

**SCOTTISH PIPE BANDS IN WINNIPEG:
A STUDY OF ETHNIC VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS**

By

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A thesis submitted to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

The Department of Anthropology
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Winnipeg, Manitoba

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General Abstract

Pipe bands, with their bagpipes and kilts, may be viewed as summarizing symbols for all that is Scottish. In most places the British empire has touched, pipe bands remain. Through a series of historical events, pipe bands, a recent invention, have become uniform in structure. As voluntary non-profit groups, pipe bands fall under the rubric of voluntary associations. Using a comparison base of two Winnipeg pipe bands this thesis intends to examine voluntary association theory. It shall also documents pipe bands as an expression of an ethnic sub-culture, and considers the origins and possible functions of these groups.

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I would also like to thank the members of the "St. James Highlanders" for allowing me the opportunity to present their (our) band in an academic format. It is perhaps a fine line to walk between the anthropological and pipe band worlds. As a member of each community, I hope I have not done a disservice to either.

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CHAPTER I: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

The events described in this chapter occurred over two hundred years ago, but they are still relevant today for two reasons. In general, people of Scottish descent are very particular about history. Although valid comparisons are difficult, it remains true that Scottish people (Scots) constantly remind one another, usually in a joking manner, about their heritage (i.e. Lowland vs. Highland or Campbell vs. McDonald). The second reason ties in with the first; certain historical events have had a profound effect on Highland culture and the way in which Scots, as a whole, perceive themselves. Subsequently, these events have altered the original piping, pipe bands, and the music they play into the form one sees today

Disarming Act

The battle of Culloden was fought on 16 April 1746 (McKinnon, 1973:94). The actual battle and events leading up to it have been covered extensively elsewhere. For example, see John Prebble, Culloden (1961); Maurice Ashley The House of Stuart: It's Rise and Fall (1980); Tommasson & Buist Battles of the '45 (1962); David Stevenson "The Highland Charge", (1982); and Robert McKinnon The Jacobite Rebellions (1973). Cruickshanks writes: "The story of the '45 in Scotland has been told so often that the late Sir James Fergusson suggested there ought to be a law to prevent any more books on the subject" (1979: V). It is the consequences of that battle that are important for our discussion, not the battle itself. The Battle of Culloden marked the defeat of the

Highlanders and the end of the rebellion of 1745, by the English. This Jacobite rebellion, lead by Charles Edward Stuart - Bonnie Prince Charlie, was an attempt to reinstate the house of Stuart in the British Monarchy.

The defeat at Culloden was the last gasp of a series of rebellions by the predominantly Catholic Highlanders against the Protestant English and their supporters. To ensure that the Highlanders would never again rebel, the Disarming Act was passed (see Appendix One). This was a deliberate attempt at cultural genocide. Earlier Acts had proven to be ineffective but this one, vigorously enforced, was able to largely eradicate the Highland culture. The Disarming Acts removed the traditional authority of the Clan Chiefs and ultimately destroyed the Highlander's system of social and political organization. Moreover, the prohibition on tartans and kilts (Highland Dress) which was a source of pride to the Highland people, removed the Highlander's separate identity (Prebble, 1961: 331; 1977: 21). Prebble explains:

The mountain people had no other cloths but the tartan plaid and kilt. Without them they would go naked. They did the only thing they could do at the moment. They dyed the tartan black and brown. They sewed their kilts between their legs to make breeches... Thus Bonnie Prince Charlie's rebellion ended in a bad joke, with his clansmen in ragged breeches and their women dipping tartan plaids into vats of dye and mud"(Prebble, 1961: 328-329).

There was one way, however, for the Highlanders to wear kilts that was to join a British military regiment. The Highland regiment's attire was different from the Highlanders traditional attire; the kilt was shortened and other military modifications were made but another kind of kilt was nevertheless allowed (Prebble, 1977: 36, 39-40, 273). By 1782, however, when the ban on cultural symbols was lifted, there was no longer any interest

in the tartan and kilt (Emmerson, 1971: 199; Prebble, 1961: 330). Thornburn explains that, "only the Highland regiments in the King's service continued to wear the so called national dress, and for the next thirty-five years, it was only they who prevented its total extinction" (Thornburn, 1976: 31). Thornburn notes that interest in the kilt had subsided so much, that in 1809 six Highland regiments abandoned it " because the local element in recruiting had dwindled, and men from other parts of the country had no desire to wear what they considered outlandish clothing" (1976: 34-35).

Bagpipes

These events might be viewed as interesting in an esoteric way, but they have an important part to play in the evolution of modern pipe bands. A brief overview of the history of bagpipes and their relationship to modern representations of Scottish ethnicity also serves to establish contextual relationships.

The drone bagpipe's origin has been traced back to the Middle East and Greece from the Eighth Century B.C. Emmerson speculates that the pipes were introduced to Europe, and to the Celts in particular, by the Romans (1971: 187). "The Bagpipe", writes Emmerson, "was a universal folk instrument in medieval Europe, particularly among herdsmen for goats and sheep supplied the material from which bagpipes were made"(Emmerson, 1971: 23). By the eighteenth century, however, bagpipes had abated from most of Europe except in marginal regions like Ireland and Highland Scotland (Emmerson, 1971: 188)¹. This phenomenon can be explained by the social and economic systems of the Highlands which were viewed as backwards in comparison to other pre-industrial Western European nations (Smout, 1969: 241, 285-91, 344). The Highland

social system was based on clans. Head of the clan was a chief and all members believed they were direct descendants of the chief's ancestor. The chief, senior of the senior branch, was obliged to protect his clan and rally his men into battle. The clansmen, for their part, usually recognized no other King besides their chief. The chief had total jurisdiction over his clan for rents and governmental, including judiciary, powers. Feuding between clans and raiding for cattle was commonplace. This fixed, feudal society was regarded as barbaric by Lowland Scots and was predominantly Catholic (although there were some protestant clans such as the Campbells). The Lowlanders referred to them as Irish in an attempt to distance the Lowlands from their northern countrymen and English. Furthermore, a superficial look at the Highlands might misconstrue them as one unit; which they were perceived as during the 1745 rebellion, however, "there had never been unity in the Highlands, nor could ever be. Religion, feuds, the political ambitions of chiefs, natural jealousies of men who lived remote and primitive lives, made common cause impossible. Each clan was enough to itself, and the world ended beyond the glen, or with the sea that locked the islands" (Prebble, 1961: 40). Before 1745, the clan system was being eroded by southern influences; in the years after it was completely destroyed (Smout, 1696: 332-360; Prebble, 1961: 35-4-44, 325). Clan chiefs often had a piper among their entourage (Smout, 1969: 337; Prebble, 1961: 44). The pipes, particularly on tunes such as *Pibrochs*,

"require great technical skill and musicianship which is not easily acquired without much study and practice. This has often called for something like full-time devotion to the instrument, restricting it, if you will, to professionals ... the study of such a piper often involved a few years at one of the specialized piping schools or colleges such as that as the McCrimmons of Skye, or under the tutelage of a master of the

art"(Emmerson, 1976: 233-234).

Consequently, the only way for some to learn the instrument was through the patronage of a chief, and an apprenticeship to a master teacher.

There were also town minstrels, rarely more than two per town, who played the pipes. The pipes were often accompanied by the fife and flute but by the Seventeenth Century this practice had waned in favour of the Swiss Side-Drum (an instrument favoured by the military) (Emmerson, 1971: 30-1). In addition, Emmerson (1971: 30) found that by 1600 A.D., "these and other records show quite clearly that inebriation was the occupational disease of professional pipers". One of the main purposes of the pipers was to pipe and rally the clans into battle. Consequently, after the defeat at Culloden, bagpipes were classified as instruments of war. They were banned in the same manner as were tartans and kilts (Prebble, 1961: 288; 1977: 75; Smout, 1969:225, 343). By 1773, pipes had fallen into general disuse even by clans such as Macleod and Maclean who defied the Acts and kept pipers (Emmerson, 1971: 198). However, in a similar fashion to the wearing of the kilt, pipes could be played in the British military². Although a general decline of piping prevailed through out the Highlands, the instrument was kept unofficially in use by the Highland regiments in the British military (Prebble, 1975: 215). Emmerson (1976: 233) explains that piping for these military units was transformed into piping for marching and the inevitable pairing with the drums, "thus founding a new tradition of bagpipe music".

In spite of (or perhaps because of) indifference and disuse, the first Highland games and bagpipe competitions were held in 1783 in Edinburgh by the Highland Society

(Emmerson, 1971: 199). This date is not exact. Emmerson, whom this date comes from, has given three different dates: 1781, 1782, and 1783 in two different publications (1971: 119; 1976: 245). I have used the 1783 date here because it occurs in the year following the lifting of the Disarming Act. In addition, another point of clarification is required: the Highland Society, founded in 1780, was based in London, England, not Scotland; in its time it became the pre-emanate society for Scots (Emmerson, 1976: 244). Although the Edinburgh games became an early tourist mecca, there was still a general decline of piping. The decline was so dramatic that the 100 pipers of Prince Charlie's entourage in 1745 would have been unheard of by 1854 (Emmerson, 1971: 199-201).

Revitalization of Scottish Culture

Nearly every place the British Empire has ruled there are pipe bands today. Emmerson (1976: 245) explains that, "all the Gaelic settlements in Canada now conduct important annual Highland games, and numerous others, if less important, are found wherever Scottish settlement exists". In Canada, according to Emmerson, pipe bands are as much Canadian to Canadians as they are Scottish (1976: 245). These statements contrast the impression of decline previously presented. The revival of piping and the kilt to their present popularity have thus present a paradox worthy of further exploration.

Emmerson claims the decline of piping in Scotland, up to the middle of the last century, was due to large scale emigration. Once Scots were transplanted in countries such as Canada, however, the music was picked up again. Some of the more difficult tunes (*Pibroch*) may have faded, but dance music, requiring less time and skill to learn, prospered (1971: 199, 239-40). Prebble and McKinnon both suggest that a romantic

stereotyping of the Highlander's and their culture is responsible. Shortly after the Culloden defeat, reports indicate that the Highlander's exploits were recounted in song. Some of these songs, which lament the defeat and call for the return of Prince Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie), remain popular today in words and bagpipe music (see appendix two for details). In addition there was the wearing of white cockades (the white cockade was the Jacobite's (the supporters of James, Charles's father) symbol in battle), the shouting of treasonable words in the night, and the toasting 'the King over the water' while passing one's drink over a finger bowl (Prebble, 1961: 313; McKinnon, 1973: 111). This is what Prebble calls a safe and sentimental Jacobitism that was picked up and eventually engulfed the mentality of the Lowlanders, thus identifying the rebel's cause with all of Scotland despite the Lowlander's indifference or opposition to the rebellion (Prebble, 1961: 313). Thus forty years after the Disarming Act was revoked (1822), Richards writes that George IV started a romantic interest in Highland Dress (Richards, 1985: 56; Prebble, 1961: 330). Eventually, in a classic case of the "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983),

"tartans were invented and ascribed to this clan or that, a religious devotion being paid to setts that would not have been recognized by any Highlander who charged at Culloden"(Prebble, 1961: 330-331).

Hobsbawm (1983: 1) explains that a tradition is invented with a deliberate "attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past". Invented Tradition occurs when a society is in a state of flux and the old traditions no longer serve their function in society. The invented tradition uses ancient material to give it validity and new functions, "all invented traditions, so far as possible, use history as a legitimator of action

and cement group cohesion"(Hobsbawm, 1983: 12). Trevor-Roper describes the invention of tartans by the London Highland Society. He claims that the myth of Highland society was created by a few individuals, notably Sir Walter Scott and the Allan brothers also known as the Sobieski Stuarts (Trevor-Roper, 1983: 15-41). The highlanders, "after 1746, when their distinct society crumbled so easily, ... combined the romance of a primitive people with the charm of an endangered species"(Trevor-Roper, 1983: 25).

These explanations can be viewed as being only partly correct. I would argue that the renewed interest in the kilt and bagpipes are also products of a revitalization movement. This has been defined by Wallace as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."(Wallace, [1956] 1979: 422). Individuals who become embroiled in revitalization recognize their culture, or parts of their culture, as a system, and "they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory"(Wallace, 1979: 422). Success of the movement depends on the creation of a new cultural system detailing new relationships and possibly new cultural traits. Wallace delineates five overlapping stages of a revitalization movement. The first stage is a Steady State. This would be pre-1745; the Highlands had its own social system different from other parts of the country. All requirements of the society were being met through their system. The second stage is the period of Increased Individual Stress. This period is characterized by an interference with the cultural system. According to Wallace this may come from a variety of sources: "climatic, floral and faunal change; military defeat; political subordination; extreme pressure toward acculturation resulting in internal cultural conflict; economic distress; epidemics; and so on" (Wallace, 1979: 424, emphasis

mine). One might attribute this stage to pre-1745 as well because of the slight erosion of the clan system. However, the defeat at Culloden and the Disarming Act were the impetus for such a massive and rapid change that stages two and three, the Period of Cultural Distortion, overlapped almost completely. This third stage is marked by internal distortion; society's components fail to mesh. The culture may ultimately deteriorate or become extinct.

A number of significant events and changes occurred during the second and third stages. Richards (1985: 11) identifies three main changes in the post-Culloden era. For instance, rents raised up to four times, and as a result, the middle class was eliminated causing massive emigration. Immense rapid changes from 1770-1840 were the consequence of population increase to the point of overpopulation and increased urbanization. The clan chief's loss of jurisdiction meant a loss of interest in their clans. As well, a series of crop failures, occasional before 1745, became devastatingly more frequent until about 1850 (Richards, 1985: 4, 181, 193; Bumsted, 1982: 220, 130; Smout, 1969: Chapter XI, 347-8). It is ironic that during Scotland's greatest population increase, it also experienced some of its greatest crop failures/famines. During this period the climate of Northern Europe deteriorated to what "some have referred to as 'The Little Ice Age'. The episode saw the greatest advance of Icelandic and Scandinavian glaciers in the Christian era, maxima occurring in 1745-50 and 1850"(Evans, 1975: 175). At the same time the landowners were experimenting with different methods of production; they finally settled on sheep as the most profitable, resulting in the clearances. Furthermore, Richards explains that after the Napoleonic wars ended in 1815, the Highland economy

collapsed as both cattle and kelp became unprofitable. By 1846 two-thirds of the population was living on potatoes; one of the worst failures occurred 1847-49, coinciding with the last maxima of the Little Ice Age (Richards, 1985: 420-25, 227-8; Rymer, 1974: 142-5). Richards (1985: 5) claims that, "in essence the expansionary stimuli from the south ended northern isolation and created powerful economic incentives for new patterns of production, and for a radically changed society". One result was the infamous Highland Clearances. The Clearances have been covered extensively by authors such as Bumsted, Richards, Smout, Prebble to name a few; because of this considerable coverage it is unnecessary to cover them here, except for a few words pertaining to this section. For the Highlanders, the Clearances represented a complete breakdown of their society. To be removed from land that they felt they had occupied since the beginning of time was incomprehensible and eliminated their faith in their chiefs (Smout, 1969: 356-7). However, emigration, to destinations like North America and Australia allowed the Highlanders to continue some aspects of their traditional way of life (Bumsted, 1982: 130; Richards, 1985: 185; Ommer, 1986: 139). In addition there was a "deliberate Anglicization of Gaelic Scotland in the 18th Century ... Gaelic was equated with the language of the peasantry: to be a Gaelic speaker marked one as 'outside and below' in terms of culture and class"(Withers, 1985: 181).

The fourth stage of Wallace's typology is the Period of Revitalization. This stage may halt the demise of a cultural system; however, it must fulfil six requirements. The first is what Wallace calls "mazeway reformation". The mazeway is, in Wallace's terms, the individual's and society's mental image (or *Gestalt*) of what their culture is. The

mazeway may be changed "in an attempt to reduce stress. Changing the mazeway involves changing the total *Gestalt* of a person's image of self, society, and culture, of nature and body, and of ways of action"(Wallace, 1979: 423). This is usually communicated by an individual who has experienced hallucinatory visions when the movement is religious. The second requirement involves communication. The individual with the transformative vision becomes a prophet who will teach two things: protection by superbeings and material benefit from identification with the prophet's new system. The third requirement has to do with organization. The prophet makes converts and they become distinguished into classes of followers and disciples. Followers will defer to the leader because of his charisma and disciples defend and interpret the prophet's vision. As a fourth requirement the doctrine becomes reworked in order to make it more acceptable to special interest groups. When all this has been accomplished, there may occur a cultural transformation, and once the new mazeway is accepted there is a noticeable revitalization. Finally, there is routinization. The new mazeway becomes the norm when this stage has been achieved. The movement itself is transformed in result.

"Rarely does the movement organization assert or maintain a totalitarian control over all aspects of the transformed culture; more usually, once the desired transformation has occurred, the organization contracts and maintains responsibility only for the preservation of doctrine and the performance of ritual" (Wallace, 1979: 427).

The final stage is the New Steady State; it occurs once the problem of routinization has been solved and results in a new mazeway/*gestalt* different from that of the first stage.

Wallace's idea about revitalization may be applicable to the phenomenon of contemporary Scottish ethnicity. First, a look at the Period of Revitalization's six

requirements. Prince Charles Edward Stuart is the prophet. At the age of 13 he witnessed the siege of Gaeta in Italy. Although there are no records of him undergoing hallucinations or visions, he took it upon himself to dedicate his life to becoming a military leader from that point onward (Tommason & Buist, 1962: 22; McKinnon, 1973: 58). After his arrival in Scotland, he was able to convert a number of key clan chiefs to his cause of returning to the throne (Tommason & Buist, 1962: 24; McKinnon, 1973: 73). As a military commander, he had a number of immediate 'lieutenants', notably Lord George Murray, and an army of followers. During the Prince's campaign, there are recorded instances of more experienced military leaders deferring to Charlie's command because of his "charm and personal magnetism"(McKinnon, 1973: 58)³.

Two points need to be made concerning these correspondences. The first is about time; the second concerns religion. Bonnie Prince Charlie's activities come immediately before the Individual Stress and Cultural Distortion phases. However, as noted above, Wallace writes that some overlapping will occur (Wallace, 1979: 424). Next, one usually associates revitalization movements with religion, although

"no revitalization movement can, by definition, be truly nonsecular, but some can be relatively less religious than others, and movements can change in emphasis depending on changing circumstances" (Wallace, 1979: 428).

Aside from being a Highland rebellion, the rebellion was also a religious one. The House of Stuart was removed from the throne because of its conversion to Catholicism; Prince Charlie's attempt to regain the throne for his father was very much a Catholic attempt. The fourth stage of adaptation, is represented in the post-1745 period. This is the period of Prebble's safe and sentimental Jacobitism. The doctrine was altered from

change by force to change --- someday. Furthermore, this period was the greatest period of song writing for the cause (see appendix two). As far as cultural transformation is concerned, the Clearances stirred deep emotions and became a symbol of the Highlander's plight⁴. The Clearances were particularly brutal in some places, notably as in the Sutherland Clearances where 5-10 thousand people were forced to leave in 1814 (Smout,1969: 354). There is, however, some controversy surrounding the Clearances. Writers such as Bumsted (1982: 220) and Richards (1985: 179-200), while neither deny they happened, assert the Clearances are more myth than fact. For example, Richards writes: "it is perfectly clear that emigration pre-dated the sheep Clearances, and that the exodus from the Highlands continued after the period of the Clearances" (1985: 179); Bumsted says there was an outpouring of belief that the Highlanders were forced to leave, not choosing to (1982: 220). In an opposing view, Ommers exemplifies the argument when writing:

"this should not be taken to be voluntary migration in the real meaning of the word. It only reflects a financial capacity, however achieved, to go away in the teeth of dispossession of an ancient heritage. This should not be misunderstood as a gesture of free will. It is not necessary either to emphasize the extremes of brutal physical eviction, estate forfeiture, ..." (1986: 131).

After 30-40 years of Jacobite songs and Anglicization, the population of Scotland was ready for a transformation. Wallace explains: "as a whole or controlling portion of the population comes to accept the new religion with its various injunctions, a noticeable social revitalization occurs" (1979: 427, emphasis mine). Therefore, as mentioned previously, after George IV's visit, the Scots, who viewed themselves as slightly lower class, heartily embarrassed the kilt as a national costume. The kilt became a summarizing

symbol (Ortner, [1973] 1979: 94) for the nation of Scotland, not just the Highlands. The kilt, Thornburn (1976:29) reveals, "is worn by Lowland Scots in the misguided belief that it is their duty to wear the kilt when in fact their ancestors would have been appalled at the idea". In order to wear their newly adopted national costume they turned to the only model in existence: the military uniform. Although most tartans seen today were invented during the 19th and the 20th centuries the patterns used during the initial interest came from the forty-four regular and auxiliary regiments raised from the Highlands. These regiments had over seventy years to follow military fashion and attempt to attain a distinctive uniform in comparison to their fellow Highland regiments (Thornburn, 1976: 30-1).

The last requirement is routinization. Thornburn explains that over the course of the last century, the Highland military uniform continued to change until about 1881 when the uniform one sees today was finalized. In 1881, it was decided that all Scottish regiments would wear the kilt, instead of just the Highlanders (Thornburn, 1976: 37). This sealed the identification with all of Scotland. Finally there is the New Steady State. The national costume had been finalised by the close of the 19th Century (figure 1). Today's uniforms are military in origin; "civilian pipers ... from Ontario to Melbourne wear elaborate costumes in the belief that they are wearing a traditional Highland Dress, when in fact they are dressed up as Edwardian soldiers"(Thornburn, 1976: 34, emphasis mine). Furthermore, the Jacobite insistence of a battle-glorious nation is firmly entrenched in the mindset of Scots in Scotland, and those who claim even the remotest Scottish ancestry.

Bagpipes Revisited

Thus far the description has focused on the national costume in terms of a revitalization movement, but the question still remains to be answered: what does it have to do with pipe bands? Emmerson writes: "with the creation of Highland Regiments went the combination of piper and drummer which evolved into pipes and drums -the military pipe band- thus founding a new tradition of bagpipe music for marching"(1976: 233). Thornburn claims that military pipe bands appeared only after 1856 and civilian bands later (no date given for civilians) (1976: 39). The pipes were looked on as a summarizing symbol much in the same manner as were the kilt and the Clearances. Also in a similar fashion to the kilt, the only available model was the military pipe band.

The uniforms, and drill movements of civilian pipe bands have nothing to do with any long Scottish tradition as such, but are in every detail an emotional sight and sound, in imitation of the field music of the Highland regiments as they evolved as part of the British Army (Thornburn, 1976: 39-40).

Symbols. Sherry Ortner (1979:94) believes that all cultures have key symbols. Key symbols can be placed on a continuum with summarizing symbols and elaborating symbols at each end. Summarizing symbols are emotionally charged symbols that represent the embodiment of a cultural system in an undifferentiated manner . "This category is essentially the category of sacred symbols in the broadest sense, and includes all those items which are objects of reverence and/or catalysts of emotion -- the flag, the cross,..."(Ortner, 1979: 94). Elaborating symbols are mechanisms to put order to experiences. They analyze, usually without emotional baggage, "complex and undifferentiated feelings and emotions, making them comprehensible to oneself,

communicable to others, and translatable into orderly action"(Ortner, 1979: 94). There are two sub-categories of elaborating symbols: root metaphors (the ordering of action), and key scenarios (cultural strategies).

Pipe bands are presented here as summarizing symbols. To those from Scotland and those of Scottish descent, pipe bands represent all that is exotically Scottish by the playing of the pipes and drums, and the tartan kilt. Pipe bands have become an internationally, instantly recognizable symbol of the unique Scottish culture. Trevor-Roper states:

"Today, whenever Scotchmen (sic) gather together to celebrate their national identity, they assert it openly by certain distinctive national apparatus. They wear the kilt, woven in a tartan whose colour and pattern indicates their 'clan'; and if they indulge in music, their instrument is the bagpipe"(Trevor-Roper, 1983: 15).

In essence, pipe bands, adorned in kilts, define Scottish ethnicity.

Ortner's thesis regards the continuum of key symbols as symbols for an entire culture or social system. What she fails to consider in her arguments are the origins of the key symbols. In some cases, the origins may be obscure; the preceding pages indicate that, in the case of Scotland, a revitalization movement occurred. Ortner fails to explore the feasibility of key symbols applying to revitalization movements. Ultimately, piping and pipe bands must be viewed as a British military invention of the 19th Century; an invention picked up and popularized as a summarizing symbol by a revitalization movement.

We will show here how pipe bands in Winnipeg relate to this historical context. Moreover, the succeeding chapters will examine the literature on voluntary associations

as a theoretical framework, provide an ethnographic description of two bands and focus on how the framework applies to Winnipeg pipe bands.

FIGURE 1



1.a : 1855
(Thornburn, 1976: 36)



1.b : 1895
(Scottish Banner, 1994 (June):13)



1.c : Circa 1932
(MacKinnon, 1932: 236)



1.d : Circa 1980
(Author)

CHAPTER II: VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN
SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

Pipe bands can be viewed as a cultural expression; the music and attire are distinctively Scottish. Two of the primary purposes of civilian pipe bands are to create music and entertain people. From an anthropological and sociological perspective, pipe bands must be viewed as voluntary associations because individuals are not coerced to join, they may quit at any time, and are, for the most part, unpaid for their services. As a voluntary association, pipe bands may have common characteristics, forms, functions, etc. of other voluntary associations.

Voluntary associations were initially defined by Weber([1922] 1978: 37): "the term voluntary association will be used to refer to an organized association with an established set of regulations which claim validity only for those who have entered into membership of the association through personal choice". In the interim, nearly every researcher has offered a slightly different definition and these have evolved to include various specializations. The one used here, because it is the best and the most encompassing, comes from Smith and Freedman (1972: viii); it stated that, "the voluntary organization, then is a non-profit, non-government, private group which an individual joins by choice. Members are not born into such associations as they are into the family or church, nor drafted into them as in the case with the military, nor are they required to join in order to make a living". The published research on voluntary associations is extensive.

Although anthropology has certainly been a contributor to voluntary association research, sociology has produced a greater volume of literature. There is some overlap between the two disciplines, but each has gone in its own direction in the study of the same topic. The accumulated literature of both disciplines will be examined, and this chapter will thus consider both sociological and anthropological views.

Max Weber (1922; Quoted in Little, 1983: 303) once wrote:

"It is a function of sociology to study those structures which are conventionally dubbed "social", i.e. all that lies in the gap between the politically organized or recognized powers--state, municipality, and established church on one side-- and the natural community of the family on the other. Thus, essentially: a sociology of associations, in the widest sense of the word, from the bowling club-- to put it drastically-- to the political party and to the religious, or artistic or library sect... The man of today is without doubt an association man in an awful and never dreamed of degree".

This is where the study of voluntary associations began in the social sciences. In another article Weber ([1922] 1978: 38) further delineates voluntary associations by pointing out that "to the extent that an association has a set of rational regulations governing its activity, it is to be called a voluntary association".

