This innovative book challenges the perceived view (based largely on long observation of artificially fed chimpanzees in Gombe and Mahale National Parks, Tanzania) of the typical social behavior of chimpanzees as aggressive, dominance seeking, and fiercely territorial. In polar opposition, all reports from 'naturalistic' (nonfeeding) field studies are of nonaggressive chimpanzees living peacefully in nonhierarchical groups, on home ranges open to all. These reports have been ignored and downgraded by most of the scientific community.

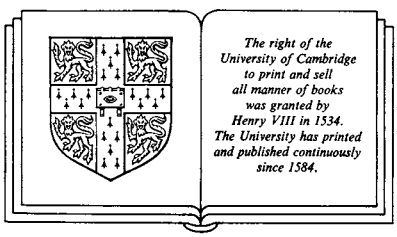
By utilizing the data from these studies the author is able to construct a model of an egalitarian form of social organization, based on a fluid role relationship of mutual dependence between many charismatic chimpanzees of both sexes and other more dependent members. This highly and necessarily positive mutual dependence system is characteristic of both (undisturbed) chimpanzees and (undisturbed) humans who live by the 'immediate-return' foraging system.

The egalitarians – human and chimpanzee
An anthropological view of social organization

THE EGALITARIANS – HUMAN AND CHIMPANZEE

An anthropological view of social organization

Margaret Power



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Dedicated to the memory of my husband, John Power –
and to mature students everywhere

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FOREWORD

Every so often there appears a work of synthesis which is so original and creative that it clarifies and systematizes a whole field of observation or knowledge that had hitherto been adventitious and chaotic. Such were the works of Rudolf Virchow, whose *Cellular-Pathologie* (1858) not only founded the science of pathology, but constituted the fundamental contribution to the rise of modern medicine, as was also Claude Bernard's *Introduction à l'étude de la Médecine Experimentale* (1865), which put physiology on a firm scientific basis as well as the founding of regulatory biology and its relation to human health. What these books, each in its own way, did for the growth and development of medicine and human health, I am convinced that Mrs Power's admirable book will do for the growth and development of our better understanding of the dynamics of social life not only among chimpanzees, but for all primates, including humans. For what the author has done is to make a microscopic examination of the fieldwork of numerous independent investigators who have studied chimpanzees under natural or artificial conditions. With great acumen she has seen that even under natural conditions, the conditions may not be as 'natural' as most investigators and their interpreters and readers may have thought, and that various factors under such conditions have led to a variety of inferences which have in fact been erroneous. Mrs Power's analysis of these factors for the first time really makes it possible to train future students of animal behavior, and more particularly of primate behavior, including humans, in the delicate methodology of fieldwork. At the same time it makes it possible to understand, and to avoid, the erroneous conclusions that have been drawn from the studies of earlier investigators, one of which especially

exercised an enormous and obfuscating influence upon almost three generations of social scientists, anthropologists, explicators of human behavior of various sorts, and others – all based on observations made on a colony of baboons at the London zoo. The book which reported these observations was Solly Zuckerman's *The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes*, published in 1932, and republished in 1981, with a postscript in which the author defends his earlier work. It is a spirited riposte and is well worth reading, but, while recognizing the nature of the criticism to which his conclusions have been subjected Zuckerman fails to understand that, however valid they may have been for animals living under the crowded conditions of the zoo colony, they are wholly inapplicable to the behavior of animals living under natural conditions.

Even under natural conditions, when environmental conditions are varied such changes will affect the behavior of the animals studied, a fact which is especially true of primates. This is a point which Mrs Power abundantly and convincingly shows has often had a major effect upon the structure and functions of a whole chimpanzee society. She shows how, by the introduction of what may appear to us as a simple change in a chimpanzee society, it may change from a peaceful highly cooperative community into a highly aggressive and virulent one. When such destructive behavior by chimpanzees was first reported it was immediately interpreted in the press to mean that our 'bad habits' are derived from 'our animal ancestry' (Editorial, *The New York Times*, 2 May 1978, p. 34). Such a conclusion would have pleased the 'innate aggressionists' such as Konrad Lorenz, Robert Ardrey, and many other believers in 'innate depravity', but the facts are quite otherwise than those reported in the press. Mrs Power's discussion of the causes of the sudden development of highly aggressive behavior in Jane Goodall's chimpanzees, is brilliantly illuminating, for not only does it correct endemic errors by setting forth the facts, but also points to certain principles which all who investigate, write about, or are otherwise interested in animal and human behavior would do well to make part of their intellectual equipment.

Altogether Margaret Power has produced an account of the social life of humankind's closest relative, the chimpanzee living under natural conditions. She has illuminatingly shown how, under varying conditions, and especially the varying conditions which humans have introduced into their lives, chimpanzees will undergo profound changes in their social lives, very much resembling the kinds of

change which humans have undergone in the course of social evolution. The book will, therefore, be indispensable to all students of human society as well as the behavior of humans under different conditions. As such, Mrs Power's book constitutes a gold mine of new ways of looking at old problems which will be of the most exciting and heuristic value to all who may be interested in the relation between the nature of the structure, functions, and environmental changes which condition societies such as those of chimpanzees and human beings.

