3		9
Part Time							
Fire-Fighter	11		9		32		52
Self-Employed							
Trading Post	2				2	1	5
Garage	1						1

Livestock Ownership

1942

Names Registered	167	No stock	78
Sheep	4885	Horses	451
Goats	146	TSU	7894
Cattle	152	Sheep (over 200)	6
Largest Cattle	27	Sheep (100-199)	11

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1960

TSU Permitted	6629	299 horses	
Sheep	1765	1065 lambs	
Goats	23	7 kids	
Cattle	410	223 calves	
Horses	99	15 mules, 44 burros	
No. permits	128	Idle permits	25
Largest	259	Over 100 units	22

Most permits are for non-economic sizes: 20, 15, and 5.

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