Typologies

In 1962, Babchuk and Gordon published Voluntary Associations in the Slum. The book was an ethnographic study but it's theoretical aspects which are more relevant for the purposes of this thesis. The authors defined two kinds of voluntary associations: instrumental and expressive. They defined a number of types in between (instrumental-expressive, for example); however, only the two polar types will be examined because only the extremes stood the test of time when one looks at what has been cited. Babchuk

and Gordon put forward this typology because they claimed there had been to date no systematic theory of voluntary associations (1962: 29)⁵. In order to derive their typology, Babchuk and Gordon looked at a group's stated aims and at what their real aim was if it was different from that stated. As well they considered the criteria of membership in relation to its function (1962: 31). Instrumental associations pursue goals that are impersonal (i.e. that postpone immediate gratification) (1962: 37, 123). They seek to change or maintain some aspect of the environment. The NAACP or Greenpeace are examples. This is best accomplished through sheer numbers. In other words, their goals are external to the organization; however, the organization is a means to an end. On the other hand, expressive associations are characterized by small numbers of people because they work better with a smaller membership. They exhibit little desire to effect their environment. These self-contained unit's members join more through personal contact, and immediate and continuing personal gratification is a hallmark of these groups. The YMCA or Girl Guides are cited as examples (Babchuk and Gordon, 1962: 31-34, 120-123).

Continuing with the expressive-instrumental continuum, Babchuk and Edwards reported that a person's interest will change over the course of one's life-cycle. Specifically, the young and the elderly will join more expressive associations while adults affiliate with instrumental organizations (1965: 153)(a more complete discussion on life-cycle is presented below). The purpose of their article, however, is to explore voluntary associations and integration. Associations in embryonic form are more expressive despite their stated intentions. Because smaller, newer associations accent interpersonal

relationships they are more expressive; expressive associations generally have a greater participation by their members and, therefore, are more personally integrative (1965: 155-156). As an association grows in size it becomes more and more removed from the individual member's input. Bureaucracy, paid employees, and full-time officers become the norm, if and only if, the association reaches the required size (1965: 155-156). When an association reaches this substantial size, "the integrative effects of voluntary organizations shift. . . from a focus on the personality system to that of the social system (1965: 156). The larger, more bureaucratic voluntary association's impersonal style may consequently alienate the founding members. Fuller argues something similar. He claims that voluntary associations are built on two principles: shared commitment and legal bureaucracy. Associations become an uneasy mixture of these principles (i.e. the principles fight with, but reinforce, each other) (Fuller, 1969: 6-8). Another result of increased size may be an increased heterogeneity (as a general rule, expressive associations are homogenous while instrumental are heterogenous) which would result in reduced face-to-face interaction and therefore a further decrease in individual participation (Babchuk and Edwards, 1965: 156; see also McPherson, 1987, below). In conclusion, expressive, smaller voluntary associations are more integrative for the individual.

Others have also attempted typologies. For example Warriner and Prather (1965: 139) claim that typing of associations has become a significant by-product of voluntary association research. Their classification included four major types of value functions: pleasure in performance, sociability, symbolic/ideological, and production (1965: 141-148). More recently, Smith (1993: 53-68) drew a continuum between member benefit

non-profit organizations and public benefit non-profit organizations. Attempts such as these, however, either failed to gain the popularity (Warriner and Prather) or were thinly disguised versions (Smith) of Babchuk and Gordon.

One final note on typologies comes from Jacoby (1965: 174-175). Using the Babchuk/Gordon continuum, in a study on University of Alberta students, he found expressive orientated association members had more friends, and this was true in spite of the type of association to which they belonged. Moreover, he found those members who recruited others through personal influence were the persons who had the highest ratings in expressive orientation. The work of McPherson and Smith-Llovin indicates that homogeneity for smaller groups may be less encompassing than earlier suggested. Using the concept of homophily (friendship pairs are based on similar interests) they found within organizations the type of organization dictates the type of homophily tie (1987: 370-371). The pairings are induced rather than chosen (1987: 377). In other words, because we are in the same voluntary association, we must be friends. Chosen homophily occurred more frequently in larger more heterogeneous groups (McPherson and Smith-Llovin, 1987: 377).

Membership

One of the *fortes* of sociology is its ability to do macro-scale surveys. What these surveys find, with minor variations, is a lifetime curvilinear pattern with respect to voluntary association involvement. Specifically, this pattern has six stages over one's life-cycle: (1) young unmarried adults have little or no involvement (ages 17-24)⁶; (2) marriage and entry into the workforce will increase community (i.e. voluntary

associations) involvement (age 25-34); (3) people with pre-school children will reduce voluntary association membership (age 35-44); (4) people with school age children exhibit greater involvement (age 45-54); (5) the peak of voluntary association involvement occurs once children leave home (age 55-64); (6) in the senior years there is a steady decline in involvement (age 65+). In addition, there are two other elements that effect voluntary association membership: socio-economic status and education. The higher one's education and socio-economic status (SES), the more it is likely that one will be active in at least one voluntary association or even have multiple memberships (Garbin and Laughlin, 1965: 227-235; Baeumler, 1965: 235-240; De Bie, 1965: 201-206; Barnet and McDonald, 1976: 297-310; Cutler, 1976: 43-58; Knoke and Thomson, 1977: 48-65; Cohen and Kapsis, 1978: 1053-1071; Smith and Baldwin, 1983: 60; Palisi, 1985: 266-268; Palisi and Korn, 1989: 179-190).

It should be noted that all of these studies focus on the United States. This has occurred for a number of reasons. Granted, these are American based journals (Morris, 1965, points out the differences between American and British research), however, the explanation originates deeper than that. Tocqueville observed that America, unlike any other country, used and applied the principle of association successfully because of the doctrine of independence taught from birth ([1835]1946: 191). Tocqueville's focus is sometimes lost; associations are used in a political manner to serve as a check and balance system to "become a necessary guarantee against the tyranny of the majority"(1946: 194), as well as against a minority or individual. Thus, associations are formed to become lobby groups (or instrumental associations, see Babchuk and Gordon

below), or ultimately a political party in order to protect themselves. In a democracy, he reasoned, there is no aristocratic or noble class to check the power (1946: 195). Toqueville's characterization of America, however, as a nation of joiners has persisted. Nearly a century later, Weber's "Proposal for the Sociological Study of Voluntary Associations" remarks: "What is, qualitatively considered, the association-land par excellence? Without doubt America; and precisely because there membership in some middle-class association belongs directly to one's legitimization as a gentleman. . .Such clubs or associations are found spread among the bourgeoisie in great numbers. Today they are of increasingly of a worldly character. But the prototype of all associations is - and that can be studied right in America- the sect in the specific sense of the word"(Weber, 1922; Quoted in Little, 1983: 305). Curtis, Grabb, and Baer (1992: 139) say that "since these early assessments, several researchers have reinforced this view based on local and national American samples".

A large body of cross-cultural literature is lacking in the macro-scale survey sector. James E. Curtis with various co-authors has produced two articles comparing Canadians and Americans and a third article comparing 15 countries. The fifteen nations were: Canada, Great Britain, Italy, West Germany, Australia, Belgium, France, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Spain, and Sweden (Curtis, Grabb, & Baer: 1992: 142). All three of these studies were limited to respondents aged 21 or older. Americans hold claim to having a higher percentage of their population involved in voluntary associations(72%) when compared to Canadians(58%) and the citizens of other countries. These figures include unions and church/religious affiliations. Curtis, Grabb,

One particularly relevant survey was conducted by Bartolomeo Palisi "*Ethnic Generation and Social Participation*"(1965). His findings, based on Italian-Americans, showed that the first generation (immigrants) had a lower voluntary association participation (24%) compared to the second (American born) generation (33%) (1965: 222). This difference proved to be insignificant (1965: 222). In terms of social interaction, he found that the first generation participated with more immediate family while the second generation spent a larger portion of time with extended family. Palisi felt that the existence of an extended family was more conducive to voluntary association involvement (1965: 223, 226). Even though Palisi had a small sample based on a single ethnic group, he felt secure in hypothesizing his results to the general immigrant population. The first generation finds their status as immigrants inescapable, excluding their interaction with the host population and their consequent participation in voluntary associations. The second generation is still marginal to society. However, the third and following generations will become more active (Palisi, 1965: 22).

Incentives

Thus far, there has been an examination of the literature on who joins voluntary associations and when they choose to participate. Unanswered is the question of what motivates the percentage of the population that does volunteer to give up their leisure time in what may be viewed as work-like activities (Henderson, 1981: 208-218; 1984: 55-63; Rossides, 1966: 23). Knoke and Adams (1987: 286) say that, "all organizations confront the problems of inducing their participants to contribute personal resources towards the collective enterprise". There are three basic incentives involved in a person's

decision to join and stay with a voluntary association: (1) utilitarian incentives (wages, salaries, etc. which are inapplicable to voluntary associations), (2) normative incentives (the member's values such as achievement or moral compunctions) and, (3) affective incentives (symbolic and emotional responses to a group)(Knoke and Adams, 1987: 287-288; Knoke and Prensky, 1984: 5). No member will react in the same way to incentives presented by their association because of personal motivations, giving rise to some very complicated incentive systems (Knoke and Adams, 1987: 288).

The essential feature of an incentive system is an exchange of organizationally controlled values (material and symbolic) for individuals' participatory resources that are needed by the association to pursue its collective objectives (Knoke, and Adams, 1987: 288).

Brown and Zahrly (1989: 167-177) explain that if a member invests time into learning a skill to join, he or she will be less likely to quit. The higher the skill level and the more time invested the less is the likelihood of a high turn over. A result is that incentives are more internal to each individual than coming from the voluntary association (Brown and Zahrly, 1989: 168). Pearce, 1983, examined motivations and long-term goals. She found that once an individual joins the organization long-term goals played a less important role; she suggests that when a recruit joins, the long term should be downplayed because expectations are changed or decreased while social attraction becomes more important (1983: 148-57).

Relevant to this is the ethnographic work done on Voluntary Fire Departments (VFDs). VFDs are closed groups which require extensive training to join. The volunteer fire fighter becomes indoctrinated in the Firehall's modes of behaviour; both within the hall and expected modes when away. Lozier, (1976; 348) writes; "from fire training, a

recruit may acquire important social skills such as command, co-operation, communication, and self confidence. . .an ideology of mutual aid and fraternal co-operation". Members of VFDs show high commitment and provide a unified front (or group solidarity). This is particularly true in the face of competition. In the form of parades, each VFD attempts to prove its technical expertise and readiness. In addition, a VFD fire truck is viewed as a symbol of the organization's representative community; there exists a level of competition between other VFDs and their mobile symbols. Another form of competition is to be found in the realm of mutual aid when called for and in its performance (or lack there of) by a rival VFD. This ultimately leads to comparisons and ratings by each group. Behind the united front in competition and their public persona linger factions within the VFD at the informal level. For example, in the description of one VFD, Perkins (1987: 345) remarks "there are two factions which try to outsmart each other and direct the course of the department. Each group has an opposing view of the present and future. Both follow age and family lines"(Lozier, 1976: 348; Perkins 1987: 342-348; 1989: 269-277; 1990: 359-370).

Functions and Adaptations

Arnold Rose (1977) saw six main functions for voluntary associations: to distribute power over life among a large portion of the citizenry (i.e. against tyranny); to provide a sense of satisfaction with the modern, democratic process; to provide a social mechanism for continued social change; to provide social cohesion; to give a person a sense of identity with a small group that the person can influence; and a means of status enhancement and social mobility (Ross, 1977:8-9). Ross is quick to point out that the

fourth and fifth elements of this list are similar to Durkheim's⁷ concept of *anomie*. Many voluntary association theorists feel that urban life creates feelings of *anomie*. These feelings of *anomie* may be combatted by joining voluntary associations where the sense of belonging and social ties will reduce the feeling.

Selle and Oymyr (1992) look at how organizations adapt to their environments. Their argument is essentially that, "organizations are basically passive entities with minimal capacity for change"(1992: 148). They surveyed a large number of voluntary associations in Norway from 1941-1988, and discovered if an association is to remain in existence it must overcome four major problems; they are: (1) lack of membership recruitment is usually the dominant indicator of a problem; (2) problems finding a new leader; (3) poor economy; and (4) low level of activity; groups with high internal activity, but low dealing with the external community, had a higher risk of extinction (1992: 156-170). Furthermore, voluntary associations with one of acute problem usually had a problem with one or more of the other three areas (1992: 159). Voluntary associations that are starting out face an additional problem: the liability of newness; "extensive research has shown that organizational death rates decrease with age"(Selle and Oymyr, 1992: 159). Another combination which is deadly for Norwegian associations are low numbers and females (1992: 164). In the words of Selle and Oymyr, "the organizations that disappeared generally had fewer members and a larger proportion of women among their members, or they were organizations for women only"(1992: 164). This, however, may be explained by the type of organization; some organizations from the 1940s were attractive to the female population, such as small neighbourhood associations, had

outlived their usefulness by the 1980s (1992: 174). Defining these problems are only good for a post-mortems as they claim it is extremely difficult to predict the demise of a voluntary association especially if one is involved in it (Selle and Oymyr, 1992: 176).

Anthropological Studies

When one deals with anthropological writings on voluntary associations, the bulk of the literature has been directed toward rural-urban migration. In order to understand why this is so, one must first look at the work of Kenneth Little. Little's 1965 work, West Africa Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change is recognized as a pioneering classic in its field as well as a synthesis of his earlier writings (Kerri, 1974: 13). He describes the massive migration that occurred in West Africa between 1930-60 ([1965] 1970: 17-19). Little likens this migration to that which took place in Central and Western Europe during the 19th Century (1970: 8). The majority of the migrants were between the ages of 20-45, but he claims that the bulk of this group were closer to the lower end of this bracket (1970: 14). There were a number of reasons for the rural-urban migration. In no particular order, they are: hunger, money, need to break free of relatives, money for bride-wealth and adventure (1970: 8-12).

Upon arrival in the urban setting, the migrant found a system with roles based on wage labour, education, and politics, instead of one based on kinship (1970: 1). This brings us to the central thesis of Little's work: because the urban setting has a great potential for *anomie* and because, in general, the fresh urban migrant was ill-prepared, these migrants had to find a way of adapting. Their adaptation was facilitated by the proliferation of voluntary associations. An abundance of voluntary associations was a

direct result of migration (1970: 24). One of the main functions voluntary associations served was to reorganize migrants along clan lines and this meant the associations took over some of the functions of the traditional kin-based institutions. This provided a sense of continuity or stability for the migrant. Because of the lack of relatives, an immigrant would often elect to join a voluntary association based on tribal affiliation. As Little states, however, "the basis for common origin is often more imaginary than real"(1970: 27).

Another main function of the voluntary associations was to provide a link between the traditional and the urban settings (1970: 87). It should be mentioned that while the voluntary associations reorganized along clan lines, they did not follow them exactly. In other words, there was room left for interpretation. For example, Little explains that the higher the level of education of the members the less likely the voluntary association would follow rigid, traditional lines of organization (1970: 142). This was particularly true of the Young Men's associations which left plenty of room for ascribed statuses, particularly with regard to age roles (1970: 112). In all the forms of voluntary association that Little describes⁸ there were very definite sets of rules. Non-conformity to these rules resulted in expulsion from the association. In an urban setting this could mean social ostracism, particularly for the less educated (1970: 98). This ostracism was less dramatic for the more educated younger men. If they were kicked out of their associations, the educated men were more likely to challenge this by starting their own voluntary associations (1970: 103-117). As a result of this punishment for the less educated, the voluntary associations were able to introduce "civilizing effects" on the

migrant (1970: 89). The voluntary associations taught the individual how to deal with money, allowed them to meet other migrants from different places of origin with different interests in a friendly setting, and thus introduced different social norms (1970: 90, 99, 165).

The two main thrusts of Little's work are: (a) that voluntary associations adapt traditional institutions, and (b) that they are integrating mechanisms for a new social systems (1970: 163). Little's work was a synthesis of the thoughts of other anthropologist who have had a profound effect on anthropological thought on voluntary associations for quite some time⁹.

The only other anthropological book devoted solely to the description of voluntary associations in West Africa is Claude Meillassoux's 1968 ethnography of the Bamako in the Republic of Mali. Meillassoux discusses both the pre- and post-independence periods (independence was 1960). During the twenty years prior to independence he describes religious, youth, political, sport, cultural and regional mutual aid associations (1968: 57-68). Despite this variety, there were only 149 voluntary associations during the same twenty year period (or an average of 7.4 a year), with a peak of 23 voluntary associations in 1958 (1968: 58). However, things became more difficult for voluntary associations in the years following independence. Most became merely tolerated by the new government and many were reduced to the point of not having by-laws or even names (1968: 73). Notwithstanding the attitude of the government, regional self-help associations were able to survive. Meillassoux points out that someone who avoided these associations would be labelled by the community as a snob or an egoist who was

rejecting traditional values (1968: 78-79). In addition, Meillassoux describes entertainment associations. These are associations for musicians and are for the private entertainment of their members (1968: 87-95). Meillassoux delineates a number of other voluntary associations, but he does point out a common thread for all of them: "practically no association, whatever it's main purpose, fails to function as a *societe de marriage* (marriage broker) for its members" (1968: 75).

Even though Meillassoux perceives that many voluntary associations create a duality between European and Traditional culture, or even place a greater emphasis on European ways (1968: 116-139), he claims that voluntary associations are a poor method for integration. He feels this is so because voluntary associations fail to succeed in perpetuating themselves and because they are marginal to the larger society (1968: 146). Furthermore, Meillassoux claims that voluntary associations are indicators of social problems and are reflections of only some aspects of society (1968: 147). As he writes: "Voluntary associations. . . seem like bubbles rising and disappearing on the surface of boiling water"(1968: 147).

Hamer ([1967] 1970) describes the Sidamo of South West Ethiopia; these Cushic people described as semi-classical peasants, whose main form of employment was to harvest coffee, devised two types of voluntary associations. The first type was termed the self-interest associations. Originally they were formed by about eight to twenty men who were ostracized because of their Christianity. However, over time these groups evidenced a mixture of religious beliefs because of, "their tangential interests in acquiring efficient labour for harvesting coffee and periodically obtaining lump sums of

money"(1970: 295). Moreover, these "work savings associations" did duplicate traditional agnatic structures. The second type of voluntary association, those orientated toward establishing social influence, evolved out of the first. This was due to the fact that the coffee market was becoming more complex and that the work savings associations were losing money. Therefore, these associations came to be involved in the pricing of coffee, eliminating the middleman. "The result was that these associations assumed intended and unintended economic, political, educational, and motivational functions and shifted from an emphasis on self-interest to one on social influence"(Kerri, 1976a: 28). Moreover, these social-influence style associations, according to Hamer, developed a new social structure (1970: 302). Hamer thus finds that as well as aiding in urban transition, voluntary associations can help tribal and semi-peasants become full economic participants in a modern cash crop society (Hamer, 1970:291-301).

Likewise, Banton ([1956] 1970) describes Temme voluntary associations in Freetown, Sierra Leone. What he saw was the process of "de-tribalization" which occurred when the immigrant arrived in the urban setting. He points out that Temme meant uncivilized to the other members of Freetown's population. As a result, there was mass renunciation of their culture by the Temme. This put de-tribalization at it's apex because, "an African does not lightly renounce his own tribe" (Banton, 1970: 333). However in the 1930's this began to change when the young men took over the voluntary associations. What the new leaders of the voluntary associations did was to strike a delicate balance between adaption and integration. These voluntary associations, or companies as Banton refers to them, had an optimal size of approximately 70-90 members

and used Islam as an adaptive technique. This was principally because Islam established a boundary between the Temme and the Christian Creoles and Europeans. These companies¹⁰ worked to improve the image of the Temme by adopting Western styles of dress and behaviour. Furthermore, these companies had a proliferation of offices for their members to hold. In some cases there were half as many offices as there were members. Banton explains, "for if the new instrumental needs are to be met, new roles must be created, and to meet the young men's aspirations new prestige-conferring statuses have to be recognized"(1970: 338). This was in direct contrast to the limited tribal offices to which one could aspire. Ultimately, these companies were able to bring status and prestige to the idea of being Temme, a Tribe which had nearly lost its cultural identity.

Temme voluntary associations arose because of the reduced authority of the traditional tribal methods which left a vacuum that needed to be filled. These companies would not have been successful if they had not struck a balance between adaptive and integrative functions (Banton, 1970: 326-340). For a more in-depth discussion about Tribalism and the social position of a migrant in an urban setting, see Mitchell [1960] 1970: 257-269.

Along somewhat similar lines, Beidelman has discussed two different "movements" within the same tribe. Each of the two movements of the Kagura Tribe provides leadership and experience for its members (Beidelman, [1961], 1970: 324-5). Furthermore, both movements (which co-existed) are seen by Beidelman as a response to changes in the world with which traditional methods were unable to deal (1970: 303, 325). Despite vast differences, these two movements fought to attain a tribal unity. Beidelman remarks: "These two tribalistic movements , Umwano and U.S.A. are

intermediate and perhaps even necessary stages toward larger non-tribal organization"(1970, 324. Emphasis mine).

In one of the most reviewed articles of all time (Kerri, 1974: 21-22; 1976a: 32-33; Ooman, 1975: 170; Barnes and Peil, 1977: 95-96) Clifford Geertz's classic looks at "*The Rotating Credit Association: A "Middle Rung" in Development*"(1962). Geertz writes of those associations:

The basic principle upon which the rotating credit association is formed is everywhere the same: a lump sum fund composed of fixed contributions from each member of the association is distributed, at fixed intervals and as a whole, to each member of the association in turn (Geertz, 1962: 243).

Geertz surveys these associations in all their various forms throughout Africa and Asia. In each case the rotating credit association arises when there is a modern complex economy overtaking a traditional agrarian society (1962: 261). Therefore, the rotating credit associations are seen as a product of a changing society (1962: 260). The rotating credit association organizes traditional relations, the face to face dealings with each other, and the social obligations (shame could occur if one fails to live up to these obligations) and transforms them into new forms (Geertz, 1962: 247, 261; Graves and Graves, 1974: 113). The end result is that traditional relations change to become, "an institution whose functional significance is primarily to facilitate social and cultural change in respect to economic problems and processes"(Geertz, 1962: 261). Through the use of traditional institutions against the invasion of the complex economy, "the association is able, at least in many cases, to balance in such a way that severe disturbances of social equilibrium are avoided, even in a situation of fairly rapid social change"(Geertz, 1962: 261). In

addition, Geertz says that rotating credit associations act as a mechanism of socialization (1962: 260). Socialization is the learning of any new behaviour, particularly if it is functionally important within society (1962: 260). Furthermore, Geertz draws an analogy between socialization and a person climbing a ladder; the more integrated one becomes in the process, the higher one climbs. So, in a similar fashion to Beidelman, Geertz sees the rotating credit association as an intermediate step in the integration of an agrarian population to a more complex economic system (1962: 262-263).

In an ambitious undertaking Anderson (1971) describes "*Voluntary Associations in History*". He looks at four eras and the possible manifestations of voluntary associations (or formal common interest groups as he calls them) in each. Anderson states that in Palaeolithic-neolithic bands, voluntary associations were practically non-existent (1971: 209). Voluntary associations first appear in Neolithic villages. Using cross-cultural data, Anderson points out that horticultural villages from Africa, North America, and Oceania have created a number of different voluntary associations. "It seems reasonable to conclude that prehistoric horticultural villagers often did the same"(Anderson, 1971: 210). Villages, according to Anderson, became extensive between 6-7000 B.C., and consequently so did voluntary associations (1971: 210). Although Anderson is cautious about making any generalizations, contemporary data indicates that secrecy is an aspect of all voluntary associations and that age-grade associations play an important role in horticultural villages (1971: 212, 213). Often these voluntary associations became the focus of political power (1971: 214). As well, one must note the rise to the forefront of voluntary associations during this period (Kerri, 1976a: 25). The

development of voluntary associations was repressed during the era of pre-industrial states (Anderson, 1971: 213). Voluntary associations that flourished were destined for extinction because the state forced its own political system and organization in their place (1971: 214). Furthermore, in the pre-industrial state the elites failed to form voluntary associations, and "peasants rarely formed associations of any kind"(Anderson, 1971: 214). One class of people, however, did form voluntary associations: the merchants. Their associations were in the form of guilds which are defined as, "a response to the need for those with a shared interest in a craft or occupation to unite for economic and political power"(Anderson, 1971: 215). In essence, the pre-industrial era can be characterized as having approximately 90% of the population not involved in voluntary associations, with the exception of merchant's guilds (1971: 214-215). Industrialization is what really brought on voluntary associations; they were permitted by the government and flourished at all levels of society across the globe especially in the cities (1971: 215-216). The form associations took changed into what Anderson terms rational-legal. Rational-legal associations, a by-product of democratic and bureaucratic government, have elected officials, to facilitate decision-making easier, and they tend to be impersonal analogous to the law (1971: 214). Of special interest to Anderson was the use of rational-legal voluntary associations by migrants including their transportation of traditional institutions to the urban setting (1971: 216-218). This process of transportation "is undoubtedly world wide"(Anderson, 1971: 216), and enhances the integrity of traditional institutions. In industrial nations, he concludes, associations ultimately, "contribute to the stability of modern societies by providing social units intermediate between the individual and the

community"(Anderson, 1971: 218). Smith came up with an almost identical set of conclusions for primitive, peasant, and industrial societies (Smith, 1972: 113-134).

In a criticism of Anderson's article Kerri (1974: 11) writes that his work is generally excellent but, "many of his arguments and evidence remain conjectural. . . since concrete sustaining evidence seems unavailable". Kerri echoes this position in 1976a, by saying, "we simply do not have the concrete evidence for or against any type of evolutionary development of common interest voluntary associations"(Kerri, 1976a: 25).

Africa has been very popular with voluntary association researchers; Middleton postulates that this is because:

"one of the most important changes in the nature of society in Africa during this century has been the rapid development of cities and urban centres of varying kinds and sizes.. Although only a small proportion of Africa's population lives in cities, they are today of central importance to our understanding of contemporary African culture and social organization" (Middleton, 1970: 253).

Furthermore, Ben-Zadok and Kooperman (1988: 75) explain that what was seen as a rural-urban dichotomy was bridged to a continuum by anthropology. Voluntary associations in the urban centres of West Africa and the functions they performed "presented a unique research opportunity for anthropology and indeed has remained the domain of this discipline"(Ben-Zadok and Kooperman, 1988: 76). In a completely opposite point of view, Smith and Freedman claim that anthropological research may lack validity because of its focus on pre-industrial voluntary associations which differ from industrial ones (1972: 17-20). Moreover, they allege that anthropology is a late comer to voluntary association research, and that the discipline's work is mainly descriptive (1972: 16). The olive branch they offer, however, is praise for anthropology's

work in Africa, and the discipline's work on rural-urban transformation (1972: 20-21).