Mrs Power writes sensitively and as a scientist intent on teasing out the factors which affect the individual behavior and societies of chimpanzees, to correct many endemic errors concerning such societies, and to set the record straight concerning the lives of chimpanzees under changes in the conditions of life which may result in extreme changes in behavior as well as in physiologically striking effects which may in turn produce marked adaptive changes in the structure and functions of the societies in which they occur. In so doing, Mrs Power has succeeded in overturning many entrenched beliefs concerning our close relative the chimpanzee, an accomplishment which is bound to have a most constructive and salubrious influence in bringing about a reordering of scientific as well as popular thinking concerning not only the chimpanzee but also ourselves and our remote ancestors.

All students of human and animal nature owe a great debt to Mrs Power for the brilliant light she has thrown upon so many complex problems which over the course of the years so many hundreds of workers, thinkers, and specialists have contributed to that body of knowledge known as primatology. Our author has for the first time put together the relevant facts so that one can now really see the wood for the trees, and make sense out of what has up to now prevented us from clearly seeing how it is that each tree is affected by innumerable different influences, which together constitute the wood and the varying changes it exhibits under varying conditions.

It is a book that is bound to become a classic, one that will be read with interest and profit for many years.

Ashley Montagu

Princeton, New Jersey

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Throughout the 12 years that I have spent developing this work, many people have sustained me through their interest, enthusiasm, comments and criticism.

I am particularly grateful to Vernon Reynolds and Michael Chance, who were the first to see in a very undeveloped idea and an exceedingly rough early draft something worthy of further exploration. Their interest resulted in a working visit to the Department of Biological Anthropology at Oxford University in 1981, and thanks are due to the British Council for a grant which made that visit possible. Michael Chance not only has kept up a voluminous correspondence pertaining to my developing mutual dependence concept but also made a trip to Canada in order to discuss at length with me my ongoing work. Discussions with both researchers, particularly in the early years, helped me to clarify my ideas and find my direction.

Geza Teleki has been more than generous, giving of his time and knowledge by reading early drafts and offering much appreciated advice and constructive criticism, as also have been Thelma Rowell, Claire and William Russell and Pamela Asquith. Robert Hinde offered encouragement and much needed criticism in the early years, both of which were equally helpful.

I owe special thanks to Ashley Montagu, whose help over the past few years has meant so much. Not only has his work been a major influence on my thinking for several decades, but he continues to give generously of time gleaned from his many academic and public commitments to assist a previously unknown disciple.

Ian Whitaker, my MA supervisor, has been an unfailing source of support and encouragement since my undergraduate days. His belief

in my abilities, and readiness to accept my independent, usually unorthodox, approach to anthropological questions, gave me belief in my abilities and freed me to follow my own path toward understanding the primate, both human and nonhuman.

This book grew out of a Woman's Studies course taken after I had graduated. I know that had I not taken that 'eye-opening' course this book would not have been written.

I thank the staff of the University of British Columbia library, especially Ann Yandle, Head of the Special Collections department, who always found space for me to work, and senior supervisors Erik De Bruijn, Tom Shorthouse and Alan Soroka, who gave me time to write. Robert (Bert) Forrest deserves special thanks for his unfailing patience in retyping the study 'just one more time,' adding 'just one more insertion,' and for his enthusiastic comments and suggestions, all of which I appreciate. Thanks also to Alan Johnstone, proof-reader extraordinaire.

I also thank my children, Tony, Laura and Rosemary, for their warm pride in (and occasionally patient resignation with) an absentminded and often absent mother. Their supportive attitude smoothed my path. The contribution of my late husband, John Power, cannot be measured. It was limitless.

I recognize the great debt that I owe to the researchers whose field studies and conclusions are the basis for this book. Although I disagree with many of their formulations, I thank them for the meticulous honesty of their reporting, which made this study possible.

Dr Jane Goodall has been involved in field studies of free-living chimpanzees in Gombe National Park, Tanzania, for more than three decades. I have greatly admired Dr Goodall for her courage, dedication, tenacity, integrity, openness and meticulous attention to detail for approximately the same number of years.

A main focus of this book is to demonstrate, through reference to the publications, that the quality and quantity of social change experienced by the most-studied Gombe group, the Kasakela community, over these 30 years, is greatly underestimated. Indeed, the quite usual, widespread acceptance of the behavior of this group as being the normal behavior of undisturbed, wild champanzees, has dangerously skewed our understandings.

Dr Goodall is by far the most frequently published and primary source of data on the social behavior of the Gombe chimpanzees.

Accordingly, I cite her data and interpretations far more than I do those of any other Gombe researcher. This may give an impression that I am especially critical of Dr Goodall's work. This is not the case. Indeed, I am pleased to find that I retain my deep and sincere admiration for Dr Goodall, intact and unweakened, despite my different perspective.

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'Whatever happens to the beasts,
soon happens to man.
All things are connected.'

Chief Seathl, 1854.
Indian Orator,
for whom Seattle, Washington,
is named.
Taken down and translated
by a young Seattle pioneer,
Dr Smith.