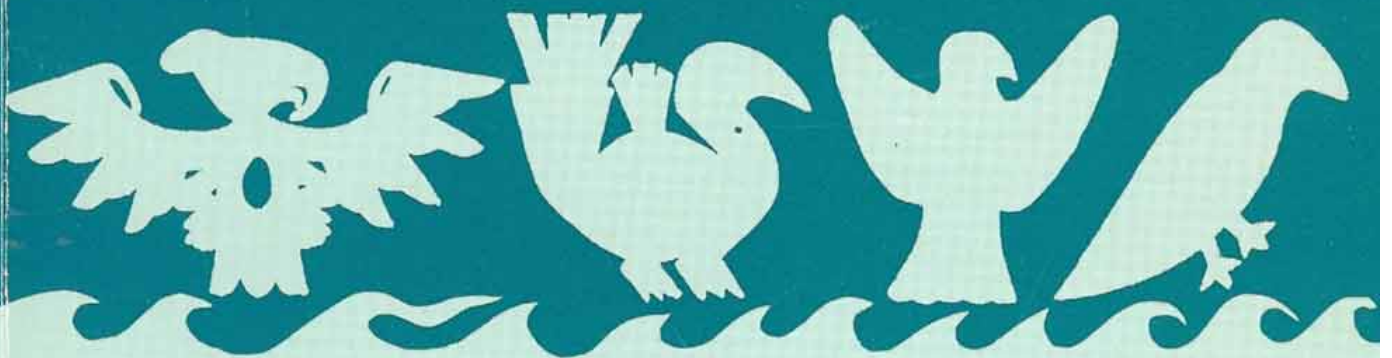


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LA REVUE DES ETUDES
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EDITORIAL

FINALLY, the third issue of *The Journal of Indigenous Studies* arrives. Volume 2 number 1 has had an inordinately long gestation period. Thank you subscribers, contributors, and reviewers for your patience and understanding. Scholarly journals survive precariously, weaned on tiny budgets and fostered by dedicated individuals.

Dana Lawrence, our original editor, resigned from his position at the Gabriel Dumont Institute and shortly after that his editorial assistant, Frances Blenkin, entered a Business Management Program. Dana was instrumental in turning the concept of *The Journal of Indigenous Studies* into reality; the first three issues would not exist without his inspiration and labour. We are happy that Dana will remain with us as an associate editor.

The Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research has extended the financial and philosophical support necessary for *The Journal* to continue. The Institute recognizes the dialectic between Aboriginal self-determination and the need for a forum for scholarly research and discussion of Indigenous issues.

I am pleased to welcome Dr. Catherine Littlejohn as the new editor. Catherine is currently working as a research officer for the Gabriel Dumont Institute and brings with her an extensive knowledge of educational and Aboriginal issues. She is ably assisted by Ingrid Gallagher, a graduate of the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program.

The articles in this issue will appeal to a wide variety of interests across the disciplines. In "An Analysis of Native Mortality in Canada" Frank Trovato and Andrew Werner-Leonard from the University of Alberta develop three hypotheses to explain the disparate mortality experiences of the Native and the general Canadian population. Deo Poonwassie of the Faculty of Education of the University of Manitoba looks at the relation between local control and the problem of training substitute teachers in remote Aboriginal communities in northern Manitoba. From British Columbia Anton Kolstee in "Teaching along Shamanic Lines" examines the relationship between critical thinking and the structures of Shamanism. From Australia Colin Pardoe in "Eye of the Storm" discusses the theory and practice of archeological research and writing on the subject of ancient human remains and the need for a collaborative approach in the field. One book review deals with an historical biography and the other with an anthology of literary criticism.

It is apparent that sociological, educational, philosophical and archeological perspectives are needed to illuminate the field of Indigenous Studies. We invite

you to contribute to this illumination by submitting articles for review and by encouraging new subscriptions. Thank you again for your support and participation in this exciting venture in turbulent times.

R. JAMES MCNINCH

GABRIEL DUMONT INSTITUTE

ÉDITORIAL

Enfin, le troisième numéro de *La revue des études indigènes* s'en vient. Le volume II, numéro I a connu une période de gestation excessivement longue. Je vous remercie abonnés, collaborateurs et réviseurs pour votre patience et votre compréhension. Les revues savantes survivent d'une façon précaire; accoutumées à de maigres budgets et encouragées par des personnes dévouées.

Dana Lawrence, notre premier directeur de publication, a démissionné de son poste à l'Institut Gabriel Dumont, et peu de temps après, son adjointe Frances Blenkin s'est inscrite à un programme en gestion d'entreprise. Dana a aidé à transformer le concept de *La revue des études indigènes* en réalité les trois premiers numéros n'auraient pas vu le jour sans son inspiration et son travail. Nous sommes heureux que Dana reste parmi nous en tant que directeur associé à la publication.

L'Institut d'études autochtones et de recherche appliquée Gabriel Dumont a augmenté le soutien financier et philosophique nécessaire pour que la revue continue. L'institut reconnaît la dialectique qui existe entre l'autodétermination aborigène et le besoin d'avoir une tribune de recherche savante et de discussions des questions indigènes.

Je suis heureux d'accueillir le docteur Catherine Littlejohn au poste de directrice de publication. Catherine travaille actuellement comme chercheuse à l'institut Gabriel Dumont. Elle amène avec elle des connaissances très étendues sur les questions d'éducation et les questions aborigènes. Ingrid Gallagher lui apporte son aide de façon très compétente; cette dernière est diplômée du programme d'éducation des enseignants autochtones urbains de la Saskatchewan.

Les articles contenus dans ce numéro satisferont toute une gamme d'intérêts à travers les disciplines. Dans "Une analyse de la mortalité autochtone au Canada", Frank Trovato et Andrea Werner-Leonard, de l'université de l'Alberta, développent trois hypothèses pour expliquer la disparité entre la mortalité chez les autochtones et la population canadienne en général. Deo Poonwassie de la faculté d'éducation, à l'université du Manitoba, examine le rapport entre le contrôle local et le problème de la formation des suppléants dans les communautés aborigènes isolées, dans le nord du Manitoba. Anton Kolstee, de Colombie-Britannique, examine le rapport entre la réflexion critique et les structures du chamanisme, dans son article "Enseigner d'après le raisonnement du chamanisme".

Colin Pardoe, d'Australie, nous parle de la théorie et de la pratique de la recherche archéologique et des écrits au sujet des restes humains anciens et le besoin d'un travail de collaboration dans ce domaine, dans son article "Le centre de l'orage". Une critique littéraire traite d'une biographie historique et l'autre d'une anthologie de la critique littéraire.

Il est apparent que nous avons besoin de perspectives sociologiques, pédagogiques, philosophiques et archéologiques pour faire la lumière sur le domaine des études indigènes. Nous vous invitons à apporter votre contribution à cette lumière en soumettant des articles à réviser et en encourageant de nouveaux abonnements. Encore merci pour votre soutien et votre participation à cette entreprise passionnante en ces moments turbulents.

R. JAMES MCNINCH

INSTITUT GABRIEL DUMONT

The time has come to say good-bye and I find myself feeling somewhat like the father of the bride as he is passing his child's hand on in marriage. It is with mixed feelings that I pass the editorship of *The Journal of Indigenous Studies* onward. It has been exhilarating to watch *The Journal* grow to a sound position in the field of scholarly publications. It is a time for new blood with new ideas, and particularly for someone who works within the parent institution to take over the direction and the daily work of *The Journal*.

I introduce you to our new Editor, Dr. Cathy Littlejohn, with a great deal of confidence that *The Journal* will continue to grow and flourish under her editorial guidance. Dr. Littlejohn brings a wealth of experience in indigenous studies to her new role. She brings with her many contacts with indigenous scholars throughout the world and a first hand experience working with the issues facing Aboriginal peoples the world over today.

As I pass on the stewardship of this exciting endeavor, I say thank you to all of you, to so many of you who encouraged and supported and helped in the creation of *The Journal of Indigenous Studies*. It has been a wonderful, broadening experience for me and I leave the role of Editor a much more learned person than when I began. Thank you.

DANA LAWRENCE

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Le temps est venu de dire au revoir. Je me trouve dans la situation du père de la mariée conduisant son enfant à l'autel: c'est avec des sentiments mélangés que je passe à d'autres mains la rédaction du *Journal des études indigènes*. J'ai vu grandir

le *Journal* avec joie, et l'ai vu atteindre le niveau d'estime propre à une revue savante. Il est temps de lui infuser un sang nouveau à l'aide d'idées nouvelles, et de voir quelqu'un travaillant au sein de l'institution mère reprendre la direction et les tâches quotidiennes du *Journal*

Je vous présente notre nouvelle rédactrice, le Dr. Cathy Littlejohn, certain que le *Journal* continuera à croître et à prospérer sous sa férule rédactionnelle. Le Dr. Littlejohn apporte dans ses nouvelles fonctions une grande expérience des études autochtones. Elle a de nombreux contacts avec les chercheurs autochtones à travers le monde, et a une expérience de première main des problèmes auxquels les peuples aborigènes ont à faire face dans le monde d'aujourd'hui.

Au moment de passer le flambeau de cette entreprise passionnante, je vous remercie tous qui n'avez encouragé et aidé à créer le *Journal des études indigènes*. Ce fut pour moi une expérience merveilleuse et enrichissante. Je quitte le poste de rédacteur en étant beaucoup plus érudit que lorsque je débutai dans cette tâche. Merci.

DANA LAWRENCE

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
VANCOUVER, C.B.

IT IS WITH EXCITEMENT and trepidation that I take on the task of editor of *The Journal*. Dana Lawrence and Christopher LaFontaine had a dream of an academic journal which would not only address issues about the Indigenous Peoples of the world but that would be a forum for their voices. That is my dream too.

I am making an appeal to Indigenous Peoples to send us manuscripts, book reviews, names for our associate editor list, news of activities, programs, courses and events that need to be publicized. Make this your journal.

CATHERINE LITTLEJOHN

THE JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS STUDIES

C'EST AVEC une vive émotion et avec exaltation que j'accepte la tâche de directrice de publication de la revue. Dana Lawrence et Christopher LaFontaine rêvaient d'une revue savante qui s'adresserait, non seulement aux questins concernant les peuples aborigènes du monde, mais qui serait aussi une tribune pour faire entendre leurs voix. C'est un rêve que je partage aussi.

Je fais appel aux peuples indigènes pour qu'ils nous envoient des manuscrits, des critiques littéraires, des noms pour notre liste de directeurs associés à la

publication, des informations concernant les activités, les programmes, les cours et les évènements dont on devrait faire la publicité. Faites de cette revue la vôtre.