Graves and Graves' "*Adaptive Strategies in Urban Migration*" appeared in The Annual Review of Anthropology in 1974. The authors open by saying there has been a noticeable increase in anthropological studies of rural-urban migration since the 1950's (1974: 117). In this comprehensive survey they explain that adaptation had become a buzz-word: "Adaptation nicely captures a growing concern among anthropologists that the nature of man is best described as neither totally active nor passive but interactive" (Graves and Graves, 1974: 117). Calling voluntary associations a group-orientated strategy for adaptation, they delineate their functions as they see them. Voluntary associations provide chances for leadership, prestige, and organization. Moreover, voluntary associations, "reinforce ethnic group identification and cultural pride"(Graves and Graves, 1974: 137), while assimilative functions enhance the individual's resources (1974: 138). Next, they point out that the host community's attitude toward the migrant plays an important role; if the community discriminates, overtly or covertly, against the migrant's ethnic group there is a strong likelihood that ethnic voluntary associations to develop in response (1974: 141). Some times this further isolates the group creating increased discrimination in a negative feedback loop (1974: 141). Finally, voluntary associations that are based on tradition provide a familiar background, one predictable in an otherwise unpredictable arena for the migrant; this gives the migrant a feeling of control (1970: 140).

With the notable exception of Meillassoux, the main emphasis of articles to this point has been on adaption and integration. Graves and Graves, in particular, expound

on the merits of these two principles, but just as they were publishing their review article anthropological thinking on the subject was about to change. An early indication of this kind of change can be seen in the work of Coombs. Coombs' 1973 article examines Network theory in a voluntary association based in an apartment block in an unnamed American city. The voluntary association was a baby-sitting cooperative. His conclusions contain four main points. (a) There were no distinct patterns of interaction among members of the co-op. (b) Perception of social ties and actual use were different realities; he found ties of trust depended upon the physical distribution within the block, ties of obligation depended on changing behaviour of the group and its fundamental instability (pros and cons were weighed by each member). (c) individual decision making, largely ignored by anthropology according to Coombs, seemed to be less important than social ties. (d) The social organization was structured; it was an on going process that, depending on the size of the group, may never replicate itself (Coombs, 1973: 97-111).

In 1974 Mochon looked at "Hillsville" a Southern U.S.A. suburban community (1974: 47). She remarks: "structurally, Hillsville is organized by several types of households and by a set of voluntary associations"(Mochon, 1974: 59). The voluntary associations under review were the Summer Bible Schools, a Parent-Teacher Association, the Fire Department, and Community Improvement associations (1974: 60). However, she found that the voluntary associations failed to integrate everyone in the community. For migrants, integration only occurred with people who already held values espoused by the voluntary associations (1974: 60). In other words, only those who were pre-disposed to join a particular kind of voluntary association would join, and thus become integrated.

Kerri undertook a review of anthropological articles on voluntary associations in 1976a¹¹. In this oft-cited article, Kerri defines the parameters of his study as being restricted to anthropological articles on voluntary associations as adaptive mechanisms in "situations of change or modernization"(Kerri, 1976a:23, emphasis his). Before he starts his actual review, he introduces a narrower definition of voluntary associations: voluntary associations come under the umbrella of common interest associations, a term he feels should replace voluntary associations in the discipline of anthropology (Kerri, 1976a: 24). Using common interest as a basic criterion would clear up any ambiguity about the voluntary aspect of voluntary associations and the purpose of the group; common interest as opposed to political-geographical, territorial, or kinship considerations is central (1976a: 24). Next, he defines ethnic associations, another commonly albeit ambiguously used term in the literature. Kerri says that while one may notice associations formed primarily of membership from one ethnic group, ethnicity may not be the only factor involved:

This does not automatically mean that the bond of ethnicity is what brought them together. It is their interest in survival in the midst of the complexities and strangeness of the urban area, and not their ethnicity per se, that accounts for the formation of the association (Kerri, 1976a: 24).

Kerri's actual review discusses the major works focusing on adaptation to the time of publication. In his conclusion, he comments that the literature provides massive support for common interest associations acting as adaptive mechanisms (1976a: 34). Likewise, says Kerri, the literature on common interest associations has represented a change in thought toward the concept of individuals and groups having to adapt, particularly in a situation of change, to a culture instead of just culture as an adaptive mechanism (1976a:

34). Common interest associations are an important method for adaptation because they lack the rigidity of kin groups, which by definition have a difficult time forming and may be impossible to manipulate (Kerri, 1976a: 24). Since common interest associations are of a rational-legal character, they are less conservative and more flexible than kin or territorial groups (1976a: 24) This freedom is the key to their usefulness in circumventing the traditional pathways of adaptation, creating a new form of social organization, the common interest association (Kerri, 1976a: 34).

Current Anthropology allows for a Comments section following review articles of this nature. These comments present a number diverse views including cautious agreement (Little: 38); the pointing out of the commentator's special voluntary association research interest (Caulkins:36; Bhowmick:35; Gold:37; Messerschmidt:40¹²); the rigidity of some voluntary associations (Brunt:36; Muehlbauer:41);and the fact that the complexity of voluntary associations had been overlooked (Handleman:37). Hostile reactions¹³(Dobyns:36; Midgett:40; Wildesen:43); a refutation of Kerri's dismissal of ethnic associations because ethnicity is can be an important basis for a voluntary association (McCall:38-9; Mamak:39-40; Sharma:42); and a feeling that Kerri's attempt at a new definition was uncalled for and ultimately skewed his results (Sharma:42-3; Partridge:41; Mamak:39) also appeared.

There seems to be some validity in the remarks made by the commentators that chastise Kerri for dismissing ethnicity outright. An example can be drawn from Sharma:

For a Pakistani arriving in Britain, a logical place (probably the only affordable one) in which to stay is a house owned by a fellow countryman. Such a decision, together with the resulting network(i.e. association), is common interest (Sharma, 1976: 42).

Furthermore, disagreement can be found with Kerri's attempt to redefine voluntary associations as common interest associations. He attempts to clear up what he perceives to be an ambiguity of definition; that is anthropologists studying the voluntary aspect of voluntary associations (Kerri, 1976a: 24). This, however, does not seem to be the case with most articles examined. They have been direct in their topic of examination. As many of the commentators note, it certainly is a difficult task to do a review of this nature. Nevertheless, Kerri might have been better off avoiding the urge to split hairs or to attempt to add to the already elongated list of terms; a straight forward approach like that of Graves and Graves' 1974 review, might have been more appropriate.

Pierson described the Australian Aborigines adaptations to Adelaide in 1977. The Adelaide Aborigines he studies were permanent migrants with no defined geographic urban area in which they lived exclusively (i.e. no slum, "little Italy", etc.)(1977: 48). Pierson describes two variables involved in the decision to migrate from the reserve: (a) the proximity of Adelaide and the belief it will provide better opportunities and advantages, and (b) the presence or absence of friends and kin (1977: 49). In the latter case there are often a number of visits before an Aborigine decides to migrate; and in the former opportunities are seen in employment and education (1977: 49). When the Aborigines form voluntary associations they are exclusively aboriginal, providing economic, educational, psychological, and political resources for their members (1977: 54-55). More important to Pierson's thesis, however, is not the question of when they associate, but why they associate. Aboriginal people are a highly visible minority and are discriminated against in overt and clandestine ways contrary to official government policy

(1977: 49-51). Consequently, as Graves and Graves predict, the Aborigines are limited in the ways in which they can associate except with other Aborigines (Pierson, 1977: 53; Graves and Graves, 1974: 141). Pierson makes the usual arguments about adaptation. However, because of the dominant (European) population Aboriginal integration is impossible. It is only through self-run voluntary associations that they are able to "ignore or attempt to overcome the discrimination and prejudice frequently encountered in daily life"(Pierson, 1977: 55).

In 1977, Barnes and Peil published *"Voluntary Association Membership in Five West African Cities"*. The five cities under study were: Lagos, Tema, Aba, Abeokuta, and Kaduna (Barnes & Peil, 1977: 83). Barnes and Peil's core issue was finding out if migrants use voluntary associations as adaptive mechanisms. First, they found that, contrary to their expectations, those in the lower socio-economic status in West Africa had the highest percentage of voluntary association memberships. The elite tended to avoid voluntary associations (1977: 88, 100). Next, they discovered that voluntary associations wax and wane over time (similar to Meillassoux's report) (1977: 99). Their third point is in reference to what they term 'Primary Associations'. A Primary Association is defined as being, "based on ties of ethnicity, kinship or home town (and) have attracted much of the attention given to organizations in West Africa" (Barnes and Peil, 1977: 91). Primary Associations draw their membership from people who have been urbanites for more than five years: "In other words, new migrants find jobs and a place to live before they participate in primary associations rather than using associational aid to make these arrangements"(Barnes and Peil, 1977: 91). One exception was found in

Aba: Barnes and Peil claimed that in certain local situations voluntary associations are used as adaptive mechanisms (1977: 97). Barnes and Peil concluded that it is the long-term resident who becomes interested in voluntary associations because of the commitment to life in the city (1977: 99). "In general, associations in West African cities of the 1970's do not play a prominent role in integrating new migrants into the community", the authors write, "but appeal to a more stable segment of the population"(Barnes and Peil, 1977: 102). Furthermore, they feel that voluntary associations are a social form, albeit minor in the larger picture, functioning in meeting the needs or requirements of city dwellers (1977: 102).

In 1978, Walker and Hanson published *"The Voluntary Associations of Villalta: Failure with a Purpose"*. After reviewing some of the anthropological literature on voluntary association adaptation the authors claim that Villalta, a pseudonym for a Dominican town of approximately 5000 people, is atypical (1978: 164). Walker and Hanson reveal that there have been numerous voluntary associations formed in Villalta; on the surface there appears to be an active and diverse voluntary association life emerging as an adaptation to modern pressures (1978: 67). A voluntary association will be established when outside officials force the issue. The reaction, however, is opposite to what is expected; the example of Educational associations is typical:

The associations have usually been formed at a public meeting organized by the *la gente mas importante* (the privileged members of the community) in cooperation with the official; and though the number of people attending may be considerable and enthusiasm apparently high at the time, the associations have usually collapsed a few days later and the programs have become another paper operation (Walker and Hanson, 1978: 66).

They claim that nearly all of the voluntary associations only exist on paper and are not

active organizations because of the lack of enthusiasm and sometimes because of internal disagreements (1978: 65). The explanation behind this, according to Barnes and Peil, is that voluntary associations are formed because of the outside pressure to create them. Once the outside pressure has been relieved (or appeased) then the voluntary association becomes a voluntary association on paper only (1978: 67). The community's intension is to appear to be progressive and responsive to an outsider's suggestions: "The community has its associations on a stage. . . The performance itself is most important, not what happens after its conclusion and the departure of the audience" (Walker and Hanson, 1978: 67). Emically the people may believe that the voluntary associations will become viable; nevertheless, the etic reality shows that the associations has no purpose or role to play of the community's structure (1978: 67). Finally, Walker and Hanson warn potential investigators about looking for adaptive functions in voluntary associations because they may not be what they appear to be:

We do not deny that the community itself has not changed in the process. It has learned how to contrive performances and deceive outsiders and perhaps in this rather unsalutary sense has become more modern (Walker and Hanson, 1978: 67).

Therefore, despite its denials, the community has adapted to outside pressures, using voluntary associations in a unique fashion. Patricia Sadler advocates a similar approach to Walker and Hanson. She claims that without intensive fieldwork/participant observation one may not understand "crisis cults" completely (1977: 209-210).

Saskia Sassen-Koob, in a 1979 article, describes Dominican and Columbian ethnic voluntary associations in New York City. The article opens by declaring all immigrant workers go through the same trials and tribulations (Sassen-Koob, 1979: 314). The

Dominican and Columbian communities, the two largest Hispanic communities in New York, are recent immigrants to New York City; therefore they must deal with questions of adaptation (1979: 315,316). Sassen-Koob's

"article proposes that the incidence and types of voluntary associations in an immigrant colony can be used as an indicator of the differential weight of cultural-ideological and structural factors in the articulation of the immigrant colony with the receiving society"(Sassen-Koob, 1979: 315).

The results were as follows: There was a profusion of Dominican voluntary associations (36) as opposed to Columbian (16) (1979: 321). This was a consequence of differences in both the country of origin and in the host country (1979: 327). In other words, culture shock for Dominicans (mostly wage labourers) was greater than for the Colombians (middle and lower middle class) resulting in a large number of voluntary associations in the former community as an adaptive support base (1979: 315). This is further exemplified by the type of organizations and the characteristics of its membership. Using the typology of Babchuk and Gordon (1962, see above) Sassen-Koob explains that Dominican voluntary associations are, for the most part, the recreational (or expressive) in nature (1979: 325). "It is our finding that expressive voluntary associations are mediating agents"(Sassen-Koob, 1979: 327). In contrast, Colombians create instrumental/lobby type voluntary associations (1979: 325). Therefore, Sassen-Koob concludes that both the structural differences and the type of migrant (referring to the socio-economic status of the migrant's home country) help determine the type and number of voluntary associations a particular community will form in the host country (Sassen-Koob, 1979: 328).

As anthropology entered the 1980s, there were even more questions about

voluntary associations and the established social science perspectives on them. This time the questions were directed at a more fundamental assumption than that of adaption or integration as represented by Hamer (1982: 303), the argument focuses on "whether traditional social systems provide an appropriate organizational basis for establishing cooperative and self-help associations for coping with socio-economic change". Using the Sadama of Ethiopia, and a plethora of cross-cultural material, as a basis for his discussion, Hamer outlines three main problems with kin-based or traditional-based voluntary associations. First, the reliance upon close relatives means the relatives will be taken for granted (1982: 304). Close relatives are always there as a last resort or reserve fall-back. The problem here is the system is generally unspecific with regard to when reciprocity between two relatives is to be repaid and also as to the quality of repayment (1982: 305). This is antagonistic to voluntary association structures which require maximum efficiency and quality of reciprocity to run effectively (1982: 306, 309).

Secondly, there is the problem of rivalry. During his fieldwork Hamer (1982: 306-309) noted 14 instances of rivalry between and within the generations; there is solidarity between brothers only when external opposition is present. Due to birth-order and ascribed generational differences, relations of kinship are structurally unequal resulting in rivalry. There is a contradiction, Hamer says, between the system's stress on harmony and the existence of rivalry based on seniority and inheritance. Using cross-cultural evidence he explains how this contradiction forces an amplified stress on thinking well of one's kin. "Thinking well of one's relatives makes it possible to take for granted at least a minimum of assistance from them"(Hamer, 1982: 309).

Finally, associations are egalitarian in nature; kinship systems are not (1982: 309). Voluntary associations generally have a system of checks and balances; what Hamer terms institutional suspicion (1982: 309). Associations based on close kin replace impersonal rules with personal trust (again, thinking nice thoughts about one's relatives). The institutionalized suspicion of voluntary associations casts a shadow over this kinship trust, and may ultimately destroy it (1982: 304).

An association formed by kin among the Bukusu of western Kenya provides a clear example of the failure one would expect in a large-scale undertaking (DeWolf, 1977: 61). Through the formation of a taxi and bus service, a small group of kinsmen sought to promote cohesiveness in coping with socioeconomic change. They all contributed to the purchase of the vehicles, but later quarrelled over profit contribution, dissolving the society and severely straining kinship bonds (Hamer, 1982: 311).

Furthermore, motivated by short-term goals, members join voluntary associations in an attempt to improve their mutual standard of living (Hamer, 1982: 310). This self-interest, at least for the Sadama, is opposed to long-term kin-based commitments (1982:309). In sum, Hamer sees associations as having large numbers, youthful leadership, an intercultural commitment, and competitiveness. Kin systems have small numbers, ascribed gerontocratic leaders, and an emphasis on harmony(1982: 310). Therefore, in direct contrast to the general body of anthropological literature, Hamer feels that voluntary associations based on anything other than kinship have a better chance of success. In his conclusion Hamer hedges a bit and claims kinship-based organizations may be useful in some situations; particularly when respect for authority and personalized methods are required (1982: 312).

Muehlbauer (1983) outlines voluntary associations as a mechanism for power

acquisition. Aussenberg, a Swiss Alpine commune (a commune is the smallest Swiss unit of measurement for a village), was a relatively stable agrarian community until 1943. Prior to that year, the commune was dominated by two factions, a commonplace occurrence in most Swiss Alpine communities (1983: 305). The factions, based on kinship, developed out of real and imagined trespasses on land and water supply, both of which were scarce commodities (1983:305-6). Factionalism played an prominent part in nearly all facets of commune life (1983: 306). One faction had control over the commune power structure (1983: 305-8). Muehlbauer reveals that Aussenberg always had voluntary association activities¹⁴ including a brass band association that was generally only for the prestigious members of the community (1983: 305). In 1943 a grocery cooperative was founded because the two store owners, who also happened to be the political leaders, showed alleged favouritism with war rations (1983: 307, 305). Muehlbauer says that this move would never have been attempted if two things failed to occur: (a) the presence of wage labour, introduced in 1910, allowing some freedom from the traditional system (1983: 304, 307, 308, 310), and (b) a population increase of 50% which created an increased strain on the taxed resources (1983: 307, 309). In other words, the traditional methods of social control were failing to adapt and maintain their functions because of internal and external pressures (1983: 302, 309). The grocery co-op was a prelude to the formation, after a period of overt and sometimes violent factionalism, of a second political party by disaffected citizens and other members of the minority faction (1983: 305) This gave the minority faction access to the government (1983: 309). "The formation of a second political party probably represents a response to the inability of the traditional

political set up to handle problems imposed by an increased population with new and diverse economic resources"(Muehlbauer, 1983: 309). By means of voluntary associations they were able to change an unsatisfactory situation, gain access to government (power), "eventually increasing the efficiency, complexity and diversity of local organization"(Muehlbauer, 1983: 309). Other voluntary associations were soon added to the political party to fill in the void or need for other services (1983: 309). Ultimately, Muehlbauer sees voluntary associations as an adaptive mechanisms.

Talai, in a 1984 article, *"Mobilization and Diffuse Ethnic organization: The London Armenian Community"*, examines some of the basic constructs of anthropological theories on voluntary associations. Specifically, he feels that "anthropologists have more usually concentrated on a particular function or objective. . . to which they attach special priority in their assessments of the performance of these organizations"(Talai, 1984: 199). The London Armenian community has faced little racial biases or exclusion giving them anonymity as an ethnic group despite the majority of its members being first-generation immigrants. Furthermore, there is no concentrated area of Armenian settlement in London (1984: 203). Armenians experience an active social life through voluntary associations, "in what could be termed the "leisure" time of the members concerned"(Talai, 1984: 203-4). The reason is behind this is because the Armenians have migrated from a number of different countries: Syria, Cyprus, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt, India, and Ethiopia (1984: 204). Consequently, the community is heterogeneous in relation to interests and experience (1984: 204). "In short, not only are the Armenians engaged in a variety of pursuits and hold a range of different interests in their respective

involvements to greater London, they have also come to this location from different backgrounds for different reasons and with different expectations of their residence in the city"(Talai, 1984: 204-5).

Among the Armenian population there are two areas in which both ethnic unity and internal divisiveness are concentrated: language and religion (Talai, 1984: 205). London Armenians feel that religious issues are causing increased divisiveness; Armenian language-use is on the decline particularly among those who are of the second generation. These two topics are the focus of debates within the community and directly result in a multitude of voluntary associations. Talai stresses the importance of maintaining a high profile for the survival of these voluntary associations (1984: 210-211). Each association is evaluated by the Armenians, particularly by active members, on two levels within and between associations(1984: 203, 211). "More precisely, the role of each association is defined and appraised in terms of relevant constraints and comparisons drawn with other London Armenian voluntary associations"(Talai, 1984: 211). This is where the heart of Talai's article lies: the informal network. He maintains that the informal has been long overlooked because of anthropology's interest in functions (see above). The formal aspects (the structure of the voluntary association, regulations, bureaucratic aspects, etc.) work in conjunction with the informal to create an "organizational diffuseness"(Talai, 1984: 198-200).The informal network is enhanced by multiple memberships in different voluntary associations held by some individuals and an overlap or repetition of functions by different associations. The overlap will represent the different interests within the community, but more importantly, it creates a network of ethnic voluntary associations,

which in turn create more opportunities and occasions for the Armenians to get together as an ethnic group (1984: 211, 215-216). Even though organizational diffuseness creates these opportunities, the network may be detrimental to the achievement of voluntary associations' particular goals, as the informal and the informal often are in conflict (Talai, 1984: 200,215).

Next, Hsieh chronicles Chinese voluntary associations in Hong Kong. In this synthesis of Hsieh's earlier works, the author considers the 14 Waichow Hakka associations dispersed over the city (Hsieh, 1985: 155). Waichow designates the area of origin; Hakko means guest people in reference to the feeling of foreignness in Hong Kong (Hsieh, 1985: 154). Furthermore, Hsieh points out that among the Chinese these people constitute a minority (1985: 158). The Waichow Hakka associations (WHA) are based on dialect, locality¹⁵, and kinship. These associations are made up of members who comprised the third wave of migration from after 1949 (1985: 155). Because of the Communist Government in China, these migrants were unable to contact relatives at home (1985: 156). Upon arrival, furthermore, the Communist Government's non-immigration policy may leave them stranded without kinship relations in Hong Kong (1985: 157). If this is the case, joining an association organized on traditional kinship principles may prove to be difficult. In a similar fashion to what Little describes (1970: 27), the WHAs use "kinship and loyalty as abstract concepts, but not involving actual relationship per se"(Hsieh, 1985: 157). Over time the WHAs have changed their organization and context; because of urban changes these adaptations were necessary (1985: 157, 159). To help their members adapt to the urban context the WHAs provide: cultural, economic, political,

and social services (1985: 157).

This, however, is where the similarities between Little's and Hsieh studies end. While the majority of West African voluntary associations described in the 1950s and 1960s were established to facilitate adaptations to Western style economics and modes of behaviour, the Waichow Hakka associations are "a mechanism for perpetuating and preserving a particular culture"(Hsieh, 1985: 158). The WHAs became meeting places or a haven for them (1985: 158). The Hakka have a highly developed sense of solidarity and have been clever in perpetuating their culture, however, Hsieh outlines four major cracks in the foundation of these associations (1985: 159). As previously pointed out, dialect is one of the founding principles of these associations. The problem is that the dialect is dying out. Second and third generation Waichow descendants have failed to pick it up. The younger people feel alienated because of the small numbers of their age group in the associations and the advanced age of the leaders (1985: 159). Physical proximity and settlement patterns are also sources of problems. Because of the lack of a Waichow district and greater physical mobility, it is difficult to achieve full member participation (1985: 158). Also important are considerations of rapid assimilation. Hsieh calls for the practice of endogamy within the Chinese minority. In addition, the Hakka associations must be successful in attracting migrants who make it out of China (1985: 159). Finally these associations face difficulties because of a lack of central leadership. Two main clusters of WHAs exist which are antagonistic. Survival of WHAs will benefit from a central authority to galvanize the two main factions as well as to solidify the small low-level associations that have been acting on their own accord (1985: 159). Ultimately,

the strength of this article lies in its demonstrating a set of ethnic voluntary associations that are dedicated to the maintenance and preservation of a disappearing culture and not toward integration and adaptation.

There are three waves of anthropological focus on voluntary associations. The initial wave of the 1960s and 1970s concentrated on voluntary associations as mechanisms for the African rural migrant to adapt and integrate into urban society. The second wave of studies was characterized by debate over the validity of the adaptation-integration analysis. These second wave studies widened the geographical interest beyond Africa to examine voluntary associations in Australia, Latin America, and the United States of America, for example. Pierson, Mochon, and Barnes and Peil showed interest in examining the integrative functions of voluntary associations. These author's conclusions indicated that integration only occurs for those pre-disposed, or holding the same values as the dominate society. Kerri, Walker and Hanson, and Pierson viewed associations as adaptive mechanisms. However, the 1970s were focused on proving or disproving voluntary associations as adaptation and integration mechanisms. By the 1980s anthropological studies expanded beyond a narrow concern with adaptation to a consideration of the many diverse aspects of voluntary associations. 1980s interpretation concentrated on voluntary associations functioning primarily as perpetuators of ethnic identity aided by informal networks and abstract kinship.

Voluntary Associations in Canada and Winnipeg

Up to this point the examination has focused on anthropological perspectives on voluntary associations over four decades on almost every continent. One area, however,

has been deliberately omitted: studies based in Canada, and particularly Winnipeg. Apart from the survey work of Curtis et.al., the literature on voluntary associations pertaining to Canada, and in particular Winnipeg, is neither recent (ethnographic data on voluntary associations in Winnipeg has not been produced since 1983) or extensive. Because of this the literature which exists on Canadian voluntary associations can only be understood in light of the general developments in the study of voluntary associations. Before we examine Winnipeg pipe bands, a brief survey of the publications on Canadian and Winnipeg voluntary associations is required.

Price's early article on this subject compares and contrasts "*U.S. and Canadian Indian Urban Ethnic Institutions*" (1975). Although his focus is on Toronto and Los Angeles he does look at several other North American cities, including a comparison of L.A. and Winnipeg (1975: 44). Price explains that Native ethnic urban institutions¹⁶ were run and designed by non-Natives, primarily whites, until approximately 1965 (1975: 38-39). The focus of government programs was toward reservation and rural Indians, leaving independent organizations to fill the urban void (1975:41). The development of an ethnic ethic, where the Natives take control of their own institutions, was required for the institutions to become effective (1975: 35, 51). Price delineates four stages of Native development in the city. First, and most common, are bars. Those bars that have a Native-based clientele are important because they provide a relaxed social atmosphere where Natives can enjoy urban life. Price claims, however, they are dysfunctional because of the, "social overlap between Indian ethnic culture and the skid row lower culture in a city"(Price, 1975: 40). The next stage, usually occurring in urban centres

with Native populations exceeding several thousand, is a complicated kinship-friend network and the emergence of Indian centres (1975: 41). Price writes that these networks may replicate the bar culture without the dysfunctions or, "debilitating paternalism of non-Indian government and church agencies"(Price, 1975: 42). As a result of self-staffing, the third stage is the development of common-interest associations aimed toward accentuating a positive Native identity (1975: 42). Finally, the fourth stage sees the development of institutions that are entrepreneurial, academic, and professional (1975: 42). As the urban institutions progress through their stages the Native finds meaningful social discourse through Native-run voluntary associations and various networks. Government programs, church groups, and the bars become less important for the permanent migrant. In his conclusion, he writes:

Ethnic institutions are social inventions that help create an urban community with enough familiarity of common custom and tradition; with enough intimate contacts with the same people; and enough exclusiveness, discrimination and boundary maintenance to be satisfying (Price, 1975: 50-51).

These associations, according to Price, create a social sphere for the Native migrant that reduces mental stress (1975:51). These associations facilitate an adaptive mechanism for the Naive migrant.

