

Individuals are rarely found living alone in separate households, and if this occurs and continues, it is normally because of the death of an elderly spouse. A young surviving spouse normally remarries.

The normal household is that occupied by the nuclear family of husband, wife and children. This group sometimes includes unmarried adult children, an elderly parent or the husband or wife, or other close relatives. Special circumstances may lead to two closely related nuclear families occupying the same house indefinitely, but visiting relatives seem always welcome, as are reservation residents visiting kinsmen in the cities.

While the nuclear family household is independent, it is normally located near the households of close relatives, particularly those of the husband's parents or brothers. This larger group of kinsmen includes cousins (especially first cousins) as well, and corresponds generally to what the anthropologist terms a kindred. The term kindred will hereinafter be used to refer to the bilateral kin group consisting of the nuclear families and households of elderly couples, their siblings if living, and those of their children and grandchildren. Locally, the term "clan" is sometimes used for the kindred. Politically, it may be a "faction."

The primary cooperative group is the nuclear family, and next the families of closest relatives or members of the kindred. Cooperation takes a variety of forms, aside from household routine. A man and wife form the preferred team for harvesting wild rice, for example, since it is felt that "this keeps the money in the family."

Cooperation is also extended to kinsmen in need, involving the sharing of food or drink when one has an adequate supply and another does not. To the extent that "Indian generosity" is present, it tends strongly to be between kinsmen. If a man has a business or occupation in which he can hire employees, it is usual for him to give preference to close kin, then to more distant kinsmen, and then non-kin. People expect this and go to a fortunate kinsman when in need. It provokes bitter feelings and charges of nepotism, however, if public funds are utilized, despite general acknowledgement that first responsibilities are to kinsmen.

The degree of cooperation or hostility between and within kindreds varies in accordance with external conditions. Generally, jealous and hostility prevail within a given kindred until threatened from without. Then, the threatened kindred closes ranks and its members cooperate for the duration of the threat. The outside threat may arise from a more distantly related kindred which will, in turn, cooperate with the first kindred if yet another challenge comes from a still more remotely related group. Cooperation and hostility become especially significant in discussion of economic and political relationships. Each kindred tends to act or react as a bloc vis-a-vis other hostile kindreds in the manner described, but otherwise may have conflict within, and such kindreds tend to separate into new kindreds as they increase in size.

Inter-personal and inter-group hostility has long been recognized as a cultural characteristic of the Ojibwa in Ontario, Manitoba, and Wisconsin, and it is also found at White Earth. Husband-wife conflict is not unknown, and divorce or separation is recognized by many as the solution to marital disharmony. Conflict with consanguineal kinsmen, usually under the influence of alcohol, sometimes occurs. Bitter gossip concerning individuals or groups is common, and the tendency is to believe the worst—unless it concerns one's own kin. Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests of similar groups indicate a high degree of suppressed hostility, which occasionally becomes manifest, particularly when over drinking.

Marriage relationships are not based on any explicit preferential rule, but some preferences are clear. Marriage with first cousins is normally prohibited, and not fully approved with second cousins. It is also found that intermarriage between certain kin groups is rare, but higher between others. Marriage with whites is approved and not uncommon. If the man is Ojibwa, the usual residence is in the Ojibwa community, although there are one or two exceptions. Residence after marriage tends to be at the husband's parental home or in an independent household, but in any case in proximity to the husband's family.

Cross-cousin marriage, noted earlier as a northern Ojibwa characteristic, no longer occurs. Kinship terminologies taken from the oldest resident indicate clearly the former existence of the system, but many of the schedules show confusion concerning cousin terminology, and none remembers the time when cross-cousin or first-cousin marriages occurred. The totemic groups, which once were