CATHERINE LITTLEJOHN

LA REVUE DES ETUDES INDIGENES

AN ANALYSIS OF NATIVE MORTALITY

FRANK TROVATO and ANDREA WERNER-LEONARD

University of Alberta

Abstract.In 1986, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada published a series of reports entitled, "Overview of Registered Indian Conditions in Canada." socioeconomic conditions of Canada's Natives. Because the Registered Indian mortality data contained in these reports were the most recent and comprehensive data available in the public domain, they were reanalyzed to allow for a comparison of the Native and general Canadian population's mortality experience for 1980-1982 and to develop three hypotheses to explain the disparate mortality experience of the two populations: 1) the minority subcultural hypothesis, 2) the modernization/disruption hypothesis, and 3) the statistical analysis should be employed to test the above three hypotheses to get beyond the purely descriptive analysis pursued here.

Résumé.En 1986, les Affaires indiennes et du Nord Canada ont publié une série de comptes rendus intitulée: "Vue d'ensemble des conditions des Indiens inscrits au Canada". Ce compte rendu contenait beaucoup de classifications qui se recoupaient en ce qui concerne la santé et les conditions socio-économiques des autochtones au Canada. Comme les données sur la mortalité des Indiens inscrits contenues dans ces comptes rendus étaient les plus récentes et les plus complètes des données disponibles dans le domaine public, on les a réanalysées pour permettre de faire une comparaison avec les taux de mortalité de la population autochtone et canadienne en général de 1980 à 1982 et pour développer trois hypothèses pour expliquer la mortalité inégale de ces deux populations: 1) l'hypothèse de la situation minoritaire, 2) l'hypothèse de la modernisation et de la perturbation, et 3) l'hypothèse sous-culturelle. On suggère d'employer, dans les prochaines études, une analyse statistique à plusieurs variables prélevées au hasard pour tester les trois hypothèses ci-dessus pour aller plus loin que l'analyse purement descriptive recherché ici.

INTRODUCTION

Although there is unequivocal evidence that Natives suffer elevated mortality rates in comparison to the general Canadian population (e.g., Jarvis and Boldt 1980, Millar 1982, Trovato 1988), the literature does not provide much substantive etiological insight into this differential. Our aim is to present a descriptive overview of mortality conditions among Natives, using data contained within a recent report, "Overview of Registered Indian Conditions in Canada" and to

develop a number of substantive hypotheses for future investigation into this phenomenon.

DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW

Before proceeding with the descriptive overview, it is important to point out that the data used for this analysis contain some limitations. Although the information in the "Report" is very useful and is, indeed, some of the most comprehensive and recent data available in the public domain, the fact that the cause of death data are not age-sex standardized is problematic. Nevertheless, we are convinced that if standardization were possible, the mortality discrepancy between Natives and the rest of Canada would not disappear, but would most likely widen. The general literature substantiates this point (see for example, Jarvis and Boldt, 1980).

The following is a brief synopsis of the data used in this study. The data for the registered Indian population, (that is, "a person who pursuant to [the Indian] Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian" [Lithwick, et.al., 1986:84]) were obtained from a series of reports entitled, "Overview of Registered Indian Conditions in Canada" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1986)¹. In total, eight reports were used in this analysis, consisting of: Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. Data from Atlantic provinces were collapsed due to insufficient numbers under the general heading of "Atlantic Region." Unfortunately, the Yukon and Northwest Territories are omitted from this analysis due to the prevalence of very small numbers. The data, therefore, are presented for seven provincial regions: Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.

The registered Indian data in the reports were taken from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada's customized data base from the 1981 Census of Canada and on registered Indian mortality data from Health and Welfare Canada. Data for the total Canadian population are also from the 1981 Census of Canada and from Vital Statistics.

The terms "total Canadian population," "general population" and "reference population" always refer to either the total Canadian or provincial population, as specified, minus registered Indians.

Table 1 shows the average death rate per 100,000 population for registered Indians and the total Canadian population as well as the standard deviations. As mentioned earlier, the data are not standardized for age and sex composition in this table. Registered Indians present an average death rate of 25.7 deaths per 100,000 population with a standard deviation of 38.2. The reference population shows an average death rate of 30.6 deaths per 100,000 population with a standard deviation of 73.3. The registered Indians' lower standard deviation indicates that the Indian death rate is more concentrated around the mean. The higher standard deviation of the reference population indicates a greater variability in death rates around the mean. The difference in means between the two populations is misleading because the two populations have very different age structures.

The age structure of a population has a dramatic effect on mortality. That is, we

Table 1

Average Death Rates per 100,000 Population for Registered Indians and the Total Canadian Population 1982

| | Mean Death Rate | Standard Deviation |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Total Canadian Population* | 27.3488 | 52.5793 |
| Registered Indian Population** | 25.7125 | 38.2336 |
| Total Population | 30.6214 | 73.3372 |

* excepting Registered Indians

** death rates for the Registered Indian population only is weighted average for the two time periods of 1980 and 1982 (see Appendix 12)

would expect to find a higher crude death rate in an aging population because a larger segment of the population is elderly. Age-specific death rates, if they were available, would provide us with a completely different picture since it is known that older populations demonstrate different age-specific death rates than relatively young ones. In Canada, sixty-four percent of the Indian population in contrast to 42 percent of the reference population, are under the age of 25 years. Clearly, our Native population would be considered young and this alone has a dramatic effect in producing an apparent lower average mortality level.

Table 2 compares cause-specific death rates by ethnicity. As shown, registered Indians experience higher death rates than the reference population in both accidents-violence and ill-defined and other categories. Their accidents-violence death rate is over three times as high as the reference population's. Registered Indians experience a 20 percent higher risk of death due to ill-defined and other causes.

Table 3 shows the average provincial death rates for registered Indians and the reference populations. The lowest average death rate for registered Indians is in Manitoba and highest in Alberta. Registered Indians have an advantage over others in Canada with respect to provincial death rates in all cases except Alberta and Ontario. In Manitoba, registered Indians enjoy an average death rate differential, in relation to the reference population, of .48, while in Alberta they are disadvantaged by a ratio of 1.29.

Table 4 shows provincial cause-specific death rates for both Indian and non-Indian populations. The highest occurrence of accidents-violence deaths² for registered Indians takes place in Alberta at a rate of 34.1 per 100,000 population. The lowest incidence of accidents-violence deaths for registered Indians occurs in Manitoba (10.2 per 100,000).

Registered Indians experience relatively fewer deaths due to degenerative

Table 2

Cause of Death by Ethnicity for Canada per 100,000 Population

| Cause of Death | Registered Indian | Reference Population | Ratio of Registered Indian Death Rates to Reference Population |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|--|
| ACCIDENTS- VIOLENCE: | | | |
| Motor Vehicle | 54.9 | 19.4 | 2.83 |
| Drowning | 21.6 | 2.2 | 9.68 |
| Exposure | 9.6 | 1.1 | 8.72 |
| Fire | 21.4 | 2.8 | 7.79 |
| Falls | 9.7 | 7.8 | 1.24 |
| Firearms | 20.2 | 7.2 | 2.82 |
| Overdoses | 12.8 | 6.9 | 1.84 |
| Other | <u>56.8</u> | <u>15.9</u> | <u>3.57</u> |
| TOTAL | <u>206.9</u> | <u>63.3</u> | <u>3.27</u> |
| Overall Average | 25.9 | 7.9 | 3.27 |
| DEGENERATIVE DISEASES: | | | |
| Neoplasms | 64.7 | 174.6 | .37 |
| Endocrine, Nutritional and metabolic diseases and immunity disorders | 13.8 | 17.1 | .81 |
| Blood and blood forming organs | .9 | 2.6 | .32 |
| Nervous system and sense organs | 5.4 | 10.0 | .54 |
| Circulatory system | <u>162.6</u> | <u>334.1</u> | <u>.49</u> |
| TOTAL | <u>247.3</u> | <u>538.4</u> | <u>.46</u> |
| Overall Average | 49.5 | 107.7 | .46 |
| ILL DEFINED AND OTHER: | | | |
| Infectious and parasitic | 13.4 | 3.8 | 3.49 |
| Mental disorders | 8.4 | 6.6 | 1.27 |
| Respiratory system | 44.2 | 56.0 | .79 |
| Digestive system | 38.4 | 30.1 | 1.27 |
| Genito-urinary system | 8.5 | 10.2 | .84 |
| Complications of preg- nancy, childbirth and the puerperium | .3 | 0.0 | .31 |
| Skin and subcutaneous tissue | .4 | .6 | .69 |
| Musculoskeletal system and connective tissue | 1.1 | 2.6 | .40 |

Table 2 (continued)

Cause of Death by Ethnicity for Canada per 100,000 Population

| Cause of Death | Registered Indian | Reference Population | Ratio of Registered Indian Death Rates to Reference Population |
|---|-------------------|----------------------|--|
| Congenital anomalies | 12.9 | 6.3 | 2.04 |
| Certain conditions originating in the prenatal period | 14.1 | 6.4 | 2.2 |
| Symptoms, signs and ill-defined conditions | <u>21.1</u> | <u>10.4</u> | <u>2.03</u> |
| TOTAL | <u>162.9</u> | <u>135.2</u> | <u>1.22</u> |
| Overall Average | 14.8 | 12.1 | 1.22 |
| TOTAL OVERALL AVERAGE | 205.7 | 244.97 | .84 |

Table 3

Average Death Rate per 100,000 Population by Ethnicity and Province *

| Province | Registered Indian | Reference Population | Ratio of Registered Indian Death Rates to Reference Population |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--|
| Atlantic Region | 22.3104 | 32.5875 | .68 |
| Quebec | 24.6917 | 27.9667 | .88 |
| Ontario | 31.4042 | 30.5167 | 1.03 |
| Manitoba | 19.7833 | 34.1875 | .58 |
| Saskatchewan | 24.6354 | 34.9 | .71 |
| Alberta | 30.0771 | 23.2833 | 1.29 |
| British Columbia | 27.0854 | 30.9083 | .88 |
| Overall Average | 25.7125 | 30.6214 | .84 |

NOTES: * Figures based on crude death rates.

diseases than the reference population in all provinces. Although the reasons for this are not evident in the data, the lower rates are a function of a) the young age structure of the Native population, and b) their lower life expectancy. That is, young populations, at the risk of sounding tautological, have lower life expectancies than aging ones and, therefore, tend not to be at risk with respect... (to degenerative diseases...) with respect to degenerative diseases since these are associated with advanced age. In other words, the lower life expectancy of Natives results in their experiencing lower rates of degenerative diseases vis-a-vis the general Canadian population.