In his book, Saint Pascal: Changing Leadership in a Quebec Town, Gold discusses voluntary associations as means of influencing decision making (1975). Club Richelieu, the main voluntary association of Gold's study, is an outer shell of an entrepreneurial group containing most of the members of the industrial elite of Saint Pascal. Through a series of rituals, almost mandatory attendance, and restricted membership the Club

Richelieu is able to maintain social control and a strong group identity (1965: 145-53). In addition, members of Club Richelieu are informally integrated with other groups, particularly those with manufacturing interests (146, 168). "The manufacturers, with representatives in every major voluntary association, succeed in influencing the course of local decision making by fostering a working relationship with youth groups and leisure associations"(Gold, 1975: 168). A by-product of the manufacturer's involvement over of leaders within the voluntary associations; leaders feel they must make a choice between personal ambition, corporate interests, and representing their members (1975: 174). Willmott points out that the leaders of voluntary associations are becoming elites (high SES) with top-down policies instead of membership inspired (1971: 10). In addition, people responding from a survey in the prairie provinces, felt that an 'in group' made the decisions in their voluntary associations (1971:13). In Biggar, Saskatchewan, Laskin found that "the leadership of voluntary associations appears to come from somewhat less than one-fourth of the families in town" (Laskin, 1962: 16). In Norway, Caulkins found voluntary association offices were held by the elites as well (1983: 176).

In 1976, Houser examined the Swedes in Eriksdale, Manitoba. From 1918-1927 the Idog Lodge of the Vasa order of America was the centre of town activities on the last Sunday of each month. This order held their meetings in Swedish. The Swedish community in Eriksdale has long since broken up, however the eight remaining members of the Idog Lodge still conduct meetings in Swedish in spite of the majority of other lodges of the Vasa order in North America using English. In addition, those who have left Eriksdale maintain contact with their former community through the Strindberg lodge

(Vasa) in Winnipeg (Houser, 1976: 31-2, 99).

Moving directly to Winnipeg, Kerri (1976b) describes a Native's social adaptation strategies. His focus is on the social adjustment, which is not necessarily interchangeable with economic adjustment, of the immigrant. Kerri lists eleven reasons why voluntary associations are pivotal for social and economic development. These points are:

"(1) they act as political pressure groups seeking from decision-making bodies legislation and decisions that will promote the interests of their members or the interests they purport to articulate; (2) they act as a means of distributing power by getting many people involved in making of decisions; (3) they perform 'deliberative' functions in the sense that they often act as a basis for bringing people together to discuss issues considered of interest to the whole community in which they are found; (4) they act as points of articulation with official political units at the local, provincial, and federal levels; (5) they carry out economic functions, by seeking the recognition, the protection, and the promotion of the economic interests of their members; (6) they provide leisure time activities through the voluntary and unpaid participation of members in such associations; (7) they provide their members a means by which they may effectively learn new behavioral techniques for coping with a changing social system and they also carry out activities with feedback effects of an educational nature; (8) they perform integrative functions to the extent that they provide new occasions for meeting class-segregated groups or groups segregated on other social bases (e.g., ethnicity, race, language); (9) they perform "mediative" functions by bringing together conflicting groups under a common platform based on interest in a larger, more inclusive and overall concern, thereby helping to mitigate conflicts at lower levels of interaction; (10) they act as adaptive mechanisms, enabling adjustment or adaptation of their members to their new social environment with a sense of security and a feeling of social identity otherwise not easily attainable in a new relatively strange situation; and (11) they provide their members with a means of obtaining greater prestige and social recognition by distinguishing them as concerned and interested citizens"(Kerri, 1976b: 147-148).

These points are similar to the seven Kerri explained in his study on Fort McMurry (1970: 75-93). In this work he examines Fort McMurry and the dichotomy between the Great Canadian Oil Sands Company and local Business men (1970: 61). The six

voluntary associations he analyses (1970: 62-69) became a forum to reduce tensions and conflict. In other words, the factions both participated in the voluntary associations which provided a mediating role (Kerri, 1970: 61).

In addition, he examines the pre-urban experience of the Winnipeg migrant. Specifically, if there is some pre-urban voluntary association experience, the migrant will be more likely to join an urban voluntary association (1976b: 146). Kerri found that 18% of native migrants to Winnipeg had pre-urban voluntary association experience; of this percentage, 70% were likely to join urban voluntary associations (1976b: 146). The total urban membership, however, increases from 18% (rural) to 34% (urban) (1976b: 145). This, he claims, is not because of the increased number of urban voluntary associations, but increased need for social adaptation (1976b: 145). Kerri also looks at the presence of kin and their bearing on a migrant's support system. Despite the large number of Natives with family relations in Winnipeg (92%) only 31% maintained any contact with relatives. This compares to 73% maintaining contact in rural areas. He writes that kin in the urban area may be non-supportive of a migrant's adjustment (1976b: 148-149). Kerri offers two explanations for the lessened contact. First, there is a certain decay in Winnipeg of the corporate family work group. As well, lessened contact may occur because the migrant finds contact undesirable (Kerri, 1976b: 149, 151). The role of the family in adjustment, however, may be latent, notwithstanding the Native migrant's wishes (1976b: 151). In conclusion, Kerri says there are three types of native migrants to Winnipeg. The first is the type that, by conscious or unconscious effort, ends up involved in the bar culture to make up for a lack of social skills. This type is unlikely

to make a permanent, successful migration to the city. The second is the "loner" type who actively avoids involvement with Natives or anyone else. Finally, there is the individual who has the highest chance of success because of his or her significant interaction with kin and friendship networks, voluntary associations, and leisure pursuits that do not involve intoxicants (1976b: 154). In addition, he concludes that social as well as adjustment factors are important, "although (the migrant's) complete success depends on a few other variables as well, such as his perceptions of the community, his reasons for migration, and the fulfilment of his expectations"(Kerri, 1976b: 154).

Cleto Buduhan's 1972 M.A. thesis on Filipino garment workers describes the first Filipino voluntary association in Winnipeg; it was organized by professionals (Doctors and Teachers) in 1960 (1972: 87). Over the course of the 1960s, a few voluntary associations were formed; some with the express purpose of helping filipinos immigrants integrate and adapt to Winnipeg (1972: 88-9). The majority of the migrants were uneducated and became garment workers. The newly arrived Filipino's first introduction to Winnipeg came by means of the professional's voluntary associations although it soon became apparent the garment workers had a different set of problems (1972: 88-9, 184). Specifically, the garment workers felt ostracized within their own culture because of their education levels and the relative inability to speak English (1972: 90). The result was a division into two classes: professionals and blue collar workers. For the garment workers, the only contact with the city was in terms of employment; therefore, they only learned the minimum required for interaction with the host community. Ultimately, according to Buduhan, they adapted by practising cultural transplantation, choosing to reject

assimilation into the larger community, unlike the professionals (1972: 188).

More recently, Ross looked at voluntary associations in Winnipeg's Italian community. Ross describes the Italian's informal network as notably strong; however, the focus of his thesis is on Italian voluntary associations. They, as a whole, have an impact on the community in spite of a low percentage of community members who actually become involved (1983: 130, 135, 192-3). Italian voluntary associations, rather than a single individual, provide leadership for the Italian community in Winnipeg; since World War II there have been 30 voluntary associations, 21 of which were still in operation at the time of publication (1983: 186, 136-7). Ross describes seven types of voluntary associations although only two will be delineated here: regional, and socio-cultural/educational¹⁷. Italy, Ross says, is largely rural in nature except in the industrial northern region; northern emigrants are more urban and better educated than southerners (1983: 148). Migrants from the north tend to feel superior to those from the south who may respond with feelings of jealousy and resentment (1983: 148). Furthermore, these manifestations are also based on economic and linguistic difference which have been described as "an age-old dichotomy"(Ross, 1983: 148). Ross says that Italians as a whole describe themselves as stubborn and cliquish which may also be a basis for the perceived differences resulting in different aims and objectives for different regional associations (1983: 150). Moreover, these differences are often displayed at Italian sporting events resulting in further divisions within the Winnipeg community (1983: 148). Ross concludes that the regional differences are beneficial, because they give people a chance to interact with individuals from their own regional culture. These regional differences,

however, are at the expense of a city-wide Italian identity (1983: 156).

Socio-cultural/educational associations on the other hand were formed with a precise purpose: to bridge the age-generational gap occurring within the community. This gap was based on the older generation's (particularly those present before World War II) observation of the decline of the Italian language and culture among the post-war and Canadian-born members of the community. Consequently, these associations were founded to teach Italian language and heritage (1983: 156-9). As a result, this led to the successful lobbying of the University of Manitoba to teach Italian Language courses (1983: 165).

In conclusion Ross claims that the voluntary associations were created to deal with the problems the informal network had trouble controlling (1983: 172-3). In the meantime, the voluntary association's combined effect was to give satisfaction to social, nostalgic, and involvement motives (institutional completeness), while pursuing a general common interest in the perpetuation and survival of an ethnic community (1983: 197-8, 231). Finally, the explanation for delineating the two types of associations above lies in one of his closing remarks: "This density of intra-group formal and informal voluntary associations has maintained in-group solidarity and identity as well as inter-group social distance"(Ross, 1983: 235).

The publications on Canadian voluntary associations has focused on a number of topics. Price and Kerri examined urban voluntary associations that aid in a Native migrant's adaptation. Gold, Willmott, and Laskin looked at the role of elites in associations. Finally, Houser, Buduhan, and Ross delineated voluntary associations as

perpetuators of ethnic identification.

Summary/Analysis

There are four main points to be emphasized from the sociology section of this chapter. First, the instrumental-expressive continuum holds true even today. Secondly, researchers have continuously demonstrated that an individual's participation in voluntary associations follows a curvilinear pattern over their life-cycle. Third, the work of Curtis et. al. establishes that Canadian data follows the trends of American data. Lastly, the motivations of the voluntary association inclined individual will change over time.

The anthropological section has attempted to show a development of thought and practice on voluntary associations from its initial interest in African associations. The second wave of studies showed diversification of geographical areas. However, adaption and integration have been dominate topics whether to prove or disprove their viability. The 1980s saw anthropology focusing on ethnic associations and their interactions with the larger community. Specifically, voluntary associations were seen as a mechanism for ethnic group maintenance. Canadian and Winnipeg studies concentrated on associations functioning as adaptation mechanisms for elites, native migrants, and ethnic identification.

CHAPTER III: WINNIPEG PIPE BANDS

Introduction

The ethnographic description in this chapter will focus on the Saint James Highlanders (SJH, a pseudonym) and shall contrast this material with that of ethnographic description of a second pipe band, the Saint Vital Lowlanders (SVL, a pseudonym) as well as other bands. Both of these bands are located in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. According to the 1991 census, 3.3% of the Canadian population claimed to be wholly (single response) of Scottish descent. If the responses are expanded to include those declaring partial Scottish heritage (multiple response), the figure expands to 12.4% nation wide. The first significant European settlement in Manitoba was founded by Scots in 1811. This was known as the Selkirk settlement after the Earl of Selkirk who was responsible for the emigration. Today, Manitoba's Scottish descended population is equal to the national average, with 3.4% single responses, but slightly lower, at 10.4%, for province-wide multiple responses. The city of Winnipeg has a population of 652,350 of which 21,935 people claim singular Scottish descent and 99,455 indicated partial Scottish descent, or 3.4% and 15.2% (significantly higher) respectively (see table 1).

In 1932, MacKinnon wrote that "a recent survey shows that there are something like 60 pipe bands in Canada"(1932:236-7). Winnipeg, along with Vancouver and Toronto, all reported having four bands apiece, which was the largest contingent of that era. According to The Western Pipe Band Directory (an incomplete list at best) there are sixteen bands based in Manitoba. Most are based in Winnipeg. Across western

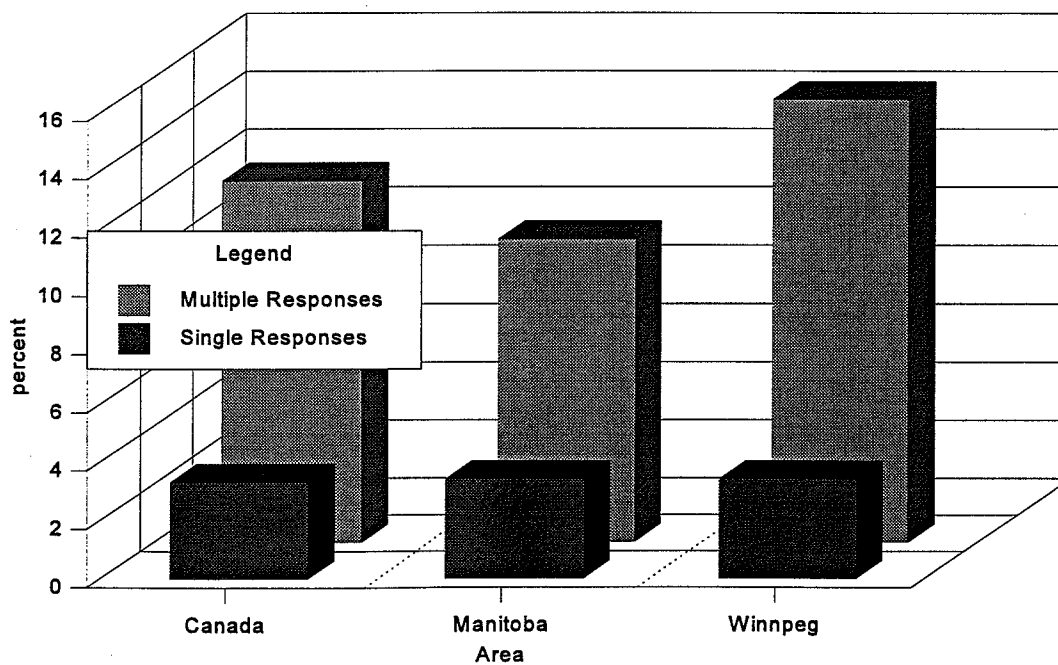
TABLE 1

Area	Population	Single Responses	%	Multiple Responses	%
Canada	26,994,045	893,125	3.3%	3,355,240	12.4%
Manitoba	1,116,000	38,290	3.4%	116,585	10.4%
Winnipeg	652,350	21,935	3.4%	99,455	15.2%

Source: Statistics Canada 93-315

Scottish Population

Canada, Manitoba, and Winnipeg



Source: Statistics Canada 93-315

Canada, Saskatchewan has 19 bands; Alberta 22, British Columbia has 20, Vancouver an additional 20; Vancouver Island has 12 more (for a total of 52 for the entire province); The North West Territories and the Yukon boast 6 pipe bands¹⁸. For bands in Winnipeg, the average membership is about 15 people. This means that the pipe band community consists of approximately 200 active players. Not all of these players are of singular or even partial Scottish descent. While the majority can claim partial Scottish descent, there are members of the SJH who do not have any Scottish descent but are from Ukrainian, Irish, German, and Polish backgrounds to name a few. In short, membership in Scottish pipe bands is not limited to those of Scottish descent.

Description of the Band

Structure: The modern day pipe band structure is similar to the pipe band structure designed by the British military. Ideally, bands want 10 to 15 pipers, three to four snare drummers, a bass, and a few tenor drummers. Some bands may employ a drum major who will walk in front of the band carrying a mace. This position could be considered a luxury because most modern civilian bands fail to have one; it is more of a military anachronism. It also depends upon the formality of the group. The ratio of pipers to snare (or side drummers) should be 4:1 in order to avoid the potential overpowering volume of the drummers.

Bands are divided into two sections: the pipe section and the drum section. Each practice separately before a full band practice. The aim of the two sections is to mesh into a cohesive collective sound. Particularly, the drums are supposed to compliment the piping music:

"The drum corps provides what the instrument (bagpipes) on a solo basis cannot, it provides dynamics. . . . One of my beliefs about the bagpipe is that it's one of the most difficult instruments in the world to play rhythmically because you don't have other things to create rhythm. Drummers can provide you with (that)"(Ed Niegh, Quoted in Berthoff 1992: 22).

The emphasis is clearly on the pipes because this is the instrument people come to hear and is thus the primary focus of the band. Although bands are a somewhat recent invention, some of the music pre-dates modern writings. Both the SJH and the SVL also include a contemporary selection in their repertoire. In other words, there are a number of tunes that are played that have been written in the Twentieth Century.

There are three marching officers:

(1) Pipe Major. The Pipe Major (PM) is the most important position in the band; the Pipe Major is generally responsible for the musical direction of the band, picking the tunes (tunes are what bands members call the songs they play), tune interpretation, tuning the pipe section (and to a lesser degree the drum section), and teaching. Overall, the Pipe Major is responsible for a band's sound and presentation, or more simply, the Pipe Major runs the band.

(2) Pipe Sergeant. The Pipe Sergeant is second in command and possesses the ability to take over in the Pipe Major's absence. Furthermore, the Pipe Sergeant sometimes acts as a conduit between the other bandsmen (bandsmen is what pipe band members call themselves) and the Pipe Major.

(3) Drum Sergeant/Lead Tip. Drum Sergeant is a military title; Lead Tip is the civilian rank. Both military and civilian bands use the titles interchangeably. The Drum

Sergeant's responsibilities include teaching, tuning, picking the drum music (beats), and the side, bass, and tenor drummers. Like the Pipe Major, the Drum Sergeant runs the Drum Corps. The Drum Sergeant, however, is subordinate to the Pipe Major.

History of the Band(s)

The principle band under study here, the St. James Highlanders (SJH), was formed in 1971 as a splinter group from another band. Currently, the band has nine pipers, four sides, a bass, and two tenors on the roster. However in the band's zenith in the late 1970s and early 1980s they boasted 20 active members.

The SJH was founded on three main principles:

- (a) provide an opportunity for novices to learn and play an instrument,
- (b) participate in exhibition events (parades), and
- (c) participate in competition events.

Over the course of the previous two decades these goals have been reached with varying degrees of success.

Since its inception the SJH has had three bandsmen hold the Pipe Major position: the founder was PM 1971-81, the second Pipe Major held the rank during the years 1981-1991, and has been succeeded by a third, the current Pipe Major. There have also been numerous Pipe Sergeants and Lead Tips. Of the original members, only one remains active in the band. This bandsman is a drummer.

There are 16 members currently in the SJH, four of whom are female (25%). The reasons for this ratio are varied. Piping has been traditionally regarded as a "male" pursuit. Although every pipe band in Winnipeg (except the Shriners) has had female

members, with the exception of an all female band, the majority of band members are male. There are reports of all female pipe bands from the second decade of this century, however, it was only the second half of this century that females began to make a serious impact on pipe bands in general (MacKinnon, 1932: 237, 241). Ironically, Highland Dancing, a pursuit considered exclusively male in the last century, has become almost exclusively female during the twentieth (Berthoff, 1982: 13).

Five band members have some post-secondary education, five have obtained degrees or diplomas, and a further two more of those holding degrees have graduate degrees (a PhD and a Masters). Occupations of bandmen in the SJH range from student, to secretary, to couriers, to business people, and accountants. Ages range from 15 years old to people in their early 50s, with an average age of 29 years.

Prus (1984) suggests there are four major ways to become involved in leisure activities: seekership, recruitment, closure, and drift. Prus writes that the "routings are not mutually exclusive; any involvement may entail multiple routings"(Prus, 1984: 300).

Seekership is the least effective method of affiliation. It is unusual for cold callers to make contact or last more than a handful of lessons. Often, at public performances, individuals will ask how can they learn to play. These inquiries are rebuffed, or if the person is persistent they are given a contact number. In nearly all cases the individual is never heard from again.

Of the four routes to involvement the second most successful is recruitment. Prus' writings delineate three overlapping sub-categories of recruitment (1984: 301-2). The first sub-category of recruitment is solicited recruitment which "reflects the deliberate efforts

of others to involve a person in a context"(Prus, 1984: 301). The next subcategory is consensual recruitment, this "involves the acceptance by the subculture's members of the novice"(Kitner & Maiolo, 1988: 216). The usual form of consensual recruitment for pipe bands is that a member brings a friend to a practice or a band function; this will occur over a period of time and will encompass a number of events. If the person is brought around enough, the question will arise about whether or not the person is interested; unless it is the intent of the member to bring the newcomer in immediately. Here is where the first (solicited) and the second (consensual) routes to recruitment dovetail: an established member might bring out an interested individual, but would leave that person uninvited if it appeared that he or she might not be accepted by the band.

Third is sponsored recruitment, which is a desire to back an individual's involvement. This usually denotes a financial or background support like the support a parent gives a child's activities (Prus, 1984: 301). One strong point of recruitment is that after the initial investment and instrument purchase, the uniforms are provided and trips are generally subsidized by the band (see below).

Closure, which is the fourth method of involvement, is defined as a sense of obligation to act (1984: 302). Prus further explains that one may become involved out of necessity instead of preference (1984: 302). This may appear to be ominous; however Kitner & Maiolo have expanded upon this theory in respect to billfishing:

If they were young when they began billfishing, and were taken by their parents, we might term this closure. The respondent had no other choice really, for one's parents and relations are one's kin by fate, not by choice (Kitner & Maiolo, 1988: 217).

The concept that kinship is equivalent to closure may be applied to pipe bands. The majority of the SJH's members come through family relations (53%). The St. Vital Lowlanders has about 40% of its membership with family connections. Other civilian bands have the same style of involvement. Articles in the Winnipeg Free Press on two Winnipeg pipe bands are indicative: ". . . 'X' says she always wanted to play the bagpipes because her father played them"(WFP, March 29, 1993: B4); "Formed 23 years ago (by three people). . . two sons and a daughter of the founders now play the pipes with (the band)"(WFP, August 13, 1991: 11).

Drift is the freedom to act, unlike closure (Prus, 1984: 302). In other words drift is having the time to do something. In comparison to the other routes, drift appears to be a throw-in category which is more applicable to the multiple routings aspect of the theory, not a separate category. It is interesting to note that Kitner and Maiolo's review omits any description of this route.

One pathway not examined thus far is the recruitment of players formerly from the military. The SJH, SVL, and the Shriners all have members who were trained by the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders (Winnipeg) (as well as a smaller number from the Air Force). The Camerons are a militia (reserve) infantry unit with a cadet corps. Many of these bandsmen acquired their first playing experience with the cadets (including myself, albeit as a civilian, not as a cadet). It is unknown if they join cadets and then are recruited to the band or join the cadets with the desire to become a bandsman.

Activities

The most obvious indicators of what a pipe band is about can be found in the

activities it performs. These are the opportunities to see the bandmen in action and interacting with each other and, in some cases, with the public. There are five basic activities most bands participate in: practices, competitions, parades, trips, and fundraising.

Practices

The structure and frequency of the practices reflect the seriousness of a band. Seriousness is defined here as the amount of effort put into musical technical perfection. Each band, to the trained ear, possesses a unique sound, but the quality of playing is a direct result of the amount of practice by the entire band together, which is commonly referred to as full band practice. It is important to note that talent also plays a role in determining the level of play; however, even talent requires practice.

The SJH may be classified as a semi-serious band; it practices once a week, although as competition season approaches, it may practice twice a week. The SJH usually practices from September to June in a school gymnasium. More serious bands practice twice a week as a matter of course. SVL is nonchalant in its attitude as it practices once a month and only then before a big event. One qualifying statement should be made about SVL: Although it only practices once a month, most of its members play in other bands. Therefore, individual practice time is acquired elsewhere, but as a whole the band sees little practice time together resulting a poorer sound.

Practices have a regular structure of events for the SJH. Personal experience with other Winnipeg bands has indicates that other bands follow the same general pattern. Once the bandmen arrive, the first event is practice chanter/drum pad practice. The

practice chanter and drum pads are instruments designed to imitate the chanter sound of the pipes, and they are used only for practice as are the drum pads. The two sections of the band practice separately. This time is generally reserved for learning new tunes, perfecting old (already learnt) tunes, and teaching novices, if they are present. This activity may last 30 minutes to one hour.

There follows a break/tuning. Bagpipes are a temperamental instrument; as one bandsman put it: "As soon as you think you've mastered them (bagpipes), they turn around and master you". Each set of pipes are privately owned resulting in individual differences in the basic instrument. Some sets of pipes may be rather old and are of different makes and models. There is no uniformity of bagpipes in the SJH unlike the drums which are mass purchased by the band and are of the same make and model. Consequently the tuning of the bagpipes, while taking a practised ear, may require a great deal of time per piper (the PM tunes the pipes individually for each piper). Drummers tune during the same period, although it usually requires less time as the drums usually remain in tune over longer periods of time.

Following the tuning break comes full band practice. This period, lasting 15-30 minutes, is characterized by simpler tunes which some members of the SJH jokingly call "Scotland's 20 Greatest Hits". The simple tunes, sometimes referred to as parade tunes, played during this part of the practice are chosen for three basic reasons:

- (1) they provide a warm-up for the band,
- (2) they allow beginners an opportunity to play mainly parade tunes as well as instilling confidence in the beginner, and

(3) they allow those who are constrained by time to get in some practice time before leaving (i.e. practices start at 7:30 pm. and can go past 10 pm. which may be too late for some band members to stay).

After the full band practice, comes a 10-15 minute break. This is the most important part of the practice when physically at the location (as opposed to post-practice activities which are held elsewhere; see below). Upcoming events are discussed and decided upon (i.e. Invitations for parades are accepted or rejected; the number of bandsmen who can attend is discussed). The band's performance thus far in practice is commented on, but the break primarily gives the members an opportunity to socialize¹⁹.

The fifth event at band practice is the competition practice. For SJH this is the serious aspect: difficult tunes are played for about 45 minutes with an attempt to obtain perfection in the playing of the tunes. Repetition is the key to this part of band practice. The tunes selected for the upcoming competition season are played over and over again.

At the close of the evening there is the post-practice socialization, usually involving alcohol in a bar; most members participate. Nearly every band I have had experience with participates in some form of post-practice drinking with the exception of junior/underage bands. This aspect, however, shall be described under intra-band interaction later in this chapter. One further point of clarification is required: this section describes the structure of practices for SJH. Other bands routines may vary, but generally the pattern of chanter/pad practice, tuning, full band practice, break, practice holds true.

Parades

Parades is a generic term used to describe any public performance that is not a competition. Parades include performances at bars, legions, retirement homes, curling matches, regular street parades, football games, weddings and Remembrance Day Services, to name a few. Locations incorporate the greater Winnipeg area, small towns surrounding Winnipeg such as Ashern, and some parades take place in the United States in locales such as Detroit Lakes or Bemidji.

All bands charge for parades: SJH charges \$250.00 per event. This is how bands raise money for competitions, uniforms, and equipment. In an excellent year, SJH, may raise \$2-3000.00 through parades alone. However, I have been informed that some bands, particularly those based out of the larger United States centres such as Chicago, may have annual earnings of ten times this figure.

Other bands may have sponsorship. Sponsorship in Winnipeg may come from sources such as a legion or as in the case of members of the police or military units, who usually have their equipment and uniform needs supplied by their sponsor. Sponsored bands still charge for performances even though they have alternate sources of income other than parades (another source of income is fundraising which shall be described later).

