

**Table 5-2. Results of Sanday's analysis of factors affecting the occurrence of cannibalism**

|   | Cannibalism |        |             | Cannibalism<br>as % of total |
|---|-------------|--------|-------------|------------------------------|
|   | Present     | Absent | Total Cases |                              |
| 1. Complexity of political organization             |             |        |             |                              |
| Simple societies (local only)                       | 25          | 32     | 57          | 44                           |
| One or two jural levels above local                 | 8           | 18     | 26          | 31                           |
| Three or more jural levels                          | 4           | 22     | 26          | 15                           |
| Subtotal: jural levels above local                  | 12          | 40     | 52          | 23                           |
| Entire sample                                       | 37          | 72     | 109         | 34                           |
| 2. Added impact of food stress                      |             |        |             |                              |
| <i>Simple societies</i>                             |             |        |             |                              |
| Some hunger/famine/protein def.                     | 19          | 20     | 39          | 49                           |
| Food constant                                       | 2           | 9      | 11          | 18                           |
| Unknown   | 4           | 9      | 7           | 57                           |
| Entire sample                                       | 25          | 32     | 57          | 44                           |
| <i>Societies w/jural levels above local</i>         |             |        |             |                              |
| Some hunger/famine/protein def.                     | 10          | 23     | 33          | 30                           |
| Food constant                                       | 1           | 16     | 17          | 6                            |
| Unknown   | 1           | 1      | 2           | 50                           |
| Entire sample                                       | 12          | 40     | 52          | 23                           |
| <i>Total</i>  |             |        |             |                              |
| Some hunger/famine/protein def.                     | 29          | 43     | 72          | 40                           |
| Food constant                                       | 3           | 25     | 28          | 11                           |
| Unknown   | 5           | 4      | 9           | 56                           |
| Entire sample                                       | 37          | 72     | 109         | 34                           |
| 3. Added impact of lengthy post-partum sexual taboo |             |        |             |                              |
| <i>Simple societies</i>                             |             |        |             |                              |
| 6 months-2 years+                                   | 7           | 8      | 15          | 47                           |
| Up to 6 months                                      | 12          | 16     | 28          | 43                           |
| Unknown   | 6           | 8      | 14          | 43                           |
| Entire sample                                       | 25          | 32     | 57          | 44                           |
| <i>Societies w/jural levels above local</i>         |             |        |             |                              |
| 6 months-2 years+                                   | 7           | 8      | 15          | 47                           |
| Up to 6 months                                      | 3           | 22     | 25          | 12                           |
| Unknown   | 2           | 10     | 12          | 17                           |
| Entire sample                                       | 12          | 40     | 52          | 23                           |
| <i>Total</i>  |             |        |             |                              |
| 6 months-2 years+                                   | 14          | 16     | 30          | 47                           |
| Up to 6 months                                      | 15          | 38     | 53          | 28                           |
| Unknown   | 8           | 18     | 26          | 31                           |
| Entire sample                                       | 37          | 72     | 109         | 34                           |

Source: Sanday (1986).