Table 4
Death Rate by Cause of Death by Ethnicity by Province*

| Province | Accidents-Violence | | | Degenerative Diseases | | | Ill-defined and Other | | |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------|
| | Registered Indian | Reference Population | Ratio | Registered Indian | Reference Population | Ratio | Registered Indian | Reference Population | Ratio |
| Atlantic | 17.5 | 7.3 | 2.39 | 61.6 | 117.7 | .52 | 8.7 | 11.9 | .73 |
| Quebec | 17.3 | 5.4 | 3.20 | 57.1 | 101.4 | .56 | 15.5 | 10.5 | 1.47 |
| Ontario | 24.2 | 5.2 | 4.65 | 73.0 | 112.2 | .65 | 18.3 | 11.2 | 1.63 |
| Manitoba | 10.2 | 6.3 | 1.62 | 37.7 | 121.4 | .31 | 18.0 | 14.1 | 1.28 |
| Saskatchewan | 26.1 | 8.4 | 3.11 | 38.0 | 119.5 | .32 | 18.2 | 15.1 | 1.21 |
| Alberta | 34.1 | 7.0 | 4.87 | 37.9 | 75.7 | .50 | 24.5 | 10.9 | 2.25 |
| British Columbia | 20.9 | 7.9 | 2.65 | 40.8 | 105.8 | .39 | 25.0 | 13.1 | 1.91 |

NOTES: * based on crude death rates

The highest incidence of Indian degenerative deaths occurs in Ontario at a rate of 73 per 100,000 population and the lowest is in Manitoba, where the rate is 37.7 per 100,000. The least favourable province for registered Indians in this category is Ontario where the ratio of Indian death rates to the reference population's is .65:1. The most favourable province for registered Indians in this regard is Manitoba, where they enjoy a ratio of .31:1.

Ill-defined and other causes of death occur at the highest rate for Indians living in British Columbia (25.0 per 100,000), followed closely by Alberta (24.5 per 100,000). The lowest incidence of this cause of death for the Indian population occurs in the Atlantic Region at a rate of 8.7 per 100,000.

Indians experience a disadvantage in ill-defined and other causes of death when compared to the reference population in every province except the Atlantic Region. The highest ratio of Indian to reference population in every province except the Atlantic Region. The highest ratio of Indian to reference population death rates in this category occurs in Alberta at 2.25:1. The lowest ratio, in favour of the Indian population, occurs in the Atlantic Region at .73:1.

It is interesting to note that the Native mortality data indicate some curious regional disparities. That is, as one goes from east to west, with the exception of British Columbia, Native mortality rates tend to increase. This raises some important questions for future investigation. Perhaps these disparities are due, for example, to differing Native age-sex structures across regions, or to provincial differences in Native socioeconomic status, or to differences in Native health care practices, or access to provincial health care.

In view of the fact that the above descriptive analysis is somewhat limited, failing to take into account the different age and sex structures of the two populations, a more rigorous examination using statistical procedures should be employed to investigate Canadian Native mortality. With this in mind, we propose three hypotheses for future inquiry.

Further investigation should consider three aspects pertaining to the mortality experience of Canadian registered Indians: First, the relationship between their socio-economic conditions and mortality; second, the way in which modernization conditions Native mortality; and finally, the role of subculture as a casual factor in Indian death rates, both general and cause-specific.

Native Indians in North America, like the populations of developing nations, are in the process of becoming modernized (Broudy and May 1983; Graves 1967; Hackenberg and Gallagher 1972; Kunitz 1981; Levy and Kunitz 1974; 1971; Stull 1972; Trovato 1987; 1985). According to the demographic and epidemiologic transition models (Omran 1971; Weeks 1981), Native Indians are progressing through the stages of development characterized by societies that have changed from traditional agrarian to urban industrial (Broudy and May 1983). During this transition, fertility declines to an all time low as societies adjust to lower mortality, economic development, and the greater likelihood of having children survive to maturity (Weeks 1981; 37-38). Moreover, as societies become increasingly modern, the major etiological factors of mortality change from predominantly infectious and parasitic diseases to degenerative and man-made causes (Omran 1971). Thus, the characteristics of the third and final stage of the demographic and

epidemiologic transition models are low fertility and mortality rates, and a dominant mortality pattern of degenerative and man-made causes, such as neoplasms, cardiovascular illnesses and accidents and violence.

The mortality and fertility levels, and other general social patterns of Canadian Indians, suggest they are undergoing the transition between the second and third stages of demographic evolution (Romaniuc 1974; 1981; Trovato 1987). Indian mortality rates have declined dramatically within the last thirty years, placing them within the expected range of the final stage of demographic transition (Trovato 1987). Fertility rates have also declined in the last three decades, but they remain at unusually high levels (Romaniuc 1981; 1974; Trovato 1987). Current Native Mortality and fertility rates indicate that natives are in the transitional stage of development. That is, the decline in the birth rate lags behind the decline in the death rate as a population adjusts to its lower mortality (Weeks 1981;37).

The etiologial pattern of Native mortality places them in the transitional stage of the epidemiologic transition model. Indians still experience high rates of mortality due to infectious and parasitic diseases. But, they deviate from the expectations of the epidemiologic model by displaying a much higher rate of accident-violent deaths than would be expected in a less developed transitional population. In fact, their high levels of accidents-violence mortality may even be considered atypical of an advanced population (Broudy and May 1983; Trovato 1987).

A review of the literature concerning this aspect of Native Indians in both Canada and the United States suggests that their minority status plays a dominant role in their mortality pattern. Natives occupy the lowest strata of the larger society's socioeconomic hierarchy, and their mortality levels, especially with respect to accidents and violence, are largely the result of their disadvantaged socio-economic position (Bienvenue 1985; Trovato 1987). Indians, in other words, reflect, in response to their subordinate status, a style of dying that corresponds to their unique and underprivileged style of living (Broudy and May 1983; Jarvis and Boldt 1980; Levy and Kunitz 1974; 1971).

Studies focusing on the minority status of Indians have established relationships between general mortality levels and high levels of poverty, unemployment and underemployment, poor housing conditions, inadequate access to medical services, isolation, low levels of education and occupational skills, and discrimination in the labour market (Bienvenue 1985; Jarvis and Boldt 1980; Kunitz 1981; Siggner 1986; Simpson and Yinger 1985; Trovato 1988). Other studies have attempted to explain the disparate incidence of social pathologies (i.e., deaths due to accidents and violence) vis-a-vis the general population, from the point of view of prejudice and discrimination, rapid social change, subcultural adaptation and acculturation (Broudy and May 1980; Graves 1967; Hackenberg and Gallagher 1972; Kunitz 1981; Levy and Kunitz 1974; Simpson and Yinger 1985; Stull 1972).

A difficulty inherent in most of these studies is that the explanatory concepts and variables tend to be highly interrelated so that it is difficult to isolate the independent effects which determine Native Indian mortality. One reason for this problem lies in the fact that few studies have relied on multivariate statistical

procedures. It is suggested, therefore, that multivariate analysis should be undertaken in future studies to compare the mortality of Indians and the general Canadian population with respect to the following dimensions:

1. the minority status of registered Indians in Canada and the impact of that status on their general level of mortality;
2. the effect of modernization on registered Indians in Canada on their general and cause-specific level of mortality; and
3. sub-cultural adaptations as a response to the external pressures (i.e., economic, technological, etc.) of the dominant society.

The following is an elaboration of these three explanations.

HYPOTHESES

Minority Status Hypothesis

Minority status is defined as the subordination of peoples who have special physical or cultural traits that are held in low esteem by the dominant population. Members of minority groups share the same special disabilities that come with their inherited status (Simpson and Yinger 1974:12). Canadian Indians are a subordinate group of peoples who share common socio-economically disabilities. They are the most socio-economic disadvantaged group in Canada (Bienvenue 1985; Siggner 1986; Trovato 1987). As a result, they suffer greater risks of premature death and experience lower life expectancies than the rest of the Canadian population (Trovato 1987). Their differential mortality can be explained largely by their differential access to economic opportunities (Trovato 1987), which, in turn, can be explained partially by their below average education attainment, discrimination in the labour market, lack of occupational preparation and geographic isolation (Anderson and Frideres 1981; Bienvenue 1985). In many ways, the overall health condition of Native people is largely a reflection of their subordinate status in Canadian society, which began with the process of European colonization (Bienvenue 1985; Lieberman 1965).

The colonial process led to the creation of reserves to contain Indian tribes while freeing land for settlers (Bienvenue 1985). According to Anderson and Frideres (1981:250), reserves keep Native people from "participating in the political and economic processes within the [dominant] social system ... by preventing [them] from acquiring the skills and knowledge that could facilitate participation in the larger society." Indians, as wards of the government, are subject to special legislation. Therefore, it has been difficult for them to take concerted initiatives to improve their socio-economic position (Bienvenue 1985; Penner 1983:14).

It has been argued that the Indian Act "circumscribes activities in all sectors of Indian communities" (Penner 1983:17) and, in effect, operates to reinforce Indian poverty and dependence (Penner 1983:40). Consequently, the rate of economic growth and job creation programs on reserves are not adequate enough to meet the needs of the Indian population (Bienvenue 1985). Rural unemployment,

which generally ranges from forty to sixty percent (Bienvenue 1985), is as high as ninety percent in some places (Jarvis and Boldt 1980).

Inadequate housing, lack of safety provisions and inferior health conditions on reserves contributes to Natives experiencing the highest morbidity and infant mortality rates in the country (Bienvenue 1985; Jarvis and Boldt 1980). Natives living in isolated communities do not have easy access to medical aid, which makes them "more vulnerable than most Canadians when illness or accidents occur" (Jarvis and Boldt 1980). Harsh winter conditions have contributed significantly to a large number of Native deaths in isolated communities, which could have been prevented if access to medical care were more readily available (Jarvis and Boldt 1980).

The minority status of Native Indians has left them socially and economically disadvantaged. Their special Indian identity has left them both politically and economically dependent. This unique status has given Native Indians a distinct disadvantage on all indicators of socio-economic status, which is reflected in their disparate mortality levels vis-a-vis the general Canadian population.

In further analysis, we would expect to find that registered Indians will exhibit a higher general mortality level than the Canadian population due to their lower socio-economic status as measured by such economic indicators as income and unemployment levels.

Modernization/Disruption Hypothesis

Native peoples are undergoing numerous social, psychological, economic and political changes as a result of pressures from the dominant society. Acculturation pressures have, more or less, forced the transition of the Native way of life from a religious to secular world view; from a subsistence economy to participation in a labour force based on the world economic market and an increasing division of labour; from a dependency on oral history as a means of cultural transmission to a dependence on literacy; from rural to urban life; and from traditional to rational-legal authority (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 1986;138).

The modernization process affects both Indian individuals and communities in a number of adverse ways. Indian communities are finding their traditional economies replaced by an increasing dependence on wage labour and government transfer payments (Bienvenue 1985; Stull 1972). Traditional villages find it difficult, with the depletion of their resources and increases in population, to provide for the subsistence needs of their members (Hackenberg and Gallagher 1972). Consequently, large numbers of younger members leave the home villages in search of employment. Large-scale emigration of young members causes stress for both the remaining members of the home village as well as the emigrating individuals (Hackenberg and Gallagher 1972). The loss of a large proportion of the young population causes social disruption in the home village. Kinship obligations, such as taking care of elderly family members, cannot be fulfilled by younger family members who have left the reserve in search of employment. Moreover, those who remain in the village feel the future of their community threatened since new generations are not replacing the old.

Individuals who leave their traditional communities encounter high levels of

stress upon entering modern urban centres. Their traditional Indian upbringing does not prepare them for the different lifestyle that comes with urban living. The norms and expectations of the new community are incongruent with those of their original communities. The incompatibility between the norms, expectations and behaviour of the Indian immigrant and the demands of the urban environment cause them to experience high levels of stress, and consequently, low degrees of adjustment to city life (Graves 1967; Hackenberg and Gallagher 1972; Stull 1972).

The socially disruptive effects of modernization in the Indian village and the stress-inducing effect of modernization on the Native individual has been correlated with a high incidence of accidents-violence deaths. Stull (1972) and Hackenberg and Gallagher (1972) have found that the high incidence of accidents-violence deaths among the Papago Indians is directly related to the high levels of stress they experience under the increasing pressures of modernization. Graves (1967) argues that strong acculturation pressures destroy the means to attain traditional goals. Indian individuals are left with feelings of intense alienation and relative deprivation. The problem, he states, is that Native people are encouraged to take part in the dominant economic system, and to strive for the system's economic goals, but they are not provided with, nor well-suited for adequate economic access to those goals. Frustrated attempts to achieve these goals leads to means-goal disjunction, which is likely to produce high rates of problem behaviour, such as heavy drinking and drunkenness (Graves 1967).

The stresses of modernization appear to be most profound in the more modern or urbanized Native communities (Hackenberg and Gallagher 1972; Stull 1972). Accident and injury rates, which have been used as an index of stress³ have been shown to be positively related to the level of modernization attained by Native villages (Hackenberg and Gallagher 1972; Stull 1972). That is, the more urban as opposed to isolated rural the village is, the higher the level of accidents-violence mortality. Therefore, we would expect to find a higher level of general mortality among the more urban segment of the Native population in relation to the less urban (or rural) sectors. We would also expect to find a higher incidence of accidents-violence deaths as the population becomes less isolated geographically, due to their increasing proximity to urban centres and the corresponding modernization pressures.

Sub-Cultural Hypothesis

Ethnicity is an important predictor of general and cause-specific mortality (Trovato 1987). Cultural differences in norms, values and social controls on lifestyles may have significant explanatory power for Native mortality beyond the effect of socio-economic and demographic variables (Broudy and May 1983; Graves 1967; Kunitz 1981; Levy and Kunitz 1974; 1971; Trovato 1987). Of particular importance is the role alcohol plays as a dominant part of Indian culture, in relation to the level of accidents-violence deaths. Accidents-violence mortality is closely linked to the problem of alcohol use in Indian communities (Broudy and May 1983; Hackenberg and Gallagher 1972; Jarvis and Boldt 1980; Kunitz 1981; Millar 1982; Stull 1972; Trovato 1987).

It has been argued that former hunting and gathering societies were characterized as having loose organizational structures and weak social controls. This type of culture "would be expected to give rise to independence of thought and action and to a reluctance to intervene in the lives of others" (Graves 1967). In other words, cultural groups displaying these characteristics lack the necessary social and psychological controls that would inhibit expressive and impulsive behaviour. Under strong acculturation pressures, individuals from these groups are more likely than others to engage in excessive drinking and social-problem behaviour (Graves (1967).

Levy and Kunitz (1974) argue that, among the Navajo, drinking is a means to achieving socially-valued goals. Excessive alcohol consumption is perceived as a means for achieving power, which is compatible with the values of semi-nomadic groups. Further, they add:

peer-group drinking is a typical phenomenon for unacculturated, on-reservation Navajos and that it is transported off-reservation when these individuals migrate for part-time or full-time work. Clearly this is deviant behavior by the criteria of off-reservation observers, but it is not clear that it is deviant on-reservation.

Under the pressures of acculturation, tribal peoples have had to adapt to their changing environment. Drinking serves as a functionally adaptive mechanism for Natives which enables them to cope with the external pressures of modernization. The Navajo pattern of peer-group drinking functions as a mechanism for social integration by allowing members to gain a sense of social solidarity. Activities, such as story-telling and singing drinking songs, establish continuity with the old culture. Sharing alcohol with others fosters and maintains social status for the individual. Isolate drinkers are considered deviant by the Indian community (Levy and Kunitz 1974).

Drinking also has another function in the context of Native sub-culture. Drinking helps individuals to overcome inhibitions, enables them to become better speakers, helps to facilitate assertiveness and aggressiveness, and strengthens a person's self-image. Alcohol allows young individuals to display certain skills that are highly valued by Native culture. Skills of luck and daring are central to young adult members of hunting and gathering groups (Levy and Kunitz 1974)⁴.

Levy and Kunitz (1974) conclude that Navajo drinking patterns are a reflection of the group's reaction to the external pressures of the dominant society. Indian community responses "are determined by their own culture and values ... they deal with external stresses in culturally patterned ways." Unfortunately, the social conditions of Native life are changing rapidly. With the acquisition of modern items, such as motor vehicles and firearms, cultural values and social controls involving safety practices are slow to be adopted (Broudy and May 1983). Consequently, the excessive use of alcohol coupled with the use of modern items that require safety knowledge, leads to a high incidence of accidents-violence mortality. We would predict, therefore, that registered Indians, due to their unique cultural milieu, would experience a higher general level of mortality than

Table 5

Age-specific Suicide Rates for Registered Indians and the Total Canadian Population
100,000 in 1982.

| Age Group | Registered Indians | Total Canadian Population |
|-----------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 0 - 9 | - | 0.3 |
| 10 - 14 | - | 1.4 |
| 15 - 19 | 93.4 | 12.6 |
| 20 - 24 | 104.0 | 19.1 |
| 25 - 29 | 80.9 | 20.5 |
| 30 - 34 | 60.0 | 18.1 |
| 35 - 39 | 28.0 | 17.3 |
| 40 - 44 | 8.9 | 18.4 |
| 45 - 49 | 22.0 | 20.6 |
| 50 - 54 | - | 22.1 |
| 55 - 59 | 33.1 | 22.3 |
| 60 - 64 | - | 17.5 |
| 65 - 69 | 27.0 | 17.5 |
| 70 - 74 | 33.1 | 18.9 |
| 75 - 79 | - | 14.0 |
| 80 + | - | 11.1 |
| TOTAL | 38.9 | 14.3 |

the Canadian population, and that these differences would be most pronounced in the case of accidents-violence deaths.

CONCLUSION

The mortality experience of Natives in Canada is one of grave concern for both non-Natives and Natives alike. It is a situation which, if left unaddressed, can have serious consequences for the future of our Native peoples. It is hoped that this paper will have provided impetus for further empirical research. The three hypotheses elaborated here should prove useful, but need to be verified with multivariate statistical techniques.

FOOTNOTES

1. The "Overview of Registered Indian Conditions in Canada" consists of a series of provincial reports written by the following

Hugh Lautard - New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia

Jeremy Hull - Quebec and Manitoba

Katherine Graham - Ontario

George Jarvis - Saskatchewan and Alberta

Katie Cook - British Columbia

2. The accidents-violence cause of death category consists of all deaths of an accidental,

violent or self-inflicted nature. Subsumed under this category are deaths due to suicide. The data do not distinguish between accidental and self-inflicted deaths. For example, under the class "firearms," we can assume that some of these deaths were accidental and some self-inflicted. However, the data from the reports are presented in such a way that it is impossible to determine what proportion of firearm deaths are accidental and self-inflicted. Table 5, shown below from the "Canadian Overview" demonstrates the age-specific suicide rates for registered Indians and the total Canadian population per 100,000 in 1982.

3. With regard to accidents as an indicator of stress, Hackenberg and Gallagher (1972) put forward the following argument: "The study of accidental injury recommends itself for an assessment of the relationship of culture change to health status. Accidents require no biological agent, are not restricted to a particular population component (age-sex, occupational or genetic), and are not specific to a particular population component (age-sex, occupational or genetic), and are not specific to a particular environment. Accidents offer free play to those variables which may be considered stressful, even though precise definitions of the concept "stress" continue to be elusive. Finally, since accidental injuries and deaths are much more frequent than the morbidity factors usually studied under conditions of rapid culture change (for example, coronary heart disease, malignant neoplasms, essential hypertension), a larger statistical run of cases may be secured with greater opportunity for cross-classification by test variables."

4. Levy and Kunitz (1974) have found that among Navajo males who had drunk heavily in their younger years, all had either stopped drinking completely or had decreased their intake considerably upon reaching middle age.

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EYE OF THE STORM

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Abstract. Archaeological practice in Australia belies the controversy painted by popular media and academic writing on the subject of ancient human remains. Aboriginal ownership and control of skeletal remains is not an issue to those of us actively working on burial archaeology and studying the bones themselves. This paper sets out the practice and a model for research that I have been following since 1984. It also questions the oppositional stance taken by people not actively engaged in such study. This article criticizes the ethics of suggested compromises and scientific assessments of collections of ancient remains.

The future path of Australian Archaeology is clear. It involves the reality of Aboriginal ownership, the continuation of co-operation and collaboration, and the sharing of information in the past that is of greatest interest to both archaeologists and Aborigines.

Résumé. La pratique archéologique en Australie donne le démenti à la controverse dépeinte par les médias populaires et les écrits théoriques au sujet des restes humains anciens. La propriété aborigène et le contrôle des ossements n'est pas un sujet de controverse pour ceux d'entre nous qui travaillent activement dans le domaine de l'archéologie de sépulture et l'étude des os en soi. Cet article expose la pratique et un modèle de recherche que j'ai suivi depuis 1984. Il met en question la position d'opposition prise par les personnes qui ne sont pas activement engagées dans une étude de la sorte. Cet article critique l'éthique des compromis suggérés et des évaluations scientifiques des collectifs des restes anciens.

Le chemin que l'archéologie va suivre à l'avenir en Australie est clair. Cela implique la réalité de la propriété aborigène, la continuation de la coopération et de la collaboration, et le partage des informations concernant le passé qui intéressent particulièrement les archéologues et les aborigènes.

BACKGROUND

I am an archaeologist and physical anthropologist. I study the bones of people who died at some time in the past, usually thousands of years ago. I have done this on ancestral cultures other than my own. My initial studies were in Canada, followed by a doctorate in Australia where I studied about 95% of the Aboriginal remains in museums. Since 1984 I have been working in western New South

Wales on burial archaeology and the biology of those buried (Pardoe 1985). I have surveyed ancient cemeteries and skeletons in the field, excavated and radiocarbon dated some, studied some in the laboratory.