Included with the performance price, bands generally hope for perks such as free drinks, meals, travel money, and free hotel rooms if the band is out of town. Although perks are hoped for, it depends upon who is putting on the event. For example, street parades generally provide few or no perks. Performances in bars and overnight trips are

expected to provide the best perks. Bandsmen are generally inclined to be more willing to return to a parade where the perks are known to be good.

In a similar fashion to practices, parades have an underlying structure. The band will usually arrive, independently, one half to one hour before the scheduled time and begin to tune. However, "hurry up and wait" is the general watchphrase of parades. Hurry up and wait is typical, but counting on it may prove to be disastrous. For example: about 12 years ago, three members of SJH were late for a parade in Neepawa, Manitoba. The bandsmen realized they were late, but firmly believed the maxim: no parade starts on time, and made no attempt to avoid tardiness. Unknown to the tardy bandsmen the parade did start at the scheduled time; the SJH was to lead the parade. Because the three failed to appear on time, the SJH had insufficient members to field a band. The parade was delayed 20-30 minutes before the SJH was asked to step aside. When the late members finally arrived, they received a severe dressing down from the PM. So severe was this reprimand that they decided to return to Winnipeg immediately following the performance; forgoing a prepaid overnight stay.

Most civilian bands lack a formal inspection mechanism, nevertheless, members observe and check out each other's uniforms for missing (forgotten) or ill-fitting articles. Missing articles, if noticed in the SJH, may cause the member to be subject to a fine and public ridicule. The former is nominal; the latter is embarrassing, and the public ridicule may be repeated for years into the future depending on the popularity of the transgressor and frequency of the transgression.

Street parades may last anywhere from 15 minutes to two hours, although the

average would be in the 30 minute range. This translates into a distance of a few city blocks to three or four miles. Performances in bars or legions consist of two or three 15-20 minute sets, depending on the audience reception. Audience reception requires further explanation here. At most public performances, a pipe band is generally well received (the audience seem to enjoy the music). In some cases, however, the audience may be disinterested and, in some extreme cases, openly hostile. Openly hostile audiences are rare, but in these instances a band generally wants to cut its performance short.

After the parade, once again, nearly every band engages in post-parade alcohol consumption. There is one major difference between this social activity and all other social activities: the bandsmen are in uniform during this socialization. The uniform attracts public attention that many bandsmen of both the SJH and the SVL revel in. One of the primary reasons for joining a pipe band, I believe, is that the individual is a performer at heart. Nearly all the bandsmen of SJH and SVL enjoy parades. Interaction with members of the public is commonly seen as fun, and being in a kilt in a public place can attract the attention that some members seem to crave.

There are expected codes of behaviour when dealing with the public. For example, a commonly-asked question is: "What do you wear underneath your kilt?"; the answer to this question is never voluntarily revealed²⁰. Occasionally this knowledge is either verbally or visually communicated to the public. If the revealer is a novice, a veteran may have a quiet word explaining why that style of behaviour is unacceptable. If the violator is a veteran the reactions are more problematic. Usually nothing is said to the offender, other than perhaps a sarcastic remark, depending upon the popularity of

the offender and the frequency of the offence. Soon after this rule is broken everyone in the band knows of the violation. Often remarks such as "He should know better than that!" are used to express disapproval. The purpose of this example is to demonstrate one of the many unwritten codes of behaviour associated with public performances. In extreme cases of violation of these unwritten codes individuals have been asked to turn in their uniforms (i.e. resign) because of repeated infractions.

Competitions

For some bandmen, competitions are the essence of pipe bands, for others they are the bane of their existence. Prior to addressing this statement, some explanation is required.

As discussed earlier, practices for competition bands are directed towards the learning of new tunes and mastering other tunes for competition. In Manitoba the competition season runs from April to July. This includes the McAllister College (Commonly known as Minneapolis) competition which most competing bands in Winnipeg attend. The bands practice extensively and repetitiously for the four or five competition events that they will attend during the season (see above). In other words, there is pressure to perform well. The source of this pressure is twofold. The main source of pressure is internal as countless hours of practice time has been spent attempting to perfect a set of tunes. Therefore, no one band member wants to make a mistake and jeopardize the overall band performance. I have seen cases where a minute mistake by an individual has been blamed for a band's poor competition performance. Different

bands distribute blame in various ways. In some situations an entire section may be held accountable, or the whole band may shoulder the blame, but many more times I have seen an individual bandsman held responsible. This can be devastating for the bandsman and therein lies a considerable source of pressure. The other source of pressure derives from playing in front of your peers. During parades, one is usually confident that one is performing in front of an unknowledgeable crowd. In short, except for a few highly recognizable tunes such as "Amazing Grace" and "Scotland the Brave", most of the audience can not tell the difference between tunes. Therefore, performing is generally looser during parades because mistakes are unnoticed by the audience and the band is not being judged. At competitions, most of the audience shares the esoteric knowledge of piping tunes (a large percentage of the audience is composed of members from other bands). Everyone in the audience forms an opinion, and mistakes in fingering (playing of the chanter), tuning, tempo, beats, and swings are noticed immediately. Consequently, one does not wish to perform poorly in front of one's peers.

Competitions, or Highland Games as they are formally called, focuses the Scottish community. Competitions provide one of the few opportunities over the course of a year for all the members of the competing pipe band community, and many members of the non-competition bands, to interact at one locale. At many of the larger (in terms of number of entries) street parades in Manitoba, one might find a few pipe bands. However, this does not give different bands much of an opportunity to interact, as the pipe bands are typically spaced out through the parade making the physical distance alone an inhibitor to interaction. Therefore, Highland Games allow those of the Winnipeg and

Manitoba Scottish community who are active in pipe band life to socialize with one another. While this thesis centres on pipe bands, it should be noted that Highland dancing competitions, and athletic events such as caber tossing occur concurrently with pipe band events at most competitions. Furthermore, most competitions have midways with food, the sale of various Scottish trinkets, and a beer tent. Highland Games are an event or a festival in every sense of the word²¹.

Competitions usually begin for the SJH with a Pipe Major's warning the night before: "Don't drink too much". This warning is issued so that the bandsmen will not arrive the next day with hangovers that may diminish their level of performance in the competition. The competitions are designed so that the day usually starts with individual (or solo) competitions; wherein individual pipers and drummers are judged on their playing ability. Most members of competition bands go through solo competition at least once during their playing career as a quasi rite-of-passage.

Solo competitions are identified here as a quasi rite-of-passage for a three reasons. First, a player's exposure to individual competition usually occurs early in their career (i.e. after approximately one year's street playing time). Second, outside input is useful for a novice; students have an inclination to stop listening to their instructors, especially after they receive their uniform and begin playing in public. Some bandsmen become folly to the belief that they do not have to learn any more once they have been issued their uniforms. In their apparent belief that they have "made it", the student may begin to practice less at home and sometimes may stop listening to their instructors altogether. The SJH views issuing a uniform as an acknowledgement of achievement thus far and as

an encouragement to keep advancing to becoming a complete player. Outside impartial input in the form of a solo judging sheet can produce the desired effect of shocking the student by pointing out any short-falls in the novice's performance. Third, and most importantly, it is commonly believed by the SJH collectively, that once a bandsman learns to deal with the stress associated with individual competition, it will improve their ability as a band performer as well as improving the individual's skill level.

One other reason for solo competitions is worthy of note. One of the easiest early failings for any player, is to hide behind the playing of others. A common exploit of pipers is to blow up their bags and fail to finger the notes on their chanters, giving the appearance of playing. Another common form of trickery is to put corks or stoppers in their drones. The result is the bag stays full of air longer, less blowing is required, but, no sound escapes from the drones. Bass and tenor drummers have an extremely difficult time of pretending to play. Snare drums are also unforgiving to fakers, although some play as softly as possible allowing others to "drown out" the mistakes. Solo competition places the player in the spotlight where there is no one to hide behind, forcing them to address their weaknesses.

The SJH encourages novices to attempt solos at least once. Some other bands have been known to demand continued solo competition. Solos can be divisive for a band (this shall be covered below under Intra-band Interaction). Solos are generally for the bandsmen who are in the under-25 years old age group. Those who are intensely serious about playing and have reached the upper levels, continue solos past the age of 25. In general, solo competitions are a young person's game. It seems that the main

excuse for reducing solo interest for SJH bandmen is the amount of time required to practice and prepare a solo performance. For the SJH bandmen other interests appear to take precedence over solo competitions (i.e. personal time constraints). In addition, band competition can be stressful enough in itself. Bandmen may not wish to compound the stress with solos. Finally, solos are generally held in the mornings at competitions and the band events are held in the afternoon. Therefore, not participating in solos and arriving late in the morning can make for a shorter day.

Sometime during the morning the Pipe Major, or a representative, must attend the draws. The draws determine in which order the band will play in for their particular grade and event. As the name implies, this is done by drawing lots. There is no formality surrounding this event yet it is necessary to ensure fair ordering. Every Highland Games on earth goes by the four-grade classification. Grade Four being the lowest level of competition (or entry level), Grade One representing the highest (or best) level. This four-grade continuum is applied to solo competitions as well, although some Highland Games may add a Grade Five (chanter/drum pad) for absolute beginners and a professional class above Grade One Solos. Traditionally, pipers and drummers are seen as amateurs; some games offer prize money for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd in each grade for solos and band events. This apparent contradiction is disregarded by the bandmen because the money is frequently so nominal that it would be impossible to consider it pay. During the 1993 competition season no band in Manitoba competitions competed in Grade One, three were in Grade Two, and the majority filled Grades Three and Four. As a point of interest, the grades in one province may not be equal to the grades in another. For

example, Manitoba has 16 pipe bands, most of which compete, while British Columbia has about 50 bands. This means that there are more entries in each of the four grades in B.C. than in Manitoba making the competition more intense. Consequently, a consistent Grade Three champion in Manitoba may find it difficult to win in Grade Three at a British Columbian competition for example. In some extreme circumstances, such as the World Championships in Scotland, a Grade Two band may have trouble placing in Grade Three. This entire argument can also work in reverse (i.e. A lower ranked band may be able to take a higher grade at a different competition). The point is that the grading can be relative. Having stated that, it is important to note that some of the best pipe bands in any grade have come from Canada. An example would be the 1987 World Championships where a Canadian band won. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only time a band not based in Scotland has accomplished this feat.

In Manitoba and Saskatchewan grading is governed by the "Prairie Council of Piping and Drumming" (PCPD)(a pseudonym). When a band consistently wins a grade at a number of competitions, based on a points system it gets bumped up into the next higher grade. When a band attains a certain classification, it may perform in higher grades. To ensure fair competition, however, a band may not compete in lower grades in that particular system. Generally, there will be a number of events and bands per grade.

Following the draws and solos comes the massed band performance at approximately noon. This is a demonstration event (not a competition event) designed to signify the opening of the pipe band events. All bands line up their members single

file beside other bands on a field approximately the size of a football field. This massed band marches back and forth, playing selections from Scotland's 20 Greatest Hits. The band then stops, announcements are made, and opening ceremonies are performed, including the introduction of each band. Members within a band cheer as their band name is announced. A final tune is played and the bands return to their respective areas.

Having a massed band at the beginning of a competition is a recent novelty at Manitoba competitions and is disliked by most bandsmen. The disinclination towards the massed band may seem contradictory to earlier statements regarding members being performers. However, the primary purpose of competitions is to pit one band against another and to be judged accordingly. Most bandsmen regard a massed band event as a distraction from their own practice and tuning opportunities. Some competitions, recognizing that some bands avoid the massed band, have resorted to withholding travel and prize money if a band fails to participate in this event. In other words, the bands are coerced into performing.

Following the massed band performance there comes a period where more tuning and practising occurs. It can also be a period of heightened nervousness. Members of a band will also talk amongst themselves during this period; the topics usually centres around other bands' membership²² and what the bandsmen are going to do after the competition. This is a method to avoid talking about their own upcoming performance.

Competitions go by event of which March-Strathspey-Reel²³, slow aire (a slower march), and a three to five minute medley are the most common. Specialty items such as mini-bands (four pipers, two sides, and a bass; the tenor is optional), and quartets (four

pipers unaccompanied) may also be found at numerous Highland Games. Grade Four bands play first in each event, followed by Three, Two, and One, which allows each band and grade some time between events.

As the moment of competition approaches the nervousness of the bandsmen increases. Immediately prior to their scheduled appearance, bands run through their competition tunes one final time. This is, at least according to some bandsmen, when the band plays it's best. This is generally done in the informal area, or "camp", on the competition grounds that the band has claimed for itself. (Sites for competitions can be in many venues such as a university campus as in the case with McCallister College. More generally, they are held in parks which allows for many locales around the venue for bands to set up a camp and not disturb others with their practising.) Next the band forms up in the "on deck" circle which is just off the competition circle. There is usually a three to five minute wait between bands. Some competitions have been known to disqualify bands if they are not in the on deck circle at their appointed time. Once in competition, nerves may take over (thus the value of practice). The repetition during practice helps prepare the bandsmen, however many unforeseen events may derail a band's performance. As one SJH member stated after a recent competition performance: "it always amazes me how it can sound so perfect over there (referring to the last camp practice) and sound so (expletive) once we start playing in competition".

Judging is generally divided along these lines: 50% of the mark for piping, 25% for the drum corps, and 25% for ensemble²⁴. Judging is based on musical perfection. Although each band has a unique sound, technical perfection is the basis for their marks.

Degree of difficulty is taken into account; however, this may be considered to be more significant between the grades rather than within each grade. For piping, the tone (the overall sound) and fingering of notes must be perfect. A practised ear can easily pick out a player who is "off", or out of sync. Simply put, the band must play as one²⁵. Competition may be very close. In some events judges have been known to hope for a mistake so they may have a clear winner.

Paralleling piping, drumming attempts to achieve technical perfection in tone tempo, and syncopation (playing in unison). There is, however, one major difference, drum beats are written by the drum section. This can lead to some creative beatings, however, it may lead to some subjective judging as well. All judging, by its nature, has subjective elements to it. A certain band's playing style will annoy a judge and *visa versa*. With a limited pool of capable people qualified to judge, the preferences of the judges become known to the competitors. The preferences of a given judge become so widespread that SJH bandsmen claim that they can predict what mark it will receive and where it will place based on who is judging.

To keep drumming honest, the ensemble marks reflect how the sections mesh together. The goal is to avoid the sections of the band from sounding like they work against each other instead of cooperating.

The band's attitude when entering a competition may have direct influence on it's performance and thus the amount of pressure put on the individual bandsmen²⁶. This is where some bandsmen feel competitions are the essence and other feel competitions are their bane. Bands put a lot of pressure on their players during competitions. A

mistake by a player may ruin the competition for the band. The pressure may be enormous. Informants have explained that in the top grades at the World Championships, it has been known for bands to eject bandsmen immediately before competing because their pipes were slightly out of tune. Therefore a bandsman may be prohibited from playing and forfeit hundreds of hours of practice by his own PM at the last second. Competition can be quite cutthroat between and within bands. Furthermore, peer pressure from the presence of other bands contributes to increased personal anxiety.

Following the immediate competition performance, the band has internal praise or recriminations for themselves as a whole. This internal evaluation is performed prior to the retrieval of the judge's remarks. Sometimes this internal evaluation can be quite sadistic, as Berthoff wrote:

"We have all become accustomed to the notion that playing in a band means enduring the wrath of a pipe major or leading drummer. If we make a mistake, blow unsteady, or forget a break, many of us *expect* (sic) to be yelled at in front of our peers. . . . Some bands have more vicious leaders than others, of course. . . . The current grade one pipe major who routinely screams at pipers who make a mistake during practice, 'Do that at the World's and we lose **AGAIN!**(sic)'. (Berthoff, 1992:8).

This style of behaviour and apportioning blame is not always the case, although many bandsmen are undoubtedly familiar with it. The current Pipe Major of the SJH is not known for this type of behaviour. The original PM was known for shouting fits and laying blame for competition failures at the feet of individual bandsmen. Consequently, the SJH at that time was a band with deep divisions (factions will be described below) amongst its membership.

Once all the events are completed, including non-band events such as dancing and

athletics, the massed band performs again as part of the closing ceremonies. The time of day and length of the ceremonies separate the poorly organized games from the properly organized. Despite the scale of the games, properly organized competitions should run within the time frame set by the organizers. For example: Glenwood Highland Games (a pseudonym), notorious for their poor organization in previous years has been known to conclude as late as 9-9:30 pm. when the scheduled closing was to begin at 5 pm. As in the case of the opening massed band performance, those bands who refuse to participate have their money withheld. It is unknown to the bands prior to the massed band exactly how they placed or what their marks will be, although listening to the other bands, knowing who the judge is, and knowing how their own execution of the tunes went, gives the bandsmen a pretty good idea of how they placed. When announced by grade/event, it is supposed to be a "surprise/disappointment" to the contestants. The closing ceremonies last approximately an hour.

After the ceremonies are over, bands examine their marks. For the SJH, there is somewhat ritualized passing around of the grading sheets. Each grading sheet into a number of categories. Typical categories include introduction (attack), tone, tempo, execution, breaks (the transition from one tune to another. For example in the March-Strasthpey-Reel there are two breaks: March to Strasthpey, and Strasthpey to Reel). Also included on the grading sheets are various comments made by the judge. The comments and grades can be a source of infinite debate for the SJH bandsmen, particularly if they appear to be unjustified. For the most part the marks are rather astute and are usually accepted. This is all part of the ritual of viewing the grading sheets.

Finally, the games usually host a *ceilidh* (social, party, dance) for the participants; the theme is always Scottish. Many of those attending the *ceilidh* go directly from the competition field thus remaining in uniform. Others, who may have paused to change into civilian clothes, may bring their instruments. This allows for the evening to be punctuated by many "*impromptu*" performances.

Trips

Trips are defined here as any excursion that requires at least an overnight stay. Trips occur for both parades and competitions. For the veterans, band trips as they are called are an opportunity to let off some steam. Novices are curious about trips because they hold a central focus. Much of the oral history of bands centres on band trips and the episodes that occurred on the trips. The lore that is built around band trips makes them appear to be an exceptional amount of fun (and apart from a few malcontents, most bandsmen seem to agree that they are a basis for a good time). Established members, on the other hand, feel that one is not really a bandsman until the rite-of-passage of going on one's first band trip is complete.

There is an oft-repeated code: "What goes on band trips stays on band trips". Both the St. James Highlanders and the St. Vital Lowlander repeat this code (especially to the novices) and, to the best of my knowledge, most other pipe bands live by this rule as well. Because there is limited room (i.e. space in vehicles and hotel rooms) spouses or significant others usually do not attend. The veterans, during the trip, observe how the rookies act in situations without constraint. This is the acid-test to see how the novices interact with the band. Trips are the definitive public interaction; novices are closely

watched to observe how many, if any, unwritten rules are broken. Trips encompass their own set of unwritten rules which the novice must learn. Basically, they are observed to see if they will present themselves as bandsmen. The unwritten rules may be construed as more of an attitude than a rule book. For example, wearing a kilt in a public place can put the bandsmen in a vulnerable position. That is, the uniform attracts attention, both desired and unwanted. Occasionally, bandsmen may be subject to harassment from members of the public. For the SJH and the SVL, bandsmen watch each other's backs to ensure that bandsmen are not subject to this possibility. There are bandsmen who have been known to not participate in looking out for other members. This is regarded as being selfish and rather unbecoming of a bandsman; in other words, a united front is valued. Moreover, another example of unacceptable behaviour by a novice or a veteran would be to break the code of "what goes on band trips, stays on band trips". That is, all activities engaged in by bandsmen during trips are not to be talked about to individuals who are not members. All novice members are informed of this code during their first trip.

In addition, for the SJH, practical jokes occur on trips. For example, the SJH regularly plays a joke on a novice's first band trip. Weeks before the trip, members build up the mystique surrounding a trip, but never explain what the mystery is. All that is said is: "you don't know until you've experienced it". The novices are told that they are not truly bandsmen until they pass initiation, which occurs during their first or second band trip. This serves to heighten the anxiety and curiosity of the novice; questions directed towards initiation are rebuffed. The joke lies in the fact that there is no formal initiation

merely the threat of one. The faster this is realized, the faster the joke is over. One member of SJH, in spite of numerous trips waited three years to become initiated. The individual kept asking when initiation would happen, long after the joke had run its course. This bandsman failed to recognize it as a joke. Another popular joke for the Saint James Highlanders is to tell people to show up at a parade hours before it is due to start; especially when some travelling is required so the victim of the joke can't go home but has to wait. Bandsmen have notoriously long memories when it comes to practical jokes and some have been known to wait years to get even. On the other hand, the Saint Vital Lowlanders do not engage in practical jokes of this nature. The SVL's style is more inclined to tell a member of the public an outrageous story about a fellow bandsman. Then the citizen is encouraged to ask the bandsman in question about the outrageous story with the intent of causing embarrassment to both.

All members look forward to trips; it is one of the main reasons for joining the band. To paraphrase an informant: "Pipe bands allow people to go to places they wouldn't otherwise see". For example the SVL has travelled to Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, the Rose Bowl in California, and extensively throughout Manitoba, North Dakota, and Minnesota. Some members maintain that band trips are the only reason for the SVL's existence as it does not compete but is put together by members of other bands (i.e. no core playing members). An extraordinary amount of politics goes on behind the scenes within the SVL. For some members, the cost of being in the band almost outweighs the benefits of excellent trips. Some bands, particularly the St. James Highlanders, feel that they must go on trips for at least two reasons.

The first reason is to attract and maintain current membership. Travel serves as a selling point; bands going to Europe or California, for example, will interest more recruits than those bands whose furthest excursion is to Selkirk, Manitoba. Furthermore, trips are a fundamental motivation technique. By maintaining the interest of those who grow complacent, it entices bandmen to practice harder and perhaps be less inclined to skip weekly practices for an upcoming trip. Second, it brings band members closer together. This bonding occurs on a trip because the only people one may rely on is other band members (see above). Events in Winnipeg, for example, usually have the band members going to their own locations after the event. Trips, particularly competitions, force the people in the band to act as a cohesive social unit even more so than in the actual playing. Before the band competes, the bandmen typically spend most of their time interacting with members of their own band. Although socialization happens on a between-band level, the member's main concern is the upcoming competition set. Between finishing their competition sets and the closing ceremonies there may be a great deal of interaction amongst members of different bands. Following the closing ceremonies at competitions, the band usually goes out *en masse* to whatever destination is agreed upon. On band trips, the SJH attends functions as a group (collectively). The playing and practising forces the members to act as a cohesive musical group but the events beyond the performance makes a solid social unit.

Bands strive to ensure the perks are maximized in order to keep the travelling costs to a minimum. No trip, however, is free; consequently most bands engage in fundraising.

Fundraising

Fundraising is a necessary requirement for nearly all Winnipeg bands and contributes income above and beyond monies raised through performances. Those bands which have sponsors (see above) perform fewer fundraising activities. However, they remain at the beck and call of their sponsors and are called on to perform at various functions, thus placing limits on their autonomy. Therefore, there are pros and cons to each method of acquiring funds. Fundraising encompasses many activities: socials (*ceilidhs*, dances), cribbage tournaments, darts tournaments, meat sales, coupon books, car washes, and raffle tickets (football, hockey, bartender's delight [alcohol]). The monies are used to supplement trips, supplement the purchase and upkeep of uniforms, and equipment purchases such as new drums, reeds for the pipes, etc. To put a uniform on bandsman is not an inexpensive proposition. For the SJH the shoes, socks (hose), and the shirt are owned personally by the bandsman, Other parts of the uniform are owned by the SJH. The most expensive item in the uniform is the kilt. Kilts are sewn by local kilt makers. The usual cost is usually approximately \$400 per kilt. An expense not included in this cost is the cost of the tartan wool. The SJH imported the tartan wool from Scotland for a one-time price (unknown). This bolt of wool is kept in storage for use when required. Like the kilts, the jackets (sometimes called tunics) worn by the SJH are made locally, and the material was obtained locally as well. Jackets cost approximately \$120 apiece. Sporrans (\$200), belts (\$75), glengarries (bonnets or hats -\$40), cap badges (\$20), and the hackles (the feather that protrudes from the cap badge- \$10) are all imported through various agents throughout Winnipeg, and elsewhere in Manitoba, and

Ontario. The bow ties (\$15) worn were obtained locally. Thus it takes approximately \$800 to put a bandsman in the uniform of the SJH. The Saint Vital Lowlanders use a fancier or high-end uniform. Instead of glengarries, their head gear is feather bonnets. These bonnets are about a foot in height and are covered in ostrich feathers. The cost of the feather bonnets is unknown, but estimates put them in the \$500 range. In addition, the SVL uniforms encompasses plaids. Two types of *plaids* (pronounced played) are worn by the SVL: 3/4 plaids (commonly referred to as drummer's plaids) and full plaids (piper's plaids). Worn over the left shoulder, the plaid is an attempt to resemble the full length kilt worn by highlanders in the pre-1746 era. Like the kilt, these come from an imported bolt of wool and are sewn locally; the cost is unknown, but an estimate would put it at half the cost of a kilt.

The other major expense in outfitting a bandsman is the actual hardware or instruments and the various paraphernalia associated with them. Each piper individually owns their bagpipes²⁷. There are many brands of bagpipes. The drones (or pipes) can last a lifetime and longer. Brands of pipes are identified by the maker, nearly all the pipes in the world are made of blackwood and are created in Scotland²⁸. According to an informant, pipes can be identified by eras or generations. During the 1800's McDougald (of Aberfeldie) was the dominant maker of bagpipes. From the late 1890's to about 1960, Henderson pipes were the most preferred brand and during this era, this company became Hardie pipes which is still one of the most famous sets of pipes. Today, along with the above brands, many people play Lawrie, Robinson, and Sinclair pipes but I am told that these three brand's popularity pales in comparison to the modern

era's dominate pipes: David Naill. One may infer from this discussion that the brand of pipes is identified with the original craftsmen of the make of instrument. Pipes are a very personal instrument, and most pipers prohibit others from playing their personal set of pipes. Depending on the make, model, condition, inlays (some pipes have silver inlays and many of the older brands have ivory fittings), and age of the pipes they may cost as little as \$700 but they can be valued at \$8,000 or more. This expense is payed by the individual piper.