My studies are based on the single premise that Aboriginal communities own the bones of their ancestors. This means that I ask permission to do any studies, that I am accountable to communities for the work that I do, that I accept the conditions and constraints they put upon my work, and that I am responsible for getting information back on the results of that work. Permission for research is firmly community based in New South Wales (NSW) and is premised on informed consent, an ethical consideration familiar to medical researchers, anthropologists and other social scientists.

I have never been involved in the bones debate that has torn through archaeology like a cyclone. How can this be? I oppose reburial, I study the actual bones. How have I missed the furor, the antagonism and the opposition between indigenous peoples and archaeologists? How have I stayed in the eye of the storm?

PERCEPTIONS OF A DEBATE

Citizenship became unconditionally available to all Aborigines only in 1967. Against this background the move to consultation with Aboriginal people came rather quickly, with organizations like National Parks and Wildlife Service of NSW implementing close involvement with Aboriginal people in the late 70's and early 80's. Permission, control and accountability are part of current policy on skeletal studies and archaeology in general. The formal organizations which influence work in Australia are the Australian Archaeological Association, the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, National Parks and Wildlife Service (NSW), the Victoria Archaeological Survey and the museums. All recognize, as does the government, Aboriginal control of their own past. While most organizations and scholars involved in archaeology now work within the parameters of Aboriginal control, some academics have held to the conviction that human remains, stone tools and other material culture items are to inform all mankind. No one person can own them. In effect the archaeologists owned and controlled them and exercised power over Aboriginal people by interpreting their past.

This debate arose for one reason only: because indigenous people were demanding control, accountability and recognition of their ownership of their past. It was not something conceptualized by scholars for the good of indigenous people. What indigenous people wanted was control and information, and they have fought for it. It is salutary for us to remember that we are not bestowing control; indigenous people have demanded it as a right.

SCIENCE VERSUS RELIGION

Aborigines have put forward a number of different reasons for objecting to skeletal research. For some religious beliefs are paramount; others have a sentimental or personal attachment to their ancestor's bones; some see the issue in openly political terms; others cite the failure of archaeologists to return information as the major issue. These varied reasons (none of which are mutually exclusive, of course!), and the perceived shifting of ground between them has led

some scholars to try to distinguish between these various claims and to rank them. Archaeologists have generally acceded to religious views and resisted those they have perceived as politically motivated (but see Mulvaney 1986 and Pardoe 1988b). The debate has bogged down in discussions of assessment and value. This is irrelevant and ignores the central theme of Aboriginal views, which is control. Far be it for me to interpret Aboriginal views and aspirations, but it does seem immaterial whether the control of ancestral remains is based on political or religious motives.

Resolution of the conflict is quite simple: it comes down to control and to dissemination of information. Do we share archaeological information with Aboriginal communities? Instead of engaging in debate, it is far more useful to do the work of getting information back about the research. In this way we do away with oppositional stances of Aborigine versus Archaeologist, science versus religion. With the results of our work in suitable form, it is the Aboriginal community itself which can choose between science and religion. They can weigh up all the factors associated with skeletal studies and decide on whether or not they want the work continued. I will return to this theme below, but first I would like to briefly discuss two instances of the approach.

CASE STUDIES

Cowra

A skeleton disturbed by house building in the town of Cowra in New South Wales was reported to the Police and to National Parks and Wildlife Service. Badger Bates (Sites Office with NP & WS, NSW) will be discussing this case and so I will restrict this to a brief note on my part in the study. I was asked to identify whether or not the remains were Aboriginal. Parks organized to screen the soil heaps to recover the disturbed bones and the community agreed that I might take them to Canberra to be put back together and to see what story there might be. That story involved where the man had died, the initiation ritual of tooth avulsion, his size and activities related to muscle use such as throwing and climbing, tooth wear that shows he spent a lot of time drawing plant fibres over the bottom teeth to make string, abscessing of the teeth and so on.

I returned the skeleton with a community report (Pardoe 1988) as agreed, and suggested that it might be worth finding out how old it was. The community agreed to the destruction of a small piece of bone for the test, which resulted in an age of 100 to 150 years. At the reburial people were very interested to find out how late this burial was. One comment which stuck in my mind was a comparison with some of the 25,000 to 30,000 year old remains from further west. The person suggested that the burial was even more important being so recent since it showed the continuity of Aboriginal culture well into the late 1800's.

Lindsay Island

The second case study involved a job I did for the Victoria Archaeological Survey at the request of the Sunraysia & District Aboriginal Co-op in northwestern Victoria. In this part of the country there is a sand plain or Mallee and a riverine

floodplain of clay. Sand dunes are common over most of the floodplain and on these is a large amount of stone, shell and especially burials. Erosion has exposed a lot of burials and other materials in this area. We surveyed the dune system with a mind to the management and preservation of all the archaeology.

In this survey, I did not excavate burials. With the agreement of Mark Grist, the Aboriginal Cultural Officer who worked with me on site the whole time, I did do some measurements. Why measure more skeletons? One of my major research interests is the occurrence and distribution of cemeteries on the River Murray in the last few thousand years (Pardoe 1988a, b). Cemeteries as a cultural symbol are related to population, social organization and resource variation. I am interested in seeing who was buried and in which orientation. At Lindsay Island, there were a number of people buried separately along the sand dunes as well as in a cemetery. With some measurements I was able to tell the sex of an extra 20 of the individuals and to compare the numbers of men, women, children in each area.

I wrote up two reports from the results of the survey. The community report I wrote with Mark Grist at the Co-op (Pardoe and Grist 1989). The second was the more detailed report for the survey.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

These are just two examples of how it is possible and productive to work in Australia with full Aboriginal control and co-operation; to address significant research questions at the same time as communicating the results to Aboriginal people. Having worked this way for over five years, the debate seems remote from the sand dunes bordering the Darling and Murray Rivers. Being one of the few archaeologists in Australia working consistently on human remains, this 'bones debate' raging around me has been largely irrelevant to my research practice. Equally, the fact that a growing number of archaeologists work this way has had little impact on the controversy which seems to have developed a life of its own, divorced from current practice. This is worth some consideration.

The popular media, in Australia and elsewhere, have a vested interest in controversy and confrontation. Journalists have seized on a perceived antagonism between Aborigines and archaeologists because it makes good copy. Even when they have interviewed me about my work and its positive results, they (or their editors) omit this from the final story, preferring to cite extremist views, both Aboriginal and academic. Denis Byrne (1989) examines media representation of the debate in more detail.

What is more disturbing is the way professional journal articles and conference papers (Webb 1987, Hubert 1989) have also perpetuated a received wisdom of conflict and of pessimism, framing critiques in terms of 'archaeologists versus the Australian Aborigines' (Hubert 1989:27). This flies in the face of current practice, at least in Australia. There are several reasons for continuing such opposition. First, there is always an inevitable time lag between new research paradigms and their incorporation into mainstream discourse; that is, between talking about consultation and doing it (Badger Bates takes this up in his paper dealing with research at Lake Mungo in western NSW). But is this the sole reason? If we see the bones controversy as a microcosm of a much broader debate in which archaeolo-

gists as a whole are being asked to come to terms with a changed role vis a vis society in general and with indigenous people particularly, then the situation becomes clearer (McBryde 1985, Chippendale 1988). This is an issue that can not be avoided. In trying to displace controversy and conflict over ownership of the past exclusively into the area of skeletal research archaeologists are avoiding questions that should concern them all (as they concern us at this conference). They are also missing out on the opportunity to revolutionize archaeological practice across the board.

Most of the literature on reburial and skeletal remains is written by archaeologists and others who are not engaged in skeletal research themselves. Issues of control and ownership of the past affect the whole discipline of archaeology, not just skeletal remains. By focussing the controversy exclusively on bones, are archaeologists hoping to confine demands for control to one small part of the broader discipline and ignore its implications for their own practice?

COLLABORATIVE ASSESSMENT AS OPPOSED TO COMPROMISE

Since my work starts with the premise that Aboriginal people own the bones of their ancestors, it follows that there can be no compromises. They are scientifically as well as ethically irrelevant. As I said before, I am totally against reburial, but that is not my decision to make.

There have been a number of compromises sought by various people within archaeology:

Keep the oldest remains. Keeping only a small sample of greater age loses any value if it can not be compared to other groups for the study of change through time. One might argue that the oldest remains have the highest symbolic value for Aborigines and should be given back first. Some archaeologists have suggested that the older remains can not be seen as ancestral to modern groups, that 10,000 years is too long a time to claim descent. Such a suggestion flies in the face of archaeological and biological reason. Scientifically, this sort of compromise is untenable. Socially, the argument can, be and is, seen as the archaeologists retaining control over the most important remains: 'sure, give back the younger, less interesting stuff, but we'll keep the really old, meaningful remains'.

Keep the most complete. This ignores the fact that it is through the use of incomplete remains that we can put together a much better view of variation in and between regions. Modern techniques allow a more detailed look even if the information comes from many individuals, with less from each. This compromise position is much like saying 'you can have the rubbish, but we're keeping the good stuff'. I might mention that this is the politics of land rights as well. Sure, you can have land, but none of the good land, just the rubbish.

Keep the most interesting. The biggest, oldest, smallest, healthiest, most disease ridden, most teeth, fewest teeth, oddest shape. So what? Modern investigations of bones in archaeology are not based on the criterion of items as curios.

Set up keeping places where the bones may be studied. This gives over partial control, but still with the insistence that bones stay out of the ground and accessible to study. I don't disagree with the idea of keeping places, but again the bones belong to the Aboriginal communities to do with as they see fit.

There is no scientific validity to these sorts of compromises. We would be unable to investigate change through time. We would not be able to look at population variation, there would be no teaching collections, no representative groups.

These compromises have been based on assessments of scientific value. I would argue that we archaeologists are not the ones who should scientifically assess the value of human remains. Rather, this is up to Aboriginal people. If the description of scientific value is written for archaeologists and museum curators, it is aimed at the wrong group: we already know the value of these remains. What is necessary is to make these ideas known to the Aboriginal communities. These values must be demonstrated in an appropriate manner and must be concrete. It is more valuable to say 'this is what we know' rather than 'these are the sorts of things we should learn'. The assessment of scientific worth must be placed firmly in the hands of the Aboriginal community. This is *collaborative assessment* (Pardoe 1989). It is they who must 'choose between' science and other values. This is why I write community reports. The community is able to see what it is we do, why we find it so interesting. They are able to assess the worth of the work. When the community has in hand one of my reports, they can decide whether they want me to do more or to stop, based not only on religious and political grounds, but on scientific grounds as well.

COLLABORATION AND THE FUTURE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Jane Hubert ends her recent paper with the statement that:

Only when archaeologists no longer dispute that indigenous peoples have prior rights to the remains of their ancestors, will they be in a moral position to negotiate about the possibility of access to the material for future research. Both archaeologists and indigenous peoples would then be in a position to recognize their genuine common interest in the preservation and protection of the evidence of the past. (1989:50)

She is absolutely right. As far as Australia is concerned, however, her comments are a number of years out of date and so she perpetuates the opposition and antagonism, rather than exploring what has been happening. The ownership of human remains is not an issue in Australia. What is at issue is the responsibility of archaeologists to share information about the past with the other group of people most interested: Aborigines. It is not just those who study bones who must do this, but anyone working on any part of archaeology. The notion of sharing information and becoming accountable may seem daunting, but in fact makes our work easier and more pleasant. It is enjoyable to write community reports in concert with scientific articles and to find that the two styles reinforce on another (see for instance Pardoe 1988a & b, Pardoe and Webb 1986 & Pardoe 1988c). It is quite possible to address major research questions within the constraints imposed. Anything that helps us communicate our work to the public can only be good for discipline.

The Murray Black collection of human remains from the River Murray in southeastern Australia (and the largest single collection in the country) has just

been returned to the Aboriginal communities for reburial. I view it as a great loss, but worse than that, we archaeologists failed to return information from that collection at the same time. We ignored collaboration, involvement and the sharing of information. It was unacceptable to return the Murray Black collection without that information. We disgraced our discipline and ourselves with this inaction and demonstrated to Aboriginal people the lack of any commitment to share the results of our studies.

I have highlighted the gap between discourse and practice. This need not be the case and is damaging in itself. In Australia there are very few skeletal biologists, in fact about five. I am stretched beyond my limits responding to Aboriginal requests and interest. Debate which is predicated on conflict is driving skeletal biologists out of Australia; students are put off from these studies; and it reinforces the view that Aborigines are unreasonable. What we need is more practice and more people sharing information. This is a plea for deeds not words.

The media view of an oppositional stance, archaeologist wrangling with Aborigine over ownership and control of skeletons and artefacts from the past, is simply untrue. Of course the media would prefer to cover strife rather than co-operation, antagonism rather than collaboration. Australian archaeology's greatest promise for the 90's is that the work on a 40,000 year Aboriginal history will be dominated by co-operation and collaboration. We will not be pushed into confrontation and opposition over the very things in which we both share the greatest interest.

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Biographie Colin Pardoe est un anthropologue/archéologue physique qui fait de la recherche en archéologie de sépulture, dans le bassin Murray-Darling, en biologie ancienne et en modèles de flux génétique. Il a fait ses études à l'université de Toronto (licence de sciences en 1977), à l'université du Manitoba (maîtrise en 1980) et à l'université nationale d'Australie, à l'école de recherche des études du Pacifique (doctorat en 1984). Il est actuellement chercheur attaché à l'institut australien des études aborigènes et des insulaires du détroit de Torres et il examine les aspects socioculturels des sépultures préhistoriques. Cela comprend des implications pour les anciennes organisations sociales à partir des pratiques mortuaires, des modèles biologiques et de leurs rapports, et des problèmes actuels de rapport éthique entre les archéologues et le peuple aborigène. La bourse universitaire est financée en partie par le Conseil australien de la recherche.

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Abstract. This article suggests that teachers may have much to learn from shamanism. It examines similarities between the structure of shamanism and philosophical argumentation, and shows how elements of the humanistic paradigm remain in our languages and in the seemingly disconnected parts of our curricula. Ultimately it suggests that teaching is a form of healing.

Resumé: Cet article suggère que les enseignants pourraient peut-être apprendre beaucoup de choses du chamanisme. On y examine les similarités qui existent entre la structure du chamanisme et l'argumentation philosophique, et on montre comment des éléments du paradigme chamanistique subsistent dans nos langues et dans des parties apparemment sans rapport de nos programmes scolaires. A la fin, on suggère que l'enseignement est une forme de guérison.

If Northrop Frye is correct when he claims that "every breakthrough in education is a breakthrough in vision" (1983:13), then I believe educators have much to gain from an examination of shamanism. By comparing and contrasting a number of core metaphors and processes common to both shamanism and education, I hope to provide insight into some contemporary educational issues such as: the need for critical thinking, the need to teach the whole child, the need to integrate the curriculum, and the shift from a mechanistic paradigm to a systemic or holistic paradigm. Both explicitly and implicitly, the paper will present some practical ways in which teachers may be able to make themselves, their materials, and their course objectives, more meaningful to students of native Indian and Inuit ancestry.

Although the materials employed to characterize the complex belief system known as shamanism will be drawn from a variety of sources, I will pay special attention to the shamanistic terms and rituals found among Northwest Coast Indian musics (see Kolstee 1988).

Throughout this paper I will be pulling terms commonly used in education up by their roots, and re-examining them in order to recover levels of meaning that are often obscured by contemporary literal-mindedness.¹ This concern with language is predicated on the notion that if we are to describe a new vision of the

educational process, then we shall also require a re-revised language to re-present that new vision.

The Shaman's Role

Interest in shamanism has grown tremendously since Mircea Eliade wrote his classic study, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1964).² Eliade's study examines data on shamanism from a variety of culture areas and offers a definition of shamanism, as an 'archaic technique of ecstasy' (1964:4), that is still valued today. He takes care to differentiate shamanism from other forms of magic and religion, and points out that not all ecstasies may be considered shamans since only "the shaman specializes in a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld" (1964:5).

From the sociological perspective, the shaman emerges as an actor capable of playing a large number of roles: story-teller, musician, dancer, carver, ecologist, warrior, healer, and so on. Often the shaman incorporates a number of roles in one performance. But underneath these many masks that the shaman may wear there is a dualism recognized in most communities, namely that shamans may specialize in either healing or harming. Writing in a useful introduction to shamanic techniques entitled *The Way of the Shaman* (1982), Michael Harner offers a description of the shaman as healer:

Shamanism is a great mental and emotional adventure, one in which the patient as well as the shaman-healer are involved. Through his heroic journey and efforts, the shaman helps his patients transcend their normal, ordinary definition of themselves as ill. The shaman show his patients that they are not emotionally and spiritually alone in their struggles against illness and death. The shaman shares his special powers and convinces patients, on a deep level of consciousness, that another human is willing to offer up his own self to help them. The shaman's self-sacrifice calls forth a commensurate emotional commitment from his patients, a sense of obligation to struggle alongside the shaman to save one's self. Caring and curing go hand in hand. (1982:xiv)

Harner goes on to describe the ecstatic or altered state of consciousness employed by shamans as the Shamanic State of Consciousness (SSC) and contrasts this with an Ordinary State of Consciousness (OSC) (1982:xvi). The shaman journeys into the SSC for specific purposes and returns to the OSC with the power and knowledge necessary to, for example, heal a patient. It is this tri-partite movement, best understood as a journey, that forms the essence of the shaman's craft. This journey may be illustrated analogically as follows:

| PART | WHOLE | HEAL WHOLE - (EO) PART |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| Ordinary State of Consciousness | Shamanic State of Consciousness | Re-revised state of Everyday Consciousness |
| Ordinary World | Worlds of Ancestors and Supernatural Beings | Re-newed World |
| Illness | Shamanic Intervention | Cured Individual |

This basic structure, which I will discuss below in terms of its four part organization on the Northwest Coast is also found underlying the surface of oral literature. Myths often feature an initial problem that is ultimately solved through holistic/shamanic intervention.

When we recall that the words 'whole' and 'heal' are etymologically identical, and the the word 'method' derives from the Greek *meta* ("after") and *hodos* ("a way, a road, a journey"), then what the shaman's method consists of is healing through a dialectical shift of consciousness from part to whole and back again. Since the word 'dialectic' means "to converse", and the latter means (*con*) "to associate with" (*verse*) "turning", then what is implied is a transformation or change connected with this *methodos* or journey that essentially makes whole that which is incomplete.

Before returning to this discussion of the shaman's methods within the context of education, it shall first be necessary to build a bridge between these two domains by situating this shamanic methodology within the context of Western philosophy.

Shamanism as Phenomenology

Rene Descartes's claim that man could only be sure of his own consciousness continues to play an important role in scientific methodology today in the sense that subjects are for the most part effectively considered to be separated from the objects they investigate. Although many European artists, gnostics, cabalists, and other free thinkers have never subscribed to Cartesian dualism, Western philosophy has only recently, comparatively speaking, begun to challenge the notion that the sciences are truly 'object-ive'.

An important break with Cartesian dualism begins with Immanuel Kant's notion of the transcendental self. Contrasting the latter with an empirical self involving ordinary consciousness, Kant suggests that there are *a priori* rules determining all forms of knowing located in transcendental consciousness. Thus Kant's epistemological framework, understood in terms of "the shamanic method", may be illustrated as:

| Problem | Philosophical Intervention | Solution |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| How do we know anything for certain? | Through <i>a priori</i> rules that are immanent. | Knowledge of Object through synthesis effected by consciousness of outer states received in sensation. |
| Empirical Self | Transcendental Self | |
| OSC | SSC | Re-vised OSC |
| Illness or Loss | Shamanic Intervention | Cured Patient or Improved State |

Kant's thesis is subsequently criticized by empiricists on the one hand, such as Comte and Mill, and metaphysicians, especially Hegel, on the other. Phenomenology may be said to have begun with Hegel, who criticized Kant's rational scientific approach in favor of a method that featured openness to experience. In Hegel's words, phenomenal knowledge "can be regarded as the path of the soul, which is traversing the series of its own forms of embodiment, like stages appointed for it to be its own nature, that it may possess the clearness of spiritual life when, through the complete experience of its own self, it arrives at the knowledge of what it is in itself" (Howard 1982:19). In place of Kant's transcendental self, Hegel posited the idea of an 'Absolute Mind' that lay behind its process of knowing.

Hegel's phenomenological method played an important role in nineteenth century hermeneutics and continues to have an impact on contemporary theories of understanding. Northrop Frye's account of the relationship between Hegel's phenomenology and the notion of polysemous meaning is worth quoting at length at this point in order to show how phenomenology plays a role in contemporary literary criticism:

Polysemous meaning, then, is the development of a single dialectical process, like the process described in Hegel's *Phenomenology*. I mention the *Phenomenology* because it seems to me that the ladder Hegel climbs in that book contains a theory of polysemous meaning as well, and that a new formulation of the old medieval four-level sequence can be discerned in it. The hero of Hegel's philosophical quest is the concept (*Begriff*), which, like Ulysses in the *Odyssey*, appears first in an unrecognized and almost invisible guise as the intermediary between subject and object, and ends by taking over the whole show, undisputed master of the house of being. But this "concept" can hardly exist apart from its own verbal formulation: that is, it is something verbal that expands in this way, so that the *Phenomenology* is, among other things, a general theory of how verbal meaning takes shape. Even the old metaphor of "levels" is preserved in Hegel's term *Aufhebung*. What Hegel means by dialectic is not anything reducible to a patented formula, like the "thesis-antithesis-synthesis" one so often attached to him, nor can it be anything predictive. It is a much more complex operation of a form of understanding combining with its own otherness or opposite, in a way that negates itself and yet passes through that negation into a new stage, preserving its essence in a broader context, and abandoning the one just completed like the chrysalis of a butterfly or a crustacean's outgrown shell.