In an effort to create a harmonious sound, the SJH like most competition bands, uses matched chanters. Chanters are the part of the bagpipe where the notes are played (i.e. the melody) at the front of the pipes. Having matched chanters, those of identical make and model, allows the pipers to create a uniform sound. Again the chanters can be identified with eras or generations. The bagpipe's manufacture has remained uniform (i.e. the basic construction of the drones has remained the same, unchanged) but the chanters have changed with fashion. This is because certain pitches and tones have been valued during certain eras. Today a high pitch is valued while the chanters of around 1910 were designed to create a very low pitch. An informant stated it thusly: "the chanters from 1910 look like they are cannons while the ones from today look like muskets". New blackwood chanters can cost between \$250-\$300 and the best brand available tody is Sinclair. Many bands use plastic chanters which cost significantly less at about \$160. Unlike the pipes, the manufacture of chanters is not an exclusive purview of Scotland. There are many others creating chanters outside of Scotland, including Dunbar-Ellar of St. Catherines, Ontario. The band purchases the matched chanters for the

pipers. The SJH use Shepard chanters, which are plastic and were made in Scotland, and they cost \$120 each in 1989. In addition to this there is a constant need to replace the reeds of the pipes.

This is a large expense, but it may seem incidental when one compares it to the price of keeping a drum section equipped.

Exactly like the chanters, the drum section of the SJH uses matching drums to create a uniform sound. There are two major manufacturers of pipe band snare drums in the world: Premier (Scotland) and Ludwig (Australia). There are pros and cons to each brand, however the SJH opted for Premier snares at a cost of \$800 apiece four years ago (four drums were purchased at once). A set of pipes can last longer than a lifetime, however snare drums wear out (i.e. loose their sound) after a period of two to six years and must be replaced. Consequentially, this may be viewed as an ongoing expense. Snare drum heads must be replaced every 6-12 months at a price of \$25 each. In addition, a new bass drum was also purchased at the same time for a price of \$1,200. The SJH has not replaced it's tenor drums in over 15 years as there is little musical use for them which means they have not worn out. For all drummers in the Saint James Highlanders and the St. Vital Lowlanders, their drum sticks are personal property.

Not all the costs need be paid for all at once. Many of these such as the uniform, are one-time only expenses. In addition, there are many ways to defray the costs. For example, at various times the SJH purchased used matched chanters, sporrans, and drum slings from other Manitoba bands.

The point of this circuitous description is that there are many costs associated with

running a pipe band and that monies have to be raised in order to maintain a level of performance. Added to all these expenses, is the need to defer the costs of travel for band members. As a result, bands attempt to bank some of their monies from parades and fundraising for this eventuality. It is for these reasons that bandsmen engage in fundraising.

Like other dealings with the public, the matter of form is important, for example: if the band is invited to play in a bar for a few libations, there is no problem. However, to have a lone piper capitalizing and travelling from bar to bar for free libations and accolades is considered improper etiquette.

In a similar vein, fundraising must never appear to be openly begging. The band is not out to openly beg for money but prefers to fundraise through profit making. Profit making is defined here as a situation in which a member of the public receives something for their contribution, be it entertainment in the form of a social, or the chance to gamble and win a prize, etc. To illustrate the point further: SVL once engaged in a fundraising scheme to help raise money for a trip to Europe. Members were to sell pins at a dollar apiece to supplement the cost. Along with poor public reception, a number of bandsmen refused to sell the pins because they felt the pins were a bad deal for the consumer. Consequently, there was still a large quantity in stock once they reached Europe. At several of the band's performances the band director could be seen in uniform, along with several assistants, selling pins to members of the audience. This was done, allegedly, to reduce the cost of the trip. Some bandsmen made open comments about their disgust over such an improper move: not quite passing the hat, but as close as possible without

breaking the rules. Moreover, some felt it reflected badly on the group as representatives of Canada.

Overview

The discussion in this segment describes the main physical activities of bands, specifically parades, trips, and fundraising. It also details aspects of a band's on-stage performances and codes of behaviour or, simply, its public face. Competition is a more esoteric event designed to improve musicianship. Practices are the ultimate esoteric activity since no members of the public are present. Moreover, one may infer from this section that there are considerable time constraints placed on bandsmen, from personal practice time to vacation time needed for week long trips. Consequently, band members are in each other's company often. The next section shall deal with intra-band interaction to examine how members relate to one another.

Intra-Band Interaction

The heart of the band lies in the internal workings. At the close of the previous section, mention was made of the amount of time spent in each other's company. It far outweighs any other interaction, whether it be public or private. The resulting internal rules, touched upon briefly above, and relationships shall be described here under the three main headings of Leadership, Factions, and Social Occasions.

(A) Leadership

Anderson's (1971) description of voluntary associations in industrialized nations claims that they are of a rational-legal nature (see chapter II). A hallmark of rational-

legal associations is elected officials. Pipe bands have elected officials such as a president, fundraiser, social director, quartermaster (equipment manager), secretary-treasurer, and band manager. The band manager is a position for both the SJH and the SVL in which the duties include confirming parade dates, travel arrangements once a destination is agreed upon, and telephoning bandsmen to confirm or remind them of upcoming events. The name of this position may change from band to band, however, the general position remains. Occasionally this position will be held by the PM, particularly in the smaller bands. These positions give individuals the opportunity to assume leadership roles within the pipe band. Generally, if an individual performs well and if they wish it, they will be re-elected. Elections, however, can often become popularity contests, although there must be some perception that the individual is able to perform the work. SJH attempts to encourage the families of members to become involved, thus getting them involved in various elected positions, and active in the band. This gives the band more resources to draw on, although the attempt may be unsuccessful.

These elected positions, albeit they carry some administrative weight, are peripheral to decision making. Most of the decisions, other than those pertaining to the playing field are made democratically by band consensus. That is, decisions pertaining to what trips the band may go on, what parades will be accepted or rejected and what fundraising activities the band will engage in will be decided by a majority vote. A few words about the selection of dates for performances is required here. For most parades the SJH is contacted to play. Individuals obtain a contact phone number (through various

means, usually through word of mouth) and the group is invited to play at an event. To decide whether or not to go the band is presented with the option, but the wording is very important. The question posed to the band is not "Do you want to go?", but "Can you attend (or sometimes "are you going to be there)?". This subtle wording difference implies that it is irrelevant if the bandsmen wants to go or not, but that the bandsman is expected to be there and should have a very good excuse for an absence. However, this style of coercion can be circumvented by the majority of the members indicating beforehand that they will not be at the event. The SJH may be considered more democratic than other bands. For example, the SVL expects members to attend parades without any form of consensus. Sometimes on extremely short notice, the SVL members are told to show up for a parade.

The real authority for the band on the playing field (or "on parade") comes from the three marching officers: the Pipe Major, the Pipe Sergeant, and the Drum Sergeant. These people alone decide who plays. The decision is usually based on musical ability alone. In numerically smaller bands this can be a very generous decision. Because of the need to make the band appear larger in size, novices and marginal players may have a better chance of joining a band if it is smaller (this statement excludes the extreme competition orientated bands and the competition aspect of the SJH, as weaker players can be viewed as a hindrance to the overall performance). It is important to note that while on parade, the marching officers' authority is absolute. This has the spin-off effect of giving the opinions of the marching officers more weight in decisions regarding the band's future (especially the Pipe Major's opinions). If a bandsman is prohibited from

playing they are in essence a non-member, or out of the band.

Pipe Majors are the central focus of the band. Choosing a Pipe Major involves a number of elements. First, the Pipe Major is chosen on technical ability/musicianship. The Pipe Major may fall short of being the best piper; however, the musicianship will be amongst the top available. Specifically, the candidate will be a "front rank piper". Bands put their best and strongest (strongest in terms of volume) pipers in the front rank. The theory claims that they will provide the best sound when the band is approaching. Pipers consider it an honour to be placed in the front rank and fail to relinquish it easily; particularly if a piper of lesser ability is the replacement. The degree of ability descends towards the rear. The worst pipers are traditionally in the very back. "Back rank pipers" would be rejected as possible Pipe Majors due to lack of technical merit²⁹.

Second, the Pipe Major must have the ability to teach. Teaching is used in this sense as applying to the veteran pipers only, not beginners. The Pipe major may be the individual responsible for the instruction of novices but is also engaged in teaching veteran players. The Pipe Major selects the tunes for the upcoming competition season often in conjunction with the Pipe Sergeant; however, the final decision is the PM's alone. The Pipe Major must know the tunes better than any of the other pipers in order to show them, beyond what is written on the sheet music, how the tune is played or the interpretation of it.

Teaching goes hand-in-hand with the Pipe Major's personal dedication; personal practice time is something a Pipe Major can ill-afford to miss because the Pipe Major becomes the role model for the pipers and in the band in general. The musicianship of

the Pipe Major sets a standard which the other pipers try to attain. The poorer the Pipe Major's personal standards, the tendency for poorer personal standards of the remaining pipers and the drummers has the chance of occurring.

Next, the Pipe Major must have direction. Every band needs direction, whether it be a teaching, parade, or competition band³⁰. Bands that fail to challenge themselves to new goals, be it a better showing at a competition, a more exotic trip, or acquiring more players, tend to wither and die because of a lack of interest. The Pipe Major must have an agenda for the future of the band, otherwise a band becomes stagnant quickly. Furthermore, the Pipe Major dictates the style of play; that is, the tempo and emphasis. Every band, to the practised ear, has a unique style of playing or sound; this derives from the direction the Pipe major sets. For the most part, the PM is responsible for the band's sound, but there are mitigating circumstances. The bagpipes, except for uniform chanters issued by the band, are owned by each player resulting in slight, individual differences in each instrument. The good Pipe Major can achieve a uniform sound despite these individual differences. For the SJH, the Pipe Major is not always responsible for the tuning, occasionally leaving it to another designated member. As with everything else, the Pipe Major is ultimately responsible for the tone in spite of who tunes.

Finally, and most significantly, the Pipe Major requires good interpersonal skills. A Pipe Major's personal style, in connection with the agenda, sets the tone of the events. Mistakes are an inevitable part of the band process. A Pipe Major's approach toward a given mistake can effect band morale. A Pipe Major who reacts harshly may create an atmosphere that is conducive to a poor morale while a more considerate Pipe Major can

uplift a band's confidence, creating a more enjoyable atmosphere (see above). Candidates for Pipe Major with inadequate interpersonal skills will be overlooked, because it is felt they are "not ready".

For the Saint James Highlanders, past practice has indicated that the outgoing Pipe Major usually makes a recommendation as to who should be the successor (in other words, the person is hand-picked). The Pipe Major's candidate is often ratified by the band through acclamation. A common route to becoming Pipe Major is to be the Pipe Sergeant (PS) first. In many instances most pipers prefer to avoid the responsibility of Pipe Major and Pipe Sergeant, letting someone else be the "chosen one". The Pipe Sergeant is appointed by the Pipe Major. A Pipe Sergeant's position might be viewed as putting one's time in as a marching officer so as to show the qualities required. This, however, may prove to be unsuccessful. Pipe Sergeants are generally appointed on technical merit alone. Often technical merit alone does not make one a successful candidate for Pipe Major. If a Pipe Sergeant has technical merit but lacks the other desired qualities of a Pipe Major, that person will be overlooked. One item that works against a Pipe Sergeant is showing too much ambition (bandsmen are supposed to be humble about their abilities). Pipe Sergeants may be groomed for the top job, but egotistical behaviour is perceived as failure to be a team player. In many cases, though, the Pipe Sergeant has enough time to grow into the job.

A Lead Tip must possess the same qualities as a Pipe Major. Lead Tips are either elected by the band or appointed by the Pipe Major. Like the Pipe Major, the Lead Tip should be among the best technical players. In addition, the Lead Tip is usually

responsible for teaching the beginners as well as the veterans. Personal dedication is also a top priority along with good interpersonal skills. The tuning of the drums are the responsibility of the Lead Tip. The only major difference between the Lead Tip and the Pipe Major is in the area of direction. While it is true that many Lead Tips are responsible for writing the beats to accompany the pipe tines, it is still the Pipe major who is responsible for the direction of the band. In this sense, the Lead Tip follows the direction set by the Pipe major. On the other hand, as the writer of the drum beats, or perhaps the selector of sheet music, the Lead Tip is responsible for the direction of the drum corps.

One final note on the three marching officers: Once an individual attains one of these positions they keep it for as long as they want to; in some instances, for life. These positions open up for replacement only if:

- (a) the individual resigns from the band
- (b) wants to go back into the ranks (no longer wishes to be a marching officer)
- (c) the band finds it has no confidence in the marching officer and the officer is forced to resign, Forced resignation is an exceedingly rare phenomenon.

Consequently, opportunities for true leadership in pipe bands are scarce. This is especially true of the Saint James Highlanders and the Saint Vital Lowlanders as the marching officer positions can be for life. I have been informed, however, that some other Winnipeg bands assign their marching officers on a rotation system: no one holds a marching officer position (or any other position) for more than four years.

(b) Factions

In the previous chapter, Meillassoux characterized African Bamenko voluntary associations as "bubbles rising and disappearing on the surface of boiling water"(1968: 147). Brown and Zahrlly point out that with higher skill levels and more time invested, there is less turnover in an association (1989: 168). Pipe bands fall in between these two seemingly contradictory statements.

Bagpipes generally take two years to learn; drums take one year. In this respect, the instrument requires dedication to learn and a player is skilled upon graduation to street parades³¹. The implication here is that there will be less turnover. Initially the bandsman will remain with the group that taught the member. Some bandsmen remain with one band for their entire playing careers. There are a number of reasons, however, as to why a bandsman may quit. To start with, there are pecking orders. One universal about pipe bands is the existence of internal hierarchies based on three broad principles: ability, time, and instruments.

Ability. In both the pipe section and the drum corps all members know who the best, mediocre, and worst players are. Players constantly compare themselves to the others in the band. Conversations sometimes revolve around who is a good player and who is not. Overt boasting about one's own talent is not tolerated; however, people are quick to point out the general ranking of all the players in terms of excellence. Privately, all players will say how good they are; few harbour illusions about it. This pecking order based on technical ability is latent in nearly all facets of the band's life and is sometimes viciously enforced.

Time. Time has two meanings here. The first is concerns novices. Above, it was

discussed that novices must prove themselves before becoming accepted. Rookies are constantly reminded that they are the "new guy", and are bereft of knowledge about pipe band life. An individual recently joined the SJH making that bandsman the least senior of the group. Previously, no new bandsmen had joined for three or four years. This second last bandsman to join, although he had been with the SJH almost four years, stated, "Thank God there is someone new in the band. Now I don't have to be the butt of all the jokes". This kind of joking relationship may be viewed as a mechanism for welcoming an individual into the band, but it is also a mechanism to let rookies know their place. The second meaning deals with the veterans. With all established bands there is a core of individuals who have been there longer than anyone else. In the St. James Highlanders this core consistently reminds everyone, including other veterans, of how much longer they have been with the band. These individuals foster an insider-outsider dichotomy. Some members, who have been with the band for years, mention they still feel like outsiders and unaccepted when the "been-here-longer-group" pulls its rank.

Instruments. By far, this is the most overt of the pecking orders. In the opening pages of this chapter the pipes were described as the primary instrument of the band. This may be true, and the pipers never allow the drummers to forget it. Pipers, in a joking manner, tell drummers that they are not really musicians³². This can be a serious point of contention. 10-15 years ago, most drummers in SJH did not know how to read music. Although this has slowly changed in recent years (the majority still do not know how), it still remains a pointed barb. Furthermore, amongst ridicule about primitive

instruments, pipers will point out that people like to hear a lone piper; no one is interested in hearing a lone drummer. Even the lowliest back ranker is higher on the pecking order than a drummer. In addition, there is a pecking order based on the type of drum played: snares rank higher than bass, bass ranks higher than tenors. Tenors are viewed as nothing but pure show. Tenors tend to contribute very little musically to the band; in many instances they may go through an entire performance without touching their drums. They primarily swing (or spin) their sticks in unison for the audience. This is not to degrade tenor drummers, it is a difficult instrument to learn (aside from their swings, they learn rhythms and should be able to replace the bass drummer if need be), but they are vastly under-appreciated by bandsmen. The bass drummer may have the hardest job in the band (keeping tempo). Nevertheless, because they generally come from the ranks of tenor drummers, they are still treated poorly. Drummers often complain that they feel like second-class citizens.

These pecking orders can create arrogant attitudes for some; and, conversely, they may dishearten others. The pecking orders are sometimes the basis for internal politics.

There are approximately 16 bands in and around the Winnipeg area. The community of current players supports this number of bands because a large percentage (not all) play in two to three bands each. In other words there are not enough players to go around³³. This allows bandsmen easy access to other bands if they wish to resign. Furthermore, there is a type of individual who inhabits the community, sometimes called "band wreckers". Band wreckers operate like termites: they infest a band with themselves, bring in others like themselves, and begin to eat away at the core until there

is nothing left. Band wreckers such as these are usually exceptional players and travel under the guise of Pipe Majors and Lead Tips. They travel from band to band with undoubtedly honest intentions to help improve their new band. Usually ranking in the top of the scale of the technical abilities pecking order, nothing else seems to matter to them other than ruthless competition glory. Eschewing current members, they tend to bring in their own "students". Some may derisively call these students an entourage. Ultimately, the original members are either forced out, leaving the band a shell of its former self, or an internal power struggle ensues, sometimes to the point of band dissolution. There are only a few band wreckers of this nature and they are known throughout the community; however, in spite of honest intentions, these individuals continue to be involved in a pattern of destruction.

For the SJH, age is another aspect. The SJH started out as a band with most of its players in their teens. A number of players resigned when they reached their early to mid-twenties. Two explanations for this are offered here. First, the SJH is a competing band. As explained above, competition is directed towards younger players. Players who quit in their twenties may feel too old to take on the responsibilities associated with competition. Secondly, economic and other social demands may interfere. Conversations with older players from other bands have revealed that some may have quit playing in their mid-twenties, but then return to playing in their forties. For others, piping and drumming is a life-long pursuit.

Internal Politics. Apart from band wreckers, bands may self-destruct through internal politics. Through trips, parades, practices, social activities, and competitions

bandsmen spend a lot of time together. This confining aspect of band activities can result in anxiety and hostility between the members. Not everyone will agree with decisions concerning trip locations, competitions entered, parades accepted or even the tunes selected. Consequently, there are always some people who are unhappy and who complain about it. Points of contention become intensified with larger amounts of time spent together, especially on band trips. This may seem contradictory to the statements regarding bonding. Naturally the band, on trips, is forced to act as more of a social unit than on other occasions. However, any affront, real or imagined, may be harboured by some bandsmen over a long time. The irritant represented by these affronts may become exasperated after a longer period of forced interaction. In the SJH there are instances of people refusing to speak to each other for years.

Moreover, the SJH, according to veterans from other bands who have joined SJH, is unique in that drummers and pipers fail to associate with each other. A pervasive us versus them attitude prevails. The SJH drum corps fosters their own identity within the band. For example, the SJH drum corps has a custom of having a shot of Scotch whiskey between the final practice and the on deck circle at competitions "to calm the nerves". The pipers are not invited to join in this custom. Until it was mentioned recently, none of the pipers had an inkling that this custom existed. In addition, the drum corps is more inclined to situate themselves as a block at social functions (i.e. they all sit together). This happens more so in the SJH than any other band in Winnipeg; the Saint Vital Lowlanders exhibit no such split or foster any separate identities within their band. This separate identity for the St. James Highlanders drum corps stems from two factors:

the pecking order and the fact that approximately fifteen years ago the drummers were blamed for a competition loss.

The point of this section is that for the SJH and others, a band can be a fragile entity. Players, once they have acquired the training to become a pipe bander, have the ability to move freely between bands. Bandsmen usually have loyalties to one main band however, a player may become disenfranchised for any of the above-mentioned reasons. Player movements are common, but most bands usually find a way to survive³⁴. They survive because of the bonds created by social occasions.

(C) Social Occasions

Practices, parades, competitions, and trips are all social occasions for the members of bands. Creating the pipe music is what brings them together, however it is the social aspects that keeps them together. Every band in Winnipeg has its own personality. Certain bands attract certain personality types of bandsmen. There are three broad categories of bands: parade, semi-serious, and competition. Within each of these categories, there are a number of bands. The Pipe Major dictates the style, direction, and general atmosphere of the band, the "personality" of the group. Thus the individual in Winnipeg has many options to choose from, allowing the bandsman to find a "personality" type to their liking.

Throughout this chapter, descriptions of activities have included references to alcohol consumption. Alcohol consumption plays a large role in the band lives of the SVL and the SJH. Practices, competitions, and parades do not afford many opportunities for members to interact during the event. Relaxing after a performance with an alcoholic

beverage is a ritual for the SJH and the SVL. If a member comes to the bar and abstains from alcohol, nothing is said because the important aspect is the social interaction.

During these occasions, conversations centre around the band allowing members to discuss band business in an informal setting. Opinions are voiced that may otherwise not be heard in a formal event setting. Some individuals feel intimidated by the formal decision making process. Informal conversations during these social occasions, gives the more timid an opportunity to express themselves about the band. These informal discussions can lead to new directions for the band. If, perhaps, the Pipe Major makes a perceived poor decision, bandsmen have the opportunity to talk about it with the Pipe Major in a social setting. The Pipe Major may agree that the decision was ill-advised and reverse his earlier position. A minority of bandsmen never engage these post-practice activities. One of these SJH individuals felt left out of the informal decision making process and had a resolution passed: "No discussing band business at the bar". This resolution was passed and was observed for about one week. Now, the members of the SJH who discuss business at the bar sometimes preface their comments with "hypothetically". Thus they can discuss what they want to without being accused of excluding anyone or breaking the resolution.

Many use this opportunity to engage in poking fun at one another. One of the favourite jokes is about ethnicity. Those in the SJH who are not of any Scottish descent are giped about their backgrounds. More importantly, it gives rank and file members an opportunity to make jokes about the marching officers. This allows for some equalization of the power distribution, and in some cases sends a message to the Pipe Major about the

morale of the group.

For the SJH and the SVL it is rare for the entire band to socialize after each practice, but most attend on a regular basis. One of the first signs that a bandsman is contemplating quitting a band is less frequent attendance at the post practice gatherings, and frequency of attendance will also decrease for parades as well.

Conversations during these social occasions also revolves around the recounting of events and exploits. These events may be repeatedly told. Some members may be able to recount other bandsmen's stories verbatim, yet they are still retold. Recounting serves to give bandsmen a sense of identity with that particular band³⁵.

For some members, pipe bands are their only social outlet. This makes the social periods more significant for them. As a hobby, band practice also gives the members a night out. Many members of the SJH socialize outside of the activities of the band. Thus band membership can become a source of friendship for the bandsmen. The bonds of friendship may last a lifetime for bandsmen who pursue their instruments over the course of their lives. Veteran bandsmen who have moved to Winnipeg from elsewhere seek out a band to establish a social network, and visa-versa for travellers from Winnipeg.

Inter-Band Interaction

As described above, there are approximately 16 bands in Winnipeg. The bands of Winnipeg form a community. Most established players know other band's established players by sight, if not by name. There are few events where the community interacts. Competitions are an example of where bands interact; however, not all bands compete. The members of the community know about each other because of the overlap of

members in different bands. Many members play in more than one band (the St. Vital Lowlanders are a case in point). Furthermore, the community in Manitoba consists of approximately 200 active players, this small size makes it easy to keep track of each other.

When bands interact with each other, generally there are only a few members from each band who socialize with one another. This is partially due to the fact that some bandsmen who have moved from one band to another keep friendly ties. At competitions bands have been known to loan one another equipment on an emergency basis if necessary.

Some bands do not interact with each other because of some past incident. The SJH, for example, was described earlier as a splinter group. Even though most of the original participants of the splinter group are no longer playing, the parent and the splinter groups remain on relatively unfriendly terms. However, this situation is slowly changing.

Some bands engage in what is commonly known as poaching. Poaching is defined as stealing a player from another band in order to improve one's own band sound³⁶. This is not looked upon favourably by the community, although most competition bands participate in some form of poaching at one time or another to bolster their ranks.

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS/CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Thus far this thesis has covered an examination of the historical perspectives on pipe bands, an examination of academic viewpoints, and an ethnographic description of two Scottish pipe bands in Winnipeg. What has been lacking is an analysis or an attempt to tie together, these three main elements. The main theoretical argument of this chapter shall follow the social science literature on voluntary associations. Consequently, the structure of this analysis will follow the structure of the second chapter. Both anthropological and sociological viewpoints will be considered, and an examination of Winnipeg pipe bands will be undertaken in order to explore whether or not the ethnographic description agrees with the established literature.

Pipe Bands as Voluntary Associations

The opening remarks of the second chapter briefly examined pipe bands as voluntary associations. With the perspective of an examination of voluntary association literature and a description of pipe bands in Winnipeg, a more in-depth analysis is permitted. If we start the analysis based on the definition provided by Smith and Freedman (1972, see Chapter II) a number of similarities are noticeable. First, pipe bands are non-profit organizations. All monies raised through parades, fundraisers, and competitions are re-spent on uniforms, equipment, travel expenses, and incidentals. No bandsmen are paid for their participation in civilian band activities. No piper or drummer

in the Winnipeg community makes a living off of playing their instruments³⁷. The previous chapter demonstrated that through various means of recruitment, an individual joins a pipe band by their own volition. Next, the definition says that members are not born into a voluntary association like that of a family or church. In the previous chapter, we discussed how Prus's (1984) concept of closure: the sense of obligation to act, could be applied to pipe bands through Kitner and Maiolo's 1988 interpretation. That is, Kitner and Maiolo argued that Billfishing, for those who were introduced to it at an early age, is a natural hobby choice for those who were raised around the sport. In a similar fashion, Chapter III explained that for those raised around piping, drumming, and pipe bands, the concept of closure is applicable. 53% of the Saint James Highlanders (SJH) and the 40% of the Saint Vital Lowlanders (SVL) came to be involved because of family ties. What has to be recognized here is the element of choice for the individual experiencing closure. While becoming a bandsman may seem like a natural choice, it is not the only choice. While 53% of the SJH have family ties, not every member of their families play. In other words, some family members opted to become and remain bandsmen amongst various other hobby options; the individuals may have been born with a Scottish heritage, but they did not necessarily have to act upon it.

Typology

In terms of the internal structure of pipe bands, Anderson's (1971) theories apply. Anderson wrote that voluntary associations in modern industrialized nations have a rational-legal character. Rational-legal was defined as a by-product of democratic

governments manifesting in voluntary associations by having elected officials and maintaining impersonality in decision making in a law-like manner (1971, 214, see Chapter II). This impartiality serves the purpose of superseding or overriding a kinship-based decision making processes. Pipe bands contain elements of this rational-legal character. The bands described here, particularly the SJH, hold annual elections for various positions. However, the real authority in the band is held by the marching officers. This authority structure of marching officers is a direct result of the British military model (see Chapters I and III). These marching officers are picked for their playing and interpersonal abilities. Individuals holding elected positions are there ostensibly because of their ability to perform in that position. The point is a pipe band's decision making routes have little to do with kinship. Therefore it can be said that decisions relating to the course of the band, it's elections, and authority are impersonal, and consequently of the rational-legal character detailed by Anderson³⁸.