(1982:222)

Phenomenology since Hegel has primarily been associated with the work of Edmund Husserl. Husserl defines phenomenology as "the study of the structure of consciousness" (Wilson 1967:39). He suggests that all consciousness is intentional, that is, it is always conscious of something. Perception is thus regarded as always active. Husserl offers a means by which conscious acts can be studied as instances of selective perception and names this technique bracketing. Each level

of bracketing is known as an epoche. The first epoche involves the bracketing out of one's belief in the real existence of that which one is examining. In viewing a Northwest Coast Indian masked dancer, for example, one would first bracket out one's belief in the "real existence" of the performance. In successive epoches one becomes aware of seeing a mask portraying an animal, then of the designs representing the animal, then of design as structure only.

Husserl's work has had a profound effect on modern philosophy, especially through the work of his former pupil, Martin Heidegger. Others working in this area include Alfred North Whitehead, who suggests that man employs two modes of perception in focusing on the world. One mode he terms immediacy perception, which in the language used by Harner would be equivalent to an Ordinary State of Consciousness; he terms meaning perception (see Wilson 1967:72). Both modes should be engaged simultaneously for us to truly perceive the world. The kind of thinking we have been discussing is not limited to the area of philosophy. Similar ideas are emanating from the sciences, especially from those espousing a shift from a mechanistic to a systemic or holistic paradigm. A leading figure in this respect is the physicist David Bohm, who "Speaks too, of reality at two levels: the explicate and the implicate" (1988:26). The explicate level, which considers objects as relatively separate, would correspond to Harner's OSC or Whitehead's immediacy perception; the implicate level, which sees the 'whole' of any system embedded or enfolded in every part, would in turn correspond to Harner's SSC and Whitehead's meaning perception. Let us bring all the characters out on stage then, as Shakespeare would have done, to close this section and to show all the analogical connections I have made at a glance:

| HARNER | OSC | SSC | Re-solution of Problem |
|-----------|-------------------------|--|--|
| KANT | Empirical Self | Transcendental Self | Knowledge of Object |
| HEGEL | THESIS Concept | ANTITHESIS Absolute Mind | SYNTHESIS Knowledge of Self/Essence |
| HUSSERL | CONSCIOUSNESS | PHENOMENOLOGY Bracketing | Knowledge of Consciousness |
| WHITEHEAD | IMMEDIACY Perception | MEANING Perception | Balanced Perception |
| BOHM | EXPLICATE order | IMPLICATE order | SYSTEMIC Paradigm |
| FRYE | ANY TEXT | THEORY OF POLY- SEMIOUS MEANING or Phenomenology | ARCHETYPAL CRITICISM |

The Language of Shamanism

Having completed our brief journey to the domain of Western philosophy we may now return to a consideration of the shaman, but this time we can examine the shamanic data from the phenomenological perspective. That is, we will attempt to understand this complex of beliefs from the point of view of those who participate in and thus live shamanism. Recalling that the word 'method' means "after a journey", and that the Greek word *logos* connotes "a story" or "an explanation", then what we shall be seeking to describe is the shaman's methodology. Let us begin by examining the language surrounding shamanism.

The word 'shaman' has its origins in the Tungoso-Manchurian language family, specifically in the Northern Tungusic language known as Evenk. Joseph Campbell provides the translation, "he who knows", for the word 'shaman' (1984:157). While there are many terms for the shaman on the Northwest Coast, two of the most widespread are *paxala*, as found among the Kwakwaka speakers, and *šx^w/aě.m*, as found among Halkomelem, Lil'wat, and Thompson speakers.

The Kwakwaka word *paxala* is based on the root *pax* which means "to change" or "to transform"; the word *šx^w/aě.m*, from the Salishan languages, means "the one who has power".³ Thinking additively then, we seem to have someone who has the power to change because of what they know. And although it is still not perfectly understood, the Heiltsuk word for shaman, '*caiqā*, may be translated as "to impersonate the supernatural", thus continuing the line of thought established by the other definitions.

Dreaming is also commonly linked to the shaman's identity and methodology. The well-known term 'pow-wow', for example, stems from the Algonkian word for shaman, *pouwaw*, which means "he derives his art from his dreams" (Partridge 1983:519).

Other metaphors commonly associated with the shaman's craft include floating, sinking, and diving. These derive from the nature of the journeys that the shaman makes to other worlds. However because the shaman plays so many roles in any given community it is futile to look for clear connections between items on a strictly linguistic basis - especially given the linguistic complexity of the Northwest Coast.

An examination of the word 'shaman' from the point of view of Indo-European languages is much more valuable for the purposes of this paper. Since the Northern Tungusic word for shaman, *saman*, is formed from the root *sa*, meaning "to know", then there exists an important link with the Indo-European root *sa* which has retained the meaning of "to know" in Western European languages today. Found in the French (*savoir*) and Spanish (*saber*) verbs that mean "to know", the root is also evident in the English words 'sage' and 'savour'. Using the verb "to know" as our connecting link, let us turn to an examination of certain selected aspects of the language underlying contemporary education.

Re-Viewing the Teacher's Language with Shamanic Eyes

Since the word 'shaman' and the idea of knowing seem to be linked let us begin with the word 'know' as a starting point for this re-view. In order to re-visit (re-

see) this term we shall require a new vantage point. Symbolically, and from the point of view of the shaman, we must 'kill' the word so that it will come to new life. One way to do this is to uproot and scrutinize the etymological underpinnings of the term. This procedure mirrors Plato's conception of dying, which he rendered as *lysis* (loosening) and *chorismos* (separation). By loosening and separating the word from the everyday scaffolding with which we usually associate it, we intend to promote a new experience of the word's meanings.

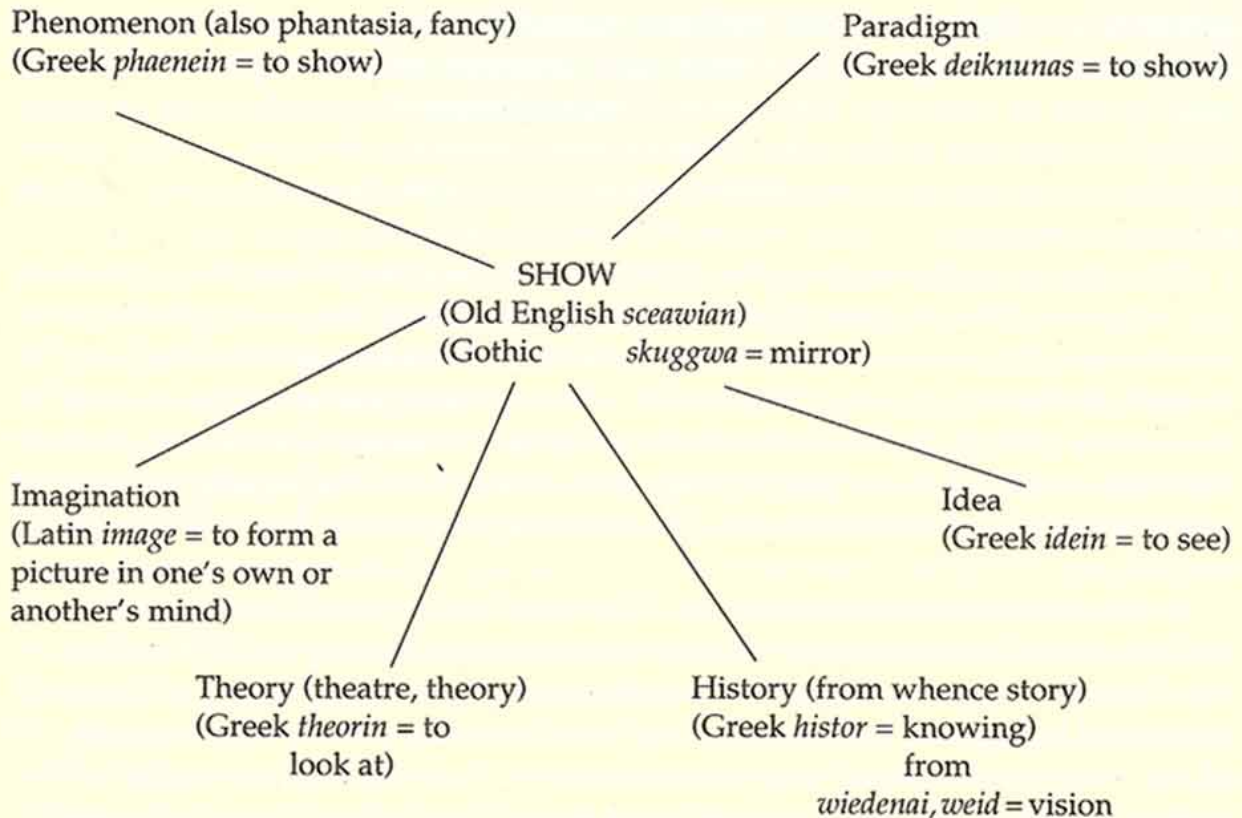
The word 'know' in the Sanskrit language is *veda*, which means both 'to see' and 'to know'. This is also the case with the Hittite word *sekk*. The relation of knowing to seeing is further retained in the Latin *vide*, which is the father of English words such as vision, evidence, and 'video'. The Old English *witan* also derives from the Latin *vide* and it yields words such as wise and, to complete the shamanic circle, 'wizard'.

The word 'know' is further related to education through the Middle English *kennen*, "to make known, to teach". And when we examine the Old English word meaning to learn, *laeran*, we again come full circle since this is translated as meaning "to teach"! The latter's etymology can be traced back to the Old English *tacen*, or "token" which in turn leads back to the Greek *deiknunai*, meaning "to show". Here we again rejoin the idea of knowing and seeing as being two sides of a coin. From the point of view of the shaman, which is holographic in the way it sees the whole as existing in every part, all these words used in education are related at a very fundamental level. It is because we live in a society that fragments the world that we have lost the vision of the interconnectedness of language.

Through this equating of knowing and seeing, then, we have arrived at yet another important etymological link: the one that leads from knowing, through seeing, to showing. The word "show" means, simultaneously, "to look at" and "to cause to be looked at". This mirror-image definition neatly encapsulates the essence of phenomenological methodology since it indicates how our perception actually helps create the world we experience.