Because of the rational-legal nature of modern voluntary associations, Hamer (1982:309) writes that associations have institutionalized suspicion. This impersonal system of egalitarian checks and balances can overshadow kinship bonds destroying the trust inherent in kin systems. The pipe bands examined here have a large percentage of their membership that is kin-based. However, the band's structure is not based on kinship. As the previous paragraph has stated, decision making is not based on kinship. Only one bandsman of the SJH felt undo pressure placed upon him to perform because of kin-based obligations. In all other observable instances, none of the related members offered complaints or expressed a "lack of trust" with respect to decisions made about the

band's direction and/or decision making.

The Babchuk-Gordon (1962) typology continuum states that instrumental voluntary associations are characterized by large numbers, postponed gratification, and external goals. More simply, the organization is a means to an end. At the other end of the continuum, expressive associations feature small membership numbers, recruitment grounded largely on personal contact, immediate and continuing personal gratification, and little desire to effect the environment. Clearly pipe bands are aligned with the expressive pole of the continuum. The two bands described in this study are small in size; the SJH and the SVL have average annual approximate memberships of 16 and 25 persons respectively. A pipe band's overt primary purpose is to make music for the bandsmen's and public's enjoyment. For the purpose of this section the level of intensity or seriousness is irrelevant. Bandsmen derive pleasure from playing their instruments. In fact, piping and drumming can be depicted as a life-long pursuit for some. This life-long pursuit can be described as a means to an end. However, the means to an end is the immediate personal gratification of the members. Pipe bands do not aspire to be lobby groups, nor do they attempt to seek change in some aspect of the environment. Neither of the pipe bands examined here lobbied for a change within the environment. There is no conscious organized effort on behalf of pipe bands to heighten their profile or, as in the case of the Winnipeg Italian community (Ross, 1983), to have "Scottish Studies" at any of Winnipeg's post-secondary institutions. Pipe bands are self-contained units that interact primarily amongst themselves, and to a lesser degree, with the piping community and the public.

Continuing with studies on typologies, McPherson and Smith-Llovin (1987) examined homophily, which is the concept of friendship pairs based on similar interests. Smaller associations appeared to be less homogenous than earlier literature suggested (1987: 307-1). The bands examined here both have small memberships. Occupations of the SJH were described being diverse. In addition, the SJH's average age is 29, with ages ranging from 15 to early 50's. Although the common interest of piping and drumming brings the bandsmen together, the age range and occupations are varied. Most members have little else in common except band membership. The members of the SJH recognize this fact. Occasionally, bandsmen will make statements such as: "I would have never have met any of these people if it weren't for the band". Not all, but several bandsmen of the SJH interact socially outside of band functions/activities. Consequently, McPherson and Smith-Llovin's concept of individual homophily applies. The SJH has a heterogeneous background from age range to supposed ethnic origins. These individuals would, in all probability, not have chosen to develop friendships if it were not for the inducement of the band.

Membership

Macro-scale American and Canadian studies have indicated that lifetime voluntary association involvement follows a curvilinear pattern (see Chapter II). Peak associational involvements coincide with married adulthood and the absence of children. Young adults, seniors, and those with school-aged children tend to have reduced voluntary association memberships. Pipe bands have been described as a life-long pursuit. However, competing has also been said to be for the younger (under 25 years of age) individuals.

In addition, the ethnographic description pointed out that for the SJH, there was a significant drop off of players in their early to mid twenties; some of these players resume performing in their forties or fifties. Most pipers of the SJH began learning their instruments in their early to mid teens. This appears to be in direct contrast to the literature which claims that young unmarried adults (ages 17-24) will have little or no involvement in voluntary associations.

During the majority of its existence, the SJH was predominately an under 25 years of age band. The average age now stands at 29. This is because although large numbers of bandsmen have either quit playing or have joined other bands, the SJH has retained a "core" membership. The core, of six members who have been with the band 15-20 years, grew up with the band and have remained there resulting in a higher mean age³⁹. This core membership constitutes the difference between what is termed here as "lifers" and "short-timers". A lifer is the individual who pursues the instrument over the course of their lifetime. Many players have careers that span 40-60 years. The intensity level of competing and in terms of a desire for technical perfection may change during this lengthy career; however the desire to play and perform remains. These bandsmen are usually the ones who consistently attend practices and parades. Short-timers are those who, perhaps despite best intentions, succumb to outside pressures, internal politics, or lose interest altogether. Short-timers' dedication level is usually lower than that of the lifers, as indicated by their unwillingness to learn new tunes and a higher rate of absenteeism. Consequently, the short-timer may spend a number of years learning and performing, but will ultimately leave the instrument and band life behind⁴⁰. Some of

the short-timers may return when they are in their forties, holding true to the pattern delineated by macro-scale surveys. However, to return to playing after a lengthily absence is not easily accomplished. The rules and regulations may not be forgotten, but the physical demands of lung power, for example, to play the pipes require constant practice. As one SJH member put it:

"When I moved to Edmonton, I quit playing for two years. Didn't touch my pipes. I came back here (to Winnipeg) and started playing again. It's been three years now and I still don't have the stamina I used to have. If I had waited any longer to pick them up again, I don't think I'd have ever come back".

There are two ways this data can be interpreted. One may state that the return to the instrument and bands is consistent with the curvilinear lifetime pattern. This interpretation is contrary to the description. The vast majority of bandsmen who quit, or who are short-timers, never return to playing. Only some return, and then the return is difficult. Based on the description of the SJH, the interpretation offered here is this: there is an initial surge of membership during the teen and young unmarried adult years followed by a rapid drop-off rate. However, the "lifer" portion of the community remains active within their bands throughout the lifecycle. In the previous chapter, members of the Winnipeg pipe band community were described as playing in more than one band at a time. In the terms of voluntary association literature, this means holding multiple memberships. Therefore, the data indicates that involvement in pipe bands runs against what the body of publications directed towards lifecycle membership predicts.

Turning to socio-economic status (SES) and education levels, the literature claims that the higher the levels of these factors, the greater the probability of voluntary

associational involvement. 11 of 16 (69%) of bandsmen in the SJH are currently involved in, or have obtained, at least some post-secondary education. The majority of the SJH have received a fairly high level of education which is consistent with the literature. Nearly all the members of the SJH came from middle-class backgrounds; in other words, they were raised middle-class and have the values associated with that class. Belonging to a pipe band is an expensive avocation. Bagpipes initially cost \$800 or more. In spite of the subsidies for trips, equipment, and perks during parades, being a bandsman requires a fair outlay of money and time. This money requirement means that the bandsmen, to be a full participant, must have a significant cash flow to support their hobby. As the literature predicts, bandsmen in the SJH were born into the middle-class and must maintain a certain standard of living in order to support their voluntary association of choice. Unlike the findings of Gold (1975), Laskin (1962), Caulkins (1983), and Willmott (1971) there does not appear to be any visible elite members in the organizations. That is, unlike what Gold found, there was no cases of individuals attending band events for business purposes or to be "seen".

A final note on membership comes from Palisi (1965). His survey makes a generalization on ethnic generations and voluntary association membership. Specifically, Palisi writes that the first or immigrant generation does not participate in voluntary associations, the second generation remains low in voluntary association participation while subsequent generations will be more active. Many of the SJH are of third and later generations, although one member is first generation and two are second. The SVL has two members who are first generation although the generational affiliation of the other

members is unknown⁴¹. This appears to fit into Palisi's pattern, nonetheless this thesis is concerned with pipe bands only, not with the entire Scottish and Scottish descended population of Winnipeg. As previously stated, members are not born into a voluntary association nor are forced to join. Although there is family involvement, membership is by choice. What does appear to be the case is that Winnipeg pipe bands are populated primarily by second and subsequent generation Canadians. This may be attributed to the decline in the migratory waves of Scottish immigrants since the 1960's.

Incentives

The explanations for joining a pipe band have been discussed extensively in the preceding chapter, but the incentives for staying, for both "lifers" and "short-timers", have not been explored. Incentives for voluntary association participation have been viewed by Knoke and Adams (1987: 287-8) as coming from normative and affective sources. Brown and Zahrlly (1989, 167-77) claim that with higher skill comes less turnover resulting in more internalized incentives for the individual member. Finally, Pearce writes that once an individual joins a voluntary association, long term goals become less important as expectations change while social attraction increases in value. Cold callers (i.e. individuals who are not recruited) frequently claim that they wish to learn because they love the sound of the pipes and the uniforms. These are, in other words, what Knoke and Adam's call affective incentives. This may be a factor in keeping members in the band, but it does not appear to be the main one. Normative incentives play a role also. Many members wish to improve their standard of playing, are competitively driven, or enjoy the travel associated with band trips. However, the main incentive appears to

be the social aspects as Pearce predicted. Contrary to Brown and Zahrlly's findings, pipes and drums both take years to learn, making them a high skill avocation, yet there has been a high membership turnover in the SJH.

Functions and Adaptations

Arnold Rose saw voluntary associations providing six main functions. The first three were his main concern (Ross, 1977:8); his final three shall be dealt with in the next section. Rose wrote that voluntary associations distribute political power, give satisfaction with the political process, and are a mechanism for social change. These concepts derive from Toqueville and Weber's ideas about voluntary associations serving as lobby groups. In terms of Babchuk and Edwards, Rose viewed voluntary associations as instrumental associations. Pipe bands have already been analyzed as expressive associations, consequently, Rose's three predominate functions are not relevant.

Selle and Oymyr delineate four major problems a voluntary association must overcome for continued survival: lack of recruitment, difficulty in finding new leaders, poor economy, and a low level of activity. The SJH has not had problems finding new leaders, although adaptation to a new Pipe Major's personal style has resulted in some bandsmen quitting (see Chapter III for a description of the selection of marching officers). The SJH does not suffer from a low level of activity either, as most weekends during the summer months are taken up with parades and competitions. The economy is beyond the control of any voluntary association. The problem facing the SJH is lack of recruitment. Over the last five years, turnover has been slow for the SJH. Some bandsmen have quit, but only three drummers and one piper have joined in that same period. Selle and Oymyr

write that a lack of membership recruitment is a major problem, however they also claim that it is difficult for a voluntary association to recognize its problems. The SJH members acknowledge that their membership has been on a steady decline. SJH bandsmen have expressed feeling "pressured" into parade and competition appearances because of the limited number of members to perform at these events. At Annual General Meetings (AGM), usually held on in September or October and on other occasions, the need for recruitment has been a dominate topic of discussion. The SJH has designed a number of strategies for replenishment of membership: going into elementary and junior high schools to talk to the students about pipe bands, recruiting from junior pipe bands⁴², and putting up posters in community clubs and supermarkets to name a few. In spite of these plans of action, nothing has ever been implemented. During the summers of 1991 and 1992 the SJH did not participate in competitions and reduced their parade commitments. This low level of activity was recognized as being detrimental to the band's survival. Specifically, the pipe band community was under the impression that the SJH had folded. The SJH decided that to improve their visibility, they would participate in more competitions during the summer of 1993. This re-entry into the community was expected to have two results: to improve the recruitment from the junior bands (this did not happen), and perhaps more significantly, to improve the internal cohesion of the band. At the 1992 AGM, the SJH seriously discussed folding, but it was decided that the low level of activity, the lack of trips, and lack of direction (there was nothing to work towards such as the learning of new tunes and practising for competitions) were the main causes of dissatisfaction and apathy for the group. The higher level of activity gave the

SJH the effect they wanted by renewing the interest of most of the current members.

On the other hand, the SVL faces a different set of problems in Selle and Oymyr's terms. The SVL has a low level of activity: it rarely practices but makes no pretence about being a competition band. Nearly all of its members view it as a secondary band therefore not requiring a lot of practice and activity. It does not suffer from recruitment problems as there is a waiting list for people to join. The area of difficulty lies in finding a new leader. The power structure of the SVL is slightly different from the SJH. In the SVL, the marching officers have remained relatively the same for the last 10-15 years. However, the real authority in this band does not lie with the Pipe Major, but with the Band President/Director. Although this individual is now "retired" from this position, there is a tacit understanding that he still remains in control despite of whomever may currently be the "President/Director". The retired director was the founding member of the SVL (circa 1971) and is recognized as the driving force behind the band in terms of organization and direction. The problem stems from the fact that he is now in his late 70's, and the question remains as to how long he can continue and who is capable of replacing him. This may be classified as a future problem, but it is recognized by the members.

The fact that these organizations recognize their problems and take steps to rectify them, particularly the SJH, goes against Selle and Oymyr's findings that the four problem areas are only good for post-mortuums. This may be because neither the SJH or the SVL suffers from the "liability of newness". Both groups have survived over for 20 years. Selle and Oymyr write that the probability of the extinction of a voluntary association

decreases with age, which seems to be the case here. A classic example of the liability of newness is the University of Manitoba Pipes and Drums. Formed in the fall of 1992, the initial recruitment drive brought out 16 players, most of whom played in other bands, or had previous experience as bandsmen. The band formed without any funding, uniforms or equipment. Upon discovering this, the players dwindled off after a few practices until there were only six bandsmen (four pipers and two snares) and one student drummer. These numbers were beneath the bare minimum necessary to keep a band active. Furthermore, the University of Manitoba Pipes and Drums was unsuccessful in acquiring public performance dates to raise revenues and to give members activities beyond practises. After breaking for the summer, the founders decided not to continue practices or any other activities associated with the University of Manitoba Pipes and Drums primarily due to lack of interest. A few new bands have been formed in the past five years, but unlike the University of Manitoba Pipes and Drums, these bands tended to be reincarnations of other bands. Consequently, the uniforms and equipment were available for these groups and these new bands did not have to start completely fresh.

Selle and Oymyr say that their research indicated that high proportions of females, or organizations for women only, had a greater extinction rate than others. They qualify this claim by writing that some of these organizations, formed in the 1940's, had outlived their purpose by the time of their study (1989). Earlier in this thesis, being a bandsman was described as chiefly a "male" avocation in Winnipeg. There is one exception: the Bonnie Bells Woman's Pipes and Drums (BBW)(a pseudonym). This band is exclusively female and maintains one of the largest bands in Manitoba. Moreover, the BBW recently

celebrated their fiftieth anniversary. In Selle and Oymyr terms, we may say that the BBW are as relevant today as they were when they started. Furthermore, it is clear that a large female membership did not lead to the band's extinction.

Social Aspects

Up to this point the discussion in this chapter has focused on agreeing or disagreeing with the literature written from a sociological viewpoint. This was necessary to describe what a pipe band is and is not according to the established views. For example, the exploration of incentives, lifecycle patterns, and typologies have all revealed some similarities and some divergencies from the literature. However, this style of discussion does not give the reader a real impression, or feel, of what a pipe band in Winnipeg really is like. Perhaps this is because the topics examined here have been technical in nature; most of the discussion has revolved around classifications, patterns, etc. These impersonal, theoretical lines of thought have omitted the social aspects of voluntary association life. For expressive associations, such as pipe bands, the social aspect of the voluntary association is the heart and soul of the association. To this extent, a number of writers have touched on the social aspects of voluntary association life, albeit for the most part, the social life was mentioned as part of some larger theoretical perspective. For example, Pearce (1983: 148-57), when examining incentives, wrote that as an individual became more involved in a voluntary association long range goals become less important while social interaction increased in significance for the individual. Arnold Rose was predominately concerned with how voluntary associations served to enhance democratic governments. However, he also felt that voluntary associations

promote social cohesion, allow the individual to gain a degree of influence over a small group, and served as a means for status enhancement and social mobility (Ross, 1977: 8-9). Perkins and Lozier (1976) both examined the social aspects of Voluntary Fire Departments (VFDs) in their ethnographies. Specifically, they claim that participation in VFD training gave the recruit social skills that might not be readily acquirable elsewhere (Lozier, 1976: 348). What is the relevance of these studies to the Winnipeg pipe bands under study here? Before digressing into another discussion about how this aspect agrees with what is written and what aspect does not, it is necessary to point out that these articles are only peripheral to what pipe bands are all about in the social/sociological sense. Rose in his Duerkheimian/*anomic* contentions, perhaps comes the closest when he writes about the importance of a small group that people can influence.

Chapter III describes practices essentially as a time of playing interspersed with 5 to 15 minute breaks followed by a pseudo-ritualized post-practice bar visit. The breaks, the post-practice activities, and even the playing time are all social interaction occasions. In addition, trips and parades are also social occasions. The main interaction in public is still within the group (internal), not with members of the public (external). Furthermore, as these individuals are principally internally focused, the set of internal rules is indicative of the degree of this focus. The social interaction and the personality of the band are what keep the members together. Social interaction is more significant to the bandsmen than any of the motives or incentives listed above. Although conversations may centre around band-related issues and homophily may be forced, there is a sense of *esprit de corps* and belonging among the bandsmen. A member's primary

band is the one they tend to identify with. Moreover, each band has its own personality and its own identity whether it be "number one competition band", "street parade band", "semi-serious fun band", or primarily a "travel band". This group identification is very important to the members. An indicator of the emphasis placed on group identification is the seemingly constant reiteration of stories during the post-practice excursions. This inculcation of oral history gives the member a sense of history of the group, but it also gives them the "belonging" they may want.

Two examples are indicative of this identification. The SJH is a semi-serious competition band. They generally compete in Grade 3 of the four grade classification. The SJH's competition record over the last 10 years has shown no real improvement. This band, as Chapter III states, identifies itself as a "fun" band. A phrase that is often repeated by SJH members is, "We have a lot more fun than other bands". This statement has a number of levels of meaning. First, the surface meaning has to do with group identification: having more fun than anyone else. But underneath the surface meaning, there is a built-in justification. This tacit justification goes as follows: because we are so intent on having fun, this takes priority over an excellent competition performance; consequently we did not win because of our fun mandate. This tacit justification works in the opposite direction if an occasional success occurs: we were able to win and still have a good time. The catch-phrase is repeated more often in the weeks preceding competitions and is heard many times on competition days. On some occasions, the SJH has attempted to self-fulfil it's own prophecy by spending time in the beer tent before their scheduled competition. A variation on the theme sometimes is: "I don't think those

bands have as much fun as we do". Upon hearing this, I said that I thought that the other bands did have, as many or more good times than the SJH claimed to have, as most pipe bands are similar and therefore their experiences should be similar. This was met with stony silence for a few moments until a bandsman spoke up and said, "Yeah, but have (Band A) or (Band B) ever done this? (the bandsman proceeded to reiterate another story about past events)". I then explained perhaps not, but the other bands would have their own amusing history to tell. The response was, "I think we have way more fun". After several minutes of pressing the issue, the SJH bandsmen to admitted that their surface concept about themselves was perhaps untrue. The bandsman very quietly said to me, "I know you're right, but it's not very much fun for everyone to admit that". Unwittingly, the student of anthropology had shaken one of the foundations of the group: their stated belief that they are the "party animals" of the pipe band community and their excuse to cover-up mediocre performances that could perhaps only improve if they were more serious. Their self-identification as a fun band may have seemed a bit hollow to its members (and I think it seemed especially hollow to the more seasoned veterans), but they all seemed to participate in the concept of being a semi-serious "fun" band because of the easy group identification it gave them.

The second example pertains to the SVL. As mentioned above, the SVL is a secondary band to most of its members, as they play in other primary bands. Specifically, although there are representatives from several bands in the SVL, its membership comes mainly from two primary bands. During breaks and on other social occasions, the SVL divides itself along primary band lines. To phrase it differently, the

two main bands socialize principally amongst themselves during SVL social occasions. There is no splitting, however, of the pipe and drum sections like the SJH. This factioning is based on the internal politics of the SVL which are in turn based on group identification. It is only when the SVL travels great distances (i.e. Europe, California) that the primary group identification is superficially set aside for the temporary duration of the trip.

This sense of personal and group identification is the motivation for bandsmen. It harkens back to the Rose/Durhiemian style of analysis about *anomie*. This thesis will not make such grand claims as to state that pipe bands fight against the feelings of lack of direction and loneliness that are inherent with *anomie*, but there are elements of this present for the individual bandsman. A pipe band is a small group that can be influenced by an individual member, and this individual is able to hold an elected position. It will not be contended here that pipe bands are a method for social mobility, however as a means of status enhancement, being a bandsman has its advantages as the individual is seen as engaging in a hobby that is unique, different, and outside of the mainstream.

Anthropology: 1960's

Anthropological studies of voluntary associations in the 1960's dealt mainly with concepts of adaptation and integration. The basis for these concepts sprang from studies on African rural-urban migration. Little, Hamer, Banton, Beidelman, and Geertz all claim that the function of voluntary associations for the rural-urban migrant is to adapt traditional kin systems and make them applicable to the urban setting thus giving the migrant a sense of continuity. The voluntary association then proceeded to teach the rural

emigrant new social values which provided the neophyte urbanite with the social skills required for urban survival and integration into urban life.

These early anthropological studies on voluntary associations may appear to have little in common with pipe bands in Winnipeg, but they both have a number of things in common. First, Middleton, and Ben-Zadok and Kooperman write that voluntary association studies in Africa were popular during that decade because the rapid urbanization "presented a unique research opportunity" (Ben-Zadok and Kooperman, 1988:76). Geertz's (1962) more extensive cross-cultural survey on Rotating Credit Associations states that they are products of a changing society and are an intermediate step in the integration of an agrarian population into a more complex economic system (similar to Beidelman's analysis). These analyses have little to do with the static situation of pipe bands in Winnipeg. However, the commonality pertains to the era when pipe bands were invented. As the first chapter establishes, pipe bands are the result of a revitalization movement. Wallace describes the second stage of a revitalization movement as that of increased Individual Stress and the third being marked by Internal Distortion. These are the hallmarks of a changing society. The events that most typify the change in Highland society and Scottish culture during this era were the Highland Clearances. These Clearances have been recognized as a necessary, although brutal, step in bringing the feudal, agrarian Highland-Scottish nation into the more advanced industrializing European economy. This is the similarity shared with the changing African society of the 1960's.

It is unknown if the earliest civilian pipe bands were based in urban centres,

although it seems reasonable to assume so. What is known, however, is that pipe bands were introduced by the British military. Although no ethnographic or descriptive material exists on pipe bands pertaining to the early 1800's, the martial music, the structure, and the internal functions of pipe bands have remained intact since that point in time. In this context, an examination of the adaptative and integrative functions of the Winnipeg pipe bands described here may be illuminating.

Adaptation: A common definition of adaptation posits that rural based traditional kinship institutions are adapted to give the migrant a sense of continuity and an easier transition into urban life. Pipe bands are not traditional, kin-based institutions, nevertheless a similarity exists in the area of migration. Every band needs a minimum number of players in order to survive, but beyond that point the parts are interchangeable. In other words, once a bandsman has obtained a degree of competency, the bandsman can play with just about any band. This has direct bearing on rural-urban and urban-urban migration. Because the migrant may have very few contacts in a new setting, bandsmen have been known to seek out pipe bands. Most of the larger Canadian cities have several pipe bands, each with their own style and group personality. Finding the band that suits the migrant best can give the migrant valuable social contacts which may be difficult to otherwise obtain. Moreover, the transition to a new pipe band is relatively easy as the structures and rules are exceedingly similar, giving the migrant "a sense of continuity". There is also the possibility that through these social contacts a bandsman may be able to find employment⁴³. A major point for Little, in terms of adaptation, was that the basis of tribal affiliation was more imagined than real (1970:27). This is integral to the

adaptation process. Although the majority of members claim to be "Scottish" in origin, most of their descent lines may be more accurately described as having multiple origins. As Stymeist writes, "It is slightly disconcerting to find upon closer examination, however, that the appearance of ethnicity is often no more than that: an appearance" ([1975] 1980: 309). Stymeist goes on to write that for Crow Lake, "ethnicity was something that was often more attributed than 'real'" (1980:315). The previous chapter pointed out that a number of SJH bandsmen claim no Scottish descent whatsoever. Ultimately it may be said that with the plethora of second and third generation Canadian-born bandsmen of multiple ethnic origins in both the SJH and the SVL, these people are "fictive Scots". Thus in an analogous manner to the fictive kin voluntary associations of Africa, pipe bands in Winnipeg maintain the myth of being "Scottish". Pipe bands have adapted what used to be an exclusively Highland and ultimately British military institution into a multi-ethnic social outlet.

Integration: In the classic sense, integration means to resocialize the migrant into a new set of rules and regulations appropriate for entry into the host community. The pipe band recruit must also learn a set of rules and behavioral norms for entry into the pipe band world. The overt and implicit internalized rules are specific to the specialized sub-culture of the pipe band community. However inundation into this lifestyle, particularly for the young novice, has ramifications beyond the limited confines of the community. Like the Voluntary Fire Departments described by Perkins (1987, 1989, 1990) and Lozier, the socialization process and public performances allow the teen-aged bandsman (and to some extent the older recruits as well) to acquire such social skills as

communication, self-confidence, group solidarity and identification, co-operation, a high level of commitment, and the possibility of the responsibility of an appointed or elected office. Moreover, it gives the young bandsman an opportunity to interact with people of all ages on an equal level. All these skills, which may not be readily available elsewhere, can be acquired through the dedication of learning an instrument and the social interaction of the band. Consequently, skills picked up as a bandsman can be viewed as socialization/integration into the larger society (Graves and Graves (1974) make a similar argument).

Two studies published in the 1970's are relevant to the discussion here. Kerri (1976a) in his oft-cited review, does introduce some interesting points before attempting to split hairs in a jargonistic haze. His review outlines how anthropology was mainly concerned with "situations of change or modernization"(Kerri, 1976a: 23). This is similar to what Walker and Hansen (1978) found. In response to potential outside influences the people of Villalta adapted by failing to form the suggested voluntary associations.

Anthropology: 1970's

In the 1970's anthropological studies on voluntary associations expanded beyond the limited focus of the previous decade. The wider range still maintained an interest in adaptation and integration. Prime examples of this style of analysis come from Graves and Graves (1974) and Pierson's (1977) publications. Graves and Graves found that voluntary associations provide leadership, prestige and organization for their members. Moreover, they described how voluntary associations reinforce ethnic group identification

and cultural pride, particularly if overt or tacit discrimination is present. Because the individuals may need a place for social interaction, ethnic voluntary associations became an obvious choice due to the lack of social opportunities in the mainstream community. This is also what Pierson (1977) found in his description of Aborigines in Australia. Unable to integrate into mainstream urban society due to blatant overt bigotry, the Aborigines found they had to adapt by turning in on themselves to form their own voluntary associations. While Graves and Graves' predictions and Pierson's findings mesh with each other, they have very little to contribute to our understanding of the pipe bands of Winnipeg. This is because their concepts deal with individuals who are primarily members of a visible minority. Bandsmen in Winnipeg are not easily recognized as members of pipe bands when out of their uniforms, let alone being identified as a visible minority in Winnipeg. Consequently, the style of adaptation that Graves and Pierson are concerned with does not apply to the earlier delineated adaptive functions of pipe bands.