The verb 'show' is etymologically connected, through the Gothic words *skuggwa*, to a mirror. Thus when we examine the world we also cause ourselves to be examined by the world. Frye's description of Hegel's dialectic expresses the same idea: "It is a . . . complex operation of a form of understanding combining with its own otherness or opposite, in a way that negates itself and yet passes through that negation into another stage . . ." (1982:222). It is noteworthy in this connection that mirrors play an important role in Siberian and Asian shamanism (Eliade 1964:151;498). Furthermore, the idea that the inner (psychic) and outer (physical) worlds are at times mirror images of each other is at the foundation of many of the divinatory methods employed by North and South American shamans. Jung has termed the connecting principle behind this process 'synchronicity' (1973).

As illustrated below, a number of important terms used in education today are directly linked to the verb 'show':



Ideally, as teachers (through their knowing and showing) use paradigms, ideas, theories, imagination, and so on, to illuminate the outer world for the student, they should simultaneously attempt to have the student experience these concepts in terms of their interior geography. Shamans have an advantage in this regard, however, since they have all gone through a strenuous initiation. They know from experience what it is to die and be reborn, and thus to realize how relative all perception is. Having gone through this process, shamans learn to perceive the world on a number of different levels at once. The word perception, from the Latin *percipere*, means "to take something through something else". Since teachers for the most part are trained to perceive the world at the level of the intellect, they rarely experience knowledge and learning at the affective level: they favor the head over the heart in most cases.

The shamanic or holistic way of knowing gives equal importance to all faculties of perception in order to promote a perception; that is, to foster archetypal experiences which feature a union of all the senses. During these peak experiences the shaman stands symbolically at the center of the universe, which is known variously as the *axis mundi*, the world tree, the tree of life, and so on. The shaman's 'standing', in this case, is 'under-standing' in the sense that to stand under means "to tarry, pause, stop". What happens here is that the shaman stops the world and 'emotes' (Latin *emouere*), or "moves out from", ordinary consciousness into shamanic consciousness. At this juncture the shaman travels to other worlds by means of ecstatic flight, floating, sinking, and so on.

The word 'stand' is related to the Greek *histanai*, meaning "to cause to stand", which in turn yields the word 'ecstasy' (meaning "to put out of place"). The

shamans' ecstasy is a trance (Latin *transire*, meaning "to go across") which carries them beyond (metaphor from Greek *meta* = beyond, *pherein* = to carry) the ordinary world of everyday perception. Various kinds of metaphors, or vehicles, carry the shamans to the other worlds: trees, rainbows, bridges, drums, bows, arrows, vines, ladders, mountains, canoes, and animals are all used to make shamanic journeys.

The idea of 'understanding the truth' can now be brought into this discussion since the word 'truth', through the Old English *treow* and *treo*, is derived from the word 'tree'. Thus to 'understand the truth' is to "stand under the tree", or "fix oneself at the center pole of the world". This symbol of knowledge is found in numerous cultures and includes such manifestations as the Crucifixion, Hermes standing under a tree as both a youth and an old man, the Buddha's receiving enlightenment at the foot of a tree, Newton's apple tree, the Tree of Knowledge, and so on.

A return to the etymological roots of the word 'subject' will further guide us in outlining how a shamanic relationship between teacher and pupil differs from, to use Freire's turn of phrase, the "banking concept of education" still widely employed today. Formed from the Latin word *subiicere*, which as the root *icere*, "to throw", the word 'subject' may be translated as "to bring or place under". Thus within the frame of reference established above, the student (from Latin *studere*, "to be zealous or eager") needs to experience a "standing under the truth/tree". How then do we guide students towards this experience?

Transforming the Subject

Let us first examine how shamans learn their 'subject'. Just as all members of hunting and gathering communities would be aware that the world was full of spirits, and that humans needed to contact these spirits in order to acquire power, shamans would likewise quest for power at an early age. They differed from others in two major ways; either shamanic ability was in their family and they thus inherited the profession, or they had a strong supernatural experience (or sometimes a sickness) that informed them that they had been chosen for this way of life. In either case, the shamans differed from others because of the intensity of their mystical experiences and their ability to have relationships (Latin *relatus* = "to carry back", *ship* = "shape(s)") with the supernatural.

The high point of the shaman's initiation is a crisis which features the initiate's first experience of dying and being reborn. The word crisis (from whence critical) is from the Greek *krisis*, meaning "a sifting" (from *krinein*, "to sift"). What happens at this crisis is that the shamans experience such a 'loosening' (Plato's *lysis*) and 'separating' (Plato's *chorismos*) from their bodies that they feel as if they are flying, floating, sinking, or drifting to another realm. Once there they may see themselves being dismembered, or ritually killed. What is killed here, from the phenomenological point of view, is the fallacy of passive perception. And what is destroyed here is the ego's clinging to material reality and a fixed point of view. Once the ego is loosened and separated from its attachment to material reality by the forces of the unconscious a third factor, the Self, aided by the shaman's guardian spirit, enters into play as it serves to witness this transcendent act and synthesizes it at

a higher level of awareness. The Self is now alone in the sense of all-one, and it has at-oned for its previous lack of awareness. Halifax has connected the shamanic crisis with psychology in the following way:

Thus, through a profound process of psychic turbulence and combustion, the images of the mythic imagination are awakened. These transpersonal and transcultural realizations are known even in modern psychiatry, where their evaluation is generally of a pathological nature. However, the insights of psychiatrist John Weir Perry into the psychosymbolic processes of individuals diagnosed as schizophrenic gives us important clues about the archetypal nature of the shamanic complex. Dr. Perry elaborates ten features that characterize the reorganization of the Self. (1) Psychic, cosmic, and personal geography are focused on a centre. (2) Death occurs in the process of dismemberment and sacrifice; the person is tortured, chopped up, and his or her bones are rearranged; one can also be dead and talk with presences of the spirit world. (3) There is a return to an earlier time, to Paradise, or to the womb; the theme of regression can also be reflected in the individual manifesting the behaviour of an infant. (4) There arises a cosmic conflict between forces of Good and Evil, or other pairs of opposites. (5) There is a feeling of being overwhelmed by the opposite sex, the threat of the opposite can also manifest in terms of a positive identification with one's opposite. (6) The transformation of the individual results in a mystical apotheosis where the experiencer becomes identified with a cosmic or royal personage. (7) The person enters into a sacred marriage, a coming together of the pairs of opposites. (8) A new birth is part of rebirth fantasies and experiences. (9) A new age or the beginning of a new society is anticipated. (10) The balance of all elements results in the quadrated world, a four-fold structure of equilibrium and depth.

(1982:7)

Since most teachers are not trained or initiated shamanically, and since our educational systems do not consciously produce 'crisis' situations beyond the formal exam framework, how then do we foster the kind of transformational experience associated with the shamanic complex?

Towards transforming the Methodology ("explanation after a journey") of Education

Without assuming to have exhausted the possibilities of how to go about this, I will propose four ways in which one may go about teaching along shamanic lines:

1. By re-vising the curriculum - Teachers could begin by de-emphasizing the importance of texts as sources of authority, especially the test. Instead they would place greater emphasis on their own and their students' experiences. Next they would attempt whenever possible to reconcile the split that seems to exist between the humanities and the sciences. If students learn to see the beauty in science and the truth in art then they will be better balanced learners. The best way to such integration is to proceed along historical lines. Approached chronologically, the history of science, music, mathematics, and so on, can all be treated in an integrated

and holistic manner. A central question in this re-revised curriculum would be: what is the nature of the creative processes at work in these seemingly disparate areas?

2. By re-revising the relationship between teacher and pupil - In an attempt to overcome the subject-object split, (or master-slave, science-art, intellect-emotion split), the teacher will here attempt to understand/stand-under the pupil in a new manner. Power is shared equally between the two and respect also is mutual since both are authorities (from Latin *augere* = founder, increaser) in their own domains. The underlying idea is for the student to become a co-worker who, rather than being filled with facts, is guided out of complex situations by the teacher's assistance. Acting as a mid-wife intellectually and emotionally, the teacher helps the student give birth to the adult individual. (Latin *in* = not, *dividuus* = divisible). By guiding the student through each crisis, and allowing them to have ownership of that experience, the teacher promotes true 'critical' (from Greek *kritikos* = able to discern, judge) thinking. Within this framework the teacher embodies the Socratic archetype; questions are "answered with a deep reserve and elusiveness, because progress in understanding is a progress through a sequence of questions, and a definite answer blocks this progress" (Frye 1988:20).
3. By re-revising language - Through a less literal-minded and authoritarian use of language, teachers can make immediate changes in their classrooms. One way of doing this is to examine the history and origins of terms appropriate to fields of study, compare and contrast them, and generally de-code the jargon of textbooks as one would teach new languages. In fact these are new languages for many students. By showing how words are related to other words, have histories, give birth to other terms, and so on, students will gain a sense of the fact that language is a kind of living entity (has ontological status) that they give life to and are thus able to own and re-invent. Northrop Frye has characterized this kind of orientation in the following way: "It is the function of literature, as I see it, to recreate the primitive conception of the word of power, the metaphor that unites the subject and the object. Such metaphor flies in the face of the contemporary use of language which implies a rigid separation of subject and object and calls for a descriptive accuracy in the use of words" (1988:146). In the sense that the word religion (from Latin *religare* = to bind again) means a "binding back", then all power-full language might be considered as essentially religious in intent. And if all this seems diametrically opposed to sound scientific language, let us hear how Einstein used language: "The cosmic religious experience is the strongest and noblest mainspring of scientific research" (in Barnett 1973:108). Here then, in one sentence, Einstein has expressed the basic thesis of this paper.
4. By re-revising goals - This final stage of re-revising involves the down-playing of conformity to social norms in favor of a greater emphasis on individualization with respect to the educational process. The goal in this framework is not to overcome a curriculum, study with a teacher, or learn jargon, as implied in the three re-revisions offered above but instead to produce an independent human being with the capacity for ongoing creative development. Speaking about the goals of education, Frye has

stated a similar position when he claims that it "is only the born and dedicated teacher who can realize that . . . adjustment to society, however benevolent, is an enemy to be fought" (1988:14). Within this holistic paradigm, the student is regarded as a microcosmos imbued with free will; the aim is to have the student retain this freedom and not give it up in order to conform to group pressure. This quality of individuality is one's own spirit power, or guardian spirit, and we seem to have lost this concept in contemporary education.

Closing Patterns

The four points of view described above offer very few specifics for those who may want to integrate the ideas set forth above into their teaching. As a result I will close by offering what I hope will be some practical suggestions for the classroom teacher.

Beginning with the language arts area, I would suggest that teachers employ a four-part cyclical model to show how the four basic story patterns found in English literature may be related to the four seasons: ⁴

| | | | |
|---------|--------|---------|--------------|
| SPRING | SUMMER | FALL | WINTER |
| ROMANCE | COMEDY | TRAGEDY | IRONY/SATIRE |