Three more studies from the 1970's profiled in the second chapter appear to tie in together: Barnes and Piel's 1977 study on West African cities, Sassen-Koob's 1979 work on New York's immigrants, and Mochon's 1974 publication on "Hillsville". Sassen-Koob found that for a migrant community to have a large number of voluntary associations, a number of factors must occur. The most significant of which concerns the migrant's home community. The poorer the home community and the greater the ability of the host community to provide culture shock for the migrant, the more voluntary associations are required as a support system. Barnes and Piel, and Mochon found

something different from Sassen-Koob. The former's findings indicated that it was the generally the stable migrant, one who had been in the urban centre for over five years, who felt inclined to join a voluntary association. Similarly, Mochon found that only those who are predisposed to a voluntary association's ideals will enlist. While the first study may appear different from the latter two, the question of all three remains the same: what kind of individual joins a voluntary association? In the section covering 1960's anthropology the discussion described how voluntary associations acted as support systems for migrants experiencing culture shock. In addition, it was pointed out that migrants with the ability to play in pipe bands may use a band in a new urban setting as a support system. The observations of Barnes and Piel and Mochon bring out a relevant point: only those predisposed to the ideals of the group and who are relatively stable within the community are likely to join a primary association. This is also true of pipe bands. The hobby of piping and drumming is not an inexpensive pursuit, meaning that only those who are established (or stable) can afford to engage in pipe band membership. It is, perhaps, the first half of the equation that is the most significant. That is, predisposition to the ideas and ways of pipe bands plays an important role in the individual's decision to learn an instrument. Conversely, it also plays a role in the acceptance of an individual by the veteran bandsmen. The reader may have inferred from the previous chapter that bandsmen have a particular way of doing things and a unique way of thinking. Naturally, neophyte members need to be moulded somewhat into this mode of behaviour in addition to acquiring the unique unwritten rules and regulations. Many individuals who wish to become members fail. This is often because the task of

learning a new instrument, particularly the bagpipes, is an arduous one which not everyone is capable of. Alternatively, the failure may have something to do with the veterans themselves. That is, individuals who are attempting to learn instruments and the norms of pipe bands may not be the type of person wanted by the band members. The person may not appear "to fit in" and could possibly face tacit discrimination. In some cases the bandsmen may not even be aware that they are prejudiced against the neophyte (although sometimes they are well aware of this) making it difficult for the novice to feel welcome or to find a *niche* in the band. Every pipe band has its own personality and perhaps the novice may be directed to another band more suited to the novice's personality. In most cases, however, they generally end up quitting. Ultimately, predisposition may be viewed as a double-edged sword.

Anthropology: 1980's

Hamer, Talai, and Hsieh all examined voluntary associations beyond the confines of the voluntary association itself. More specifically, they examined how a group of ethnic voluntary associations can be an informal network (community) which serves to perpetuate ethnic identification. Pipe bands have been characterized above as summarizing symbols of a revitalization movement. These symbols have been transplanted to all areas of the former British Empire. Pipe bands have had many functions described in the above pages. All these functions, such as adaptation and integration, are part and parcel of the overall purpose of these groups. We may draw an analogy between the analysis thus far and the peeling of an onion. If one peels away the layers of an onion, one will find that the layers, while still being onion, are not the core.

Likewise, pipe bands have a multitude of functions and applications. All the functions described have been valid operating functions, but not the central one. Individual pipe bands are part of a larger community in Winnipeg. This network of individual pipe bands serves to perpetuate the invented, revitalized Scottish culture. Using 1980's anthropology as a base, we shall now examine how the Winnipeg pipe bands accomplish this perpetuation.

The first and most obvious perpetuation is the uniforms. The uniforms are an invented tradition (Thornburn's (1976) Edwardian soldiers) and have remained relatively unchanged since their inception (see figure 1). Civilian bands have added some minor variations to the uniform; however, these changes are universal (i.e.: uniform changes such as a Bonnie Prince Charlie Jacket can be found in civilian bands throughout North America, Scotland, Australia, etc.) and in some cases reflect financial necessity or a desire for freedom from constriction⁴⁴.

Next, an important aspect of Talai's (1984) work is the informal network. The informal network of London Armenians creates an organizational diffuseness through individuals maintaining multiple memberships in different voluntary associations. Moreover, the community has an overlap or repetition of functions by different associations. The scenario described by Talai (see also Ross 1983) is comparable to that pertaining to Winnipeg pipe bands. The bands in Winnipeg all maintain the same internal structure with some minor variations. Each band has its own particular niche in the Winnipeg community. Specifically, there are non-competitive or parade bands, semi-serious competition bands, and dedicated competition bands. In each of these broad

categories there are a number of pipe bands. Every band provides the same function for its members: a social outlet and a place to pursue their musical interest. Moreover, earlier description stated that many bandsmen in the SJH maintained membership in more than one band. The SVL was described as mainly a secondary band where the majority of bandsmen had membership in a primary band. Here is where the similarity between the London Armenians and the Winnipeg pipe bands exists: in each broad category of type or style of pipe band there are a number of individual pipe bands. In Talai's terms, there emerges an overlap and repetition of functions. If one band in a category dissolves for whatever reason, the former members may join another band of the same broad type to fulfil that function.

The SJH and the SVL have different overtly stated aims. Multiple memberships may be the product of bandsmen's needs not being met by a single band. A number of SJH members who play in the SVL have stated that they play with the latter group "for the trips". A financially poorer band by comparison, the SJH does not go on as many extravagant trips (i.e.: far-flung destinations) as the SVL. Furthermore, there is less pressure to attend parades as the SVL has an excess of bandsmen to cover the positions.

Specifically, the SJH is a small band. This puts pressure on all the members to attend public performances. This is because if only a few bandsmen can not make the event, it generally means that the band must cancel or turn down a performance. Consequently, there is pressure felt by bandsmen in the SJH "not to let the band down".

Paralleling Talai's (1984) description of London Armenians, the pipe band community in Winnipeg is interwoven with an informal network. The governing body

for bands that engage in competition is the "Prairie Council of Piping and Drumming". This is a fairly loose organization that is generally concerned with the orderly conduct of Highland Games in Manitoba. At competitions, members of various bands socially interact with each other during the massed bands, the actual competition, and in the hotels (if applicable) or social events following the competitions. Yet not all pipe bands in Manitoba compete. However, the general composition, player movements, personality, and general category of all Manitoba/Winnipeg bands are essentially known by most bandsmen in the community. The underlying explanation lies in the numerical smallness of the community. There are currently approximately 300-400 active and quasi-active bandsmen in Manitoba belonging to an estimated 15 bands. This factor makes it easy to keep track of the various perennial bandsmen ("lifers") of the community as well as the newcomers. Furthermore, during these social occasions bandsmen constantly compare every band's playing style and their performances within their own groups and between themselves.

A cornerstone of Hsieh's (1985) work on WHA societies of Hong Kong was that these associations provided a haven for members. The WHAs gave their members an opportunity to celebrate the own unique ethnicity in a safe surrounding. In spite of a number of problems, such as the diminishing use of dialect, physical proximity, and lack of central leadership, the WHAs manage to maintain and preserve a disappearing culture instead of attempting to be mechanisms for adaptation and integration. Winnipeg pipe bands may be viewed in the same fashion. Earlier in this chapter, pipe bands were described as having adaptative and integrative functions, however it was also pointed out

that there are many layers to the functions of pipe bands. Embossed in the surface of social functions is the perpetuation and maintenance of pipe bands. The very structure, the basic uniform, and some of the tune's perseverance attest to the successful maintenance of ethnic identification.

This maintenance is achieved through a number of means. Weekly band practices, like Hsieh's WHAs, give members a haven. That is, the band gives members a place of release or escape as a hobby. Conversations rarely touch upon mundane daily topics such as work. In other words, the monotony of daily living is left at the door⁴⁵. Practices and performances give the members an opportunity to revel in their "Scottishness". Earlier description pointed out that there are a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds in the membership of the SJH and the SVL. This diversity is overruled by the informal rules and regulations. These rules and regulations allow the members to overlook ethnic and other differences (although acknowledged in joking relationships) and to create a cohesive unit. However, the rules and regulations that govern the band indicate that there is a system set up within the group to perpetuate pipe bands. The rules and regulations did not appear suddenly. They were developed from the inception of pipe bands and designed to keep the group functioning properly and to perpetuate the institution. One of the main vehicles for this is the oral culture of pipe bands. Included in its function of group identification, is the inundation into the ways and means of pipe bands. The repetition of stories about a particular band also serves to remind the individual that they are part of a Scottish pipe band in spite of their ethnic background. The members are fully integrated into Canadian society. That is, one would not probably be able to identify a

pipe band's member apart from band events. However, their "Scottishness" is celebrated at practices and events. It is useful to bear in mind that all things Scottish are not devotedly maintained or preserved at pipe band events, but the particular sub-culture of pipe bands is maintained and preserved. These rules and regulations, which are for the most part unwritten, are designed to make pipe bands a perpetual motion machine to keep them a viable entity in themselves and within the community.

CONCLUSIONS

Pipe bands are products of a secularized revitalization movement. Prior to the Rebellion of 1745, pipe bands in the form that one can see today did not exist. After the kilt, pipes and pipe bands were popularized by revitalization, they became a summarizing symbol (see Ortner 1979) for all that is Scottish. Part and parcel of British imperialism, pipe bands were transmitted to all parts of the former British Empire, and one can find there many pipe bands thriving today. This includes Winnipeg. In a city where the percentage of Scottish-descended population is higher than the national average, the Winnipeg area boasts sixteen pipe bands. The two bands delineated in the ethnographic description perform a number of functions as voluntary associations.

Voluntary Associations

Pipe bands are voluntary associations of the rational-legal character described by Anderson (1971). Contrary to vast body of work done on life-cycles and voluntary associational involvement, pipe band membership crosses many age ranges and can be characterized as a life-long endeavour. As a type of association, the bands in Winnipeg are expressive in nature. Elected offices provide the members an opportunity to bear

some responsibility in the decision making process, however the true authority rests with the marching officers. These marching officer positions are ascribed and are awarded on merit alone.

Functions

After an examination of voluntary association literature, and an ethnographic description of two pipe bands based in Winnipeg, we can discern a number of functions that pipe bands perform. For the bandsmen, a pipe band's primary function is to be a social outlet. This social outlet encompasses many aspects. First, it provides an option for adaptation. The bandsman who may have migrated to a new environment, such as a new city, can seek out a pipe band to obtain a new friendship network. Therefore, pipe bands are an adaptative mechanism for any bandsmen who might require social contacts. Pipe bands also have integrative functions. The ethnographic description demonstrated that pipe bands in Winnipeg have their own particular sub-culture complete with it's own jargon and unwritten rules and regulations. All novices must learn these otherwise they will fail to become part of the group. The skills acquired as a bandsman are easily translatable into everyday life. Therefore, the integration functions have two facets: integration into band life and acquiring skills for everyday life.

The final socialization function is the socialization itself. As a member of a pipe band, having successfully mastered the instruments and doctrines pipe banders live by, the member acquires a sense of belonging. Despite internal strife, bandsmen spend a large amount of time in each other's company. A band may be defined by the events it

performs. That is, the trips, practices, competitions, and fundraising endeavours are the occasions when the members get together. It is the internal socialization that is the important part of these events. For many members, it is a release (a chance to let off some steam) and in some cases, their only hobby and social interaction. These are the ties that are the basis for friendship and the cement that binds the band's membership together.

Ethnic Perpetuation

Although pipe bands in Winnipeg provide a number of functions for their members, there is one other function they provide. The two pipe bands in Winnipeg described here, as expressive voluntary associations, are part of a community of pipe bands. There are three broad categories of pipe bands in Winnipeg's community: parade, semi-serious, and competition. Within each category there exist a number of bands. Also, band members have a tendency to play in both primary and secondary bands. This is what Talai (1984) calls overlap or duplication of function. Bandsmen are interchangeable, and once they have learnt their instrument, they can join any band that suits them. If a band fails, members can join another band of the same broad category. Moreover, the uniformity of the internal structure of pipe bands appears have to remained static. This is the result of the British military invention. Pipe bands so not seek to change their environment or to adapt as an entity to changing circumstances. Although the bands in Winnipeg examined here do not revel in all things that are "Scottish", they do maintain a similar structure and format of the other bands. This is analogous to the findings of Hsieh's (1985) study. Pipe bands maintain their own unique sub-culture, and

each pipe band is part of a community that serves as a mechanism to perpetuate an ethnic identity.

APPENDIX ONE: DISARMING ACT

And it is further enacted. That from and after the 1st of August 1747 no man or boy within Scotland, other than such as shall be employed as officers and soldiers in the King's forces, shall on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on cloths commonly called Highland cloths, that is to say, the plaid, philebeg or little kilt, trowse, shoulder-belts, or any part whatsoever of what particularly belongs to the Highland garb; and that no tartan or party-coloured plaids or stuff shall be used for great-coats, or for upper coats; and if any such persons shall, after said 1st of August wear or put on the aforesaid garments, or any part of them, every such person so offending, being convicted thereof by the mouth of one or more witnesses, before any court of judiciary, or any one or more Justices of the Peace for the shire or stewartry, or judge ordinary of the place where such offence shall be committed, shall suffer imprisonment, without bail, during six months and no longer; and being convicted of a second offence, before the court of judiciary, or at the circuits, shall be liable to be transported to any of His Majesty's plantations beyond the sea, for seven years. (Quoted in Prebble, 1961: 327-328).

Furthermore, Highlanders were often forced to swear an oath:

I do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of Judgement, I have not, nor shall have in my possession any gun, sword, pistol or arm whatsoever, and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland Garb; and if I do so may I be cursed in my undertakings, family and property, may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath" (Quoted in Prebble, 1961: 328).

APPENDIX TWO: JACOBITE SONGS

This appendix will consist of two parts. The first will detail some of the songs and the second will discuss their significance.

Songs

Bonnie Dundee

*To the Lords of Convention 'twas Claverhouse spoke,
Ere the King's crown go down there are crowns to be broke,
So each Cavalier who loves honour and me
Let Him follow the bonnets of Bonnie Dundee*

*Then awa' to the hills, to the lea, to the rocks,
Ere I own a usurper I'll crouch wi' the fox,
And tremble false Whigs in the midst of your glee
You've no seen the last of my bonnets and me
(McKinnon, 1972: 19-20)*

Charlie is my Darling

*Charlie is my darling, my darling, my darling,
Charlie is my darling, the young Chevalier! . . .
(McKinnon, 1972: 57).*

The Skye Boat Song

*Sing me the song of the lad who is gone,
Say, could that lad be I?
Merry of heart he sailed on a day
Over the sea to Skye.*

. . .

*Burnt are our homes, exiled our chiefs
Scattered the loyal men,
Yet ere the sword shall never sleep in its sheath
Charlie will come again. . .
(McKinnon, 1972: 66, 105).*

Will ye no

*Bonnie Charlie's noo awa'
Safely ovr the friendly main,
Mony a heart will break in twa,
Should ne ne'er come back again*

Chorus

*Will ye no come back again?
Will ye no come back again?
Better lo'ed ye canna be
Will ye no come back again?*

*Ye trusted in your Hieland men
They trusted you dear Charlie,
They kept your hiding in the glen,
Death or exile braving*

Chorus

*English bribes were a' in vain,
Tho puir and puirer we maun be,
Siller canna by the heart
That beats aye for thine and thee
(McKinnon, 1972: 113).*

Historical Relevance

All these songs are variations on a theme: the return of Prince Charles to lead Scotland to freedom, and the noble Highlander who will not turn Charles in, waiting to rise again.

Pittock describes the current popularity of these tunes:

The Jacobite song is one of Scotland's most pervasive and popular literary forms. Such songs still form the staple of many folk concerts, are whistled and sung widely, and occasionally, reset, find a place in the national charts. New songs are still being written, proving that Jacobitism. . . can still make a powerful appeal today. (Pittock, 1989: 1)⁴⁶.

McKinnon and Prebble are both of the belief that the rebellion lives on through

these songs, and they are partly correct (McKinnon, 1972; 113). Johnson, however, writes there is a popular belief that these tunes and others like them were created by a grass roots movement by Scottish people's emotional connection to the Jacobite rebellions.

I can only say that I have seen no evidence supporting this; most of the recorded Jacobite songs were actually written as an act of self-conscious nationalism, between 1790 and 1820, by people such as James Hogg and Lady Nairne (Johnson, 1972: 4).

Thus, these are contrived, albeit successful, attempts at redefining their past. As mentioned above, Wallace states in his definition: "a revitalization movement is defined as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture"(1979: 422, emphasis mine).

ENDNOTES

1. The Irish still play the bagpipes, commonly known as the Irish pipes, and pipes are played in some areas of France such as Brittany. This thesis, however, is concerned with Scottish Pipe Bands and shall refrain from covering the Irish aspects. One further note: The Scottish bagpipes, sometimes called *Piob Mor* (Gaelic for Great Bagpipe because of their size; they will be referred to as bagpipes or simply pipes throughout this thesis) are becoming the universal bagpipe of choice. For example, at a recent competition in Minneapolis, two Irish bands competed; both used Scottish pipes.
2. Pipes were not recognized by the official military (i.e. the War Office) until 1854; prior to that the colonel of the regiment paid the piper out of his own pocket (Thornburn, 1976: 215).
3. Granted, he was a Prince and possessed the authority of a Royal.
4. About two months before this was written I was having a conversation with a pipe band member and a non-member; the conversation centred on Canada's social welfare system. The piper stated that he and I had come from a country where people were thrown off their land, out of their houses, and on to the streets; the Canadian social welfare system was based on never allowing that to happen again (or words to that effect). The point I am trying to make here pertains to emic and etics: etically, as Richards says, voluntary and involuntary migration may have been intertwined; emically, a century and a half past the Clearances, people of Scottish descent seem to hold the belief it was forced migration.
5. This typology was first drafted by C Wayne Gordon & Nicholas Babchuk in "A Typology of Voluntary Associations", American Sociological Review. 1959, 24: 22-29.
6. All ages are approximate. It should also be mentioned that people may jump two categories ahead or regress back depending on circumstances.
7. In fact, a lot of Rose's work, according to Ross, had a Durkheimian flavour to it; Rose, however, never referenced Durkheim (1977: 9, 10).
8. Among others not mentioned here are various women's groups, European-style groups, Christian groups and, a Drumming company (music group).
9. The landmark works will be examined in this section. Little was chosen as a starting point because he is one of the most visible anthropological writers. Furthermore, Little's emphasis on the functions of voluntary associations will be a theme repeated in this section of the chapter.
10. There were 30 of them in 1953 as well as fifteen others that bore striking resemblances to the companies (Banton, 1970).
11. This article is essentially a slight reworking of his 1974 publication, "*Anthropological studies of Voluntary Associations and Voluntary Action: A Review*".

12. One theme that appeared in the comments was: "Why does Kerri's cross-cultural survey omit any discussion of the extensive literature on voluntary associations in Latin America?"(Caulkins:36).

13. "The CA* review that inventories publications on a topic as well as evaluates them has proved uniquely valuable. Kerri has not written one"(Dobyns:36). Moreover: "The triviality of the 'substantive research dividends' Kerri cites from past research is overwhelming: anthropologists apparently agree that common interest groups exist; they are in 'fairly common agreement' on what the term 'common interest association' means (are you ready? an association 'based on the bonds created through common interest'); and 'these associations serve adaptive functions.' This is science?" (Wildesen:43, parenthesis and quotation marks his).

14. The first voluntary association was an agriculture association founded in 1351 AD. There is also a fife and drum corps dating back to Napoleonic times.

15. Hsieh explains that to the Chinese locality is more general than simply domicile-of-origin or place of birth; it is based on dialect, filial piety (Confucius), and bureaucratic classification (1985: 156).

16. "Ethnic institutions are simply those institutions in which the ethnicity of the clients is significant"(Price, 1975: 38).

17. The other five are: lay religious organizations, mutual aid societies, veterans associations, sports clubs, and political organizations (Ross, 1983: 137-147, 173).

18. The Western Pipe Band Directory was compiled by R. Stanfield and does not appear to have been done in a systematic fashion. Furthermore, it is an non-copyrighted publication, therefore it bears no publication date. The reason its figures are cited here is because it gives a rough estimate of the number of bands in each city and province. For the Western United States of America, Stanfield indicates that there are five bands in Oregon, 28 in California, 11 in Nevada and Arizona (combined), and 14 (combined) in Utah, Colorado and New Mexico. Data on the numbers and location of Canadian pipe bands east of the Manitoba-Ontario boarder are unavailable.

19. Socializing will be described later under Intra-band interaction.

20. It will not be revealed here as some things must remain unsaid or shrouded in mystery.

21. For a more complete description of other activities at Highland Games see Berthoff, 1982:5-34.

22. For example, who was missing from the other bands, who had switched bands, which bands were larger or smaller than previous outings, and etc.

23. March-Strathspey-Reel refers to musical times signatures. For example, a March can be a 2/4 or a 4/4 tempo/signature.
24. The ensemble judges the overall sound, in particular how the drum corps compliment the pipe section.
25. For piping, some tunes have seconds, or harmony, but for the present purposes this is unimportant.
26. SJH has a *lassie-faire* attitude; SJH bandsmen appear to be more concerned with enjoying themselves rather than winning competitions. This attitude has earned the SJH a reputation for revelry with the more serious bands.
27. Some military bands have been known to have pipes in stock and therefore issue pipes to their pipers.
28. I have heard about Scottish bagpipes being made in India. These pipes are made out of plastic, not wood, and have yet to achieve any form of popularity with bandsmen in Winnipeg.
29. Parenthetically, to call someone a back rank piper is a powerful, yet seldom used, insult. For example, the insult may sound like: "I don't have to take that from a back rank piper", pointing out the bandsman's inability and lack of authority.
30. These need not be mutually exclusive categories.
31. Approximately 20% of those who start to learn complete their training mainly because of the required personal dedication to private practice time. Most people find the pipes are harder to learn than anticipated. The ideal beginner is 10-14 years old because, like languages, musical instruments are easier to learn in younger years (i.e. adult learners find it more difficult. Students younger than ten are felt to have too short of an attention span to learn an instrument and are therefore a waste of instructor's time.
32. Musicians is the word used in this thesis. Attention is drawn to this because bagpipers dislike being called musicians; they prefer to be called "pipers". The complexity of their instruments (bagpipes) and their ability to play them, learn new tunes, and physical exertion are the points of contention between the pipers and the drummers.
33. The "Prairie Council of Piping and Drumming" (PCPD) allows player to compete with **one** band per competition season. Otherwise, for all other functions players may perform with whomever they choose.
34. Over the past ten years, 5 of the 15 bands in the Winnipeg area have dissolved and reformed under new names.

35. Some bandsmen over-identify with pipe bands and it becomes a basis of ego gratification and a basis of their own self-identity.

36. Some people engage in the practice of putting together "superbands" A superband is where the best players in a community form a band for the express purpose of winning competitions. These bands win a lot of competitions but have a short life span (see also: Neigh, 1992: 20).

37. There are exceptions to this rule. Military bands and police bands are paid for their services. An article by LePage emphasizes that of the 1,100 bandsmen playing in 23 militia and 13 regular force bands in the Canadian Forces, only seven drummers and eight pipers are full-time professionals (1993: 8-9). LePage interviewed CWO (Chief Warrant Officer) Alderman, the head Pipe Major for the Canadian Forces. Alderman explains that military bands in Canada are dependant on civilian pipers: ". . . they do it voluntarily. They don't get paid. Without this kind of dedication, we couldn't have a band. There are just not enough of us in the CF (Canadian Forces)"(1993:10). Civilian pipers often play solo at private engagements such as weddings, banquets, or funerals. The payment is usually nominal (in the \$50-\$100 range). The emphasis here is that no pipers and drummers make a living off their instruments. Parenthetically, one member of the Winnipeg piping community claimed to earn his living off of piping. Specifically, this individual professed to earn a living by charging for lessons and playing at Highland Dance competitions. Further investigation revealed that this individual, given the derisive nickname "Superpiper" by the community, supplemented his income by working in restaurants.

38. Once again, there are exceptions to the rules. In a Winnipeg pipe band not detailed previously in this thesis, an informant explained that a group of related individuals (known derisively as "The Mafia") appear to run the band in their own self-interest. Overtly, these individual are elected through the proper channels. However, this band seems to maintain an implicit understanding that "Mafia" members will dominate elected and, in particular, marching officer positions.

39. The current Pipe Major is in his mid-forties, and the former Pipe Major who is still active in the band, is in his early fifties. However, the majority of bandsmen in the SJH range from 25 to 35 years of age.

40. The most typical short-timer is the adult beginner student. Often these individuals will be looking for a "fast track" method of joining the band. Their primary interest is in the socialization aspect, not the hours of dedication and practice needed to learn an instrument. Because playing can appear to be easy, the adult beginner has unrealistic expectations concerning the amount of time it takes to learn. Frustration sets in for both the student and instructor ultimately resulting in the student quitting. Experienced instructors can usually spot who is going to "make it" and who will not. It is beyond the parameters of this thesis to investigate whether or not this factor effects the level of intensity of instruction given and the student's success or failure.

41. On a personal note, I am third generation on my father's side. My paternal grandparents did not participate in pipe bands although my grandfather did drum for the Salvation Army. My father and my Aunt (who married a drummer) have both been lifers in pipe bands. My only sibling also participates as a piper. None of my aunt's three children have ever been involved.

42. A junior band is a band that consists entirely of members who are under the age of 18. There are two junior bands in Winnipeg. One of these bands bears the same name as a senior competition band. This junior band is used as a farm system for the senior band where the best players are invited to join the older band upon their eighteenth birthday. The other players are left to fend for themselves (sometimes they are recruited by other bands) and many quit playing altogether after their eighteenth birthday. The SJH does not have a farm system of this nature.

43. Employment through pipe band membership is not uncommon. Personally, I have found two part-time jobs through band contacts and this is not an isolated incident. A point of clarification is required though: one should not misinterpret the reasons for joining a pipe band. I have not seen a case where a migrant bandsman or a novice joins a band for the purpose of obtaining employment. The employment aspect is more of a byproduct rather than an overtly (or even tacitly) pursued goal.

44. This means movement. Civilian uniforms can be a lot airier or lighter to wear, especially in hot weather.

45. Parenthetically, intra-band relationships and especially marriages do not seem to work. People who get married while belonging to the same primary band seem to have short-lived marriages. Marriages of bandsmen who belong to different primary bands, and perhaps the same secondary band, seem to have a better chance of success in their marriage. This is merely an observation (it applies to relationships as well), as there is no hard data on this phenomena. Novice members and veterans alike, are sometimes warned against intra-band relationships because "it wrecks the band" or creates unnecessary factions and tension. One might postulate that having a spouse in the same primary band does not allow the bandsman an opportunity to acquire a break from daily pressures. Naturally, bands where all the members are of the same sex generally do not face these problems.

46. *Bonnie Dundee*, a tune about the leader of the first rebellion (1689) is still played on the pipes today; other examples of tunes still played are *Skye Boat Song*, and *Loch Lomand* ("You take the high road, and I'll take the low road"). *Will ye no* and *Charlie is my Darling* are tunes I learned as a youngster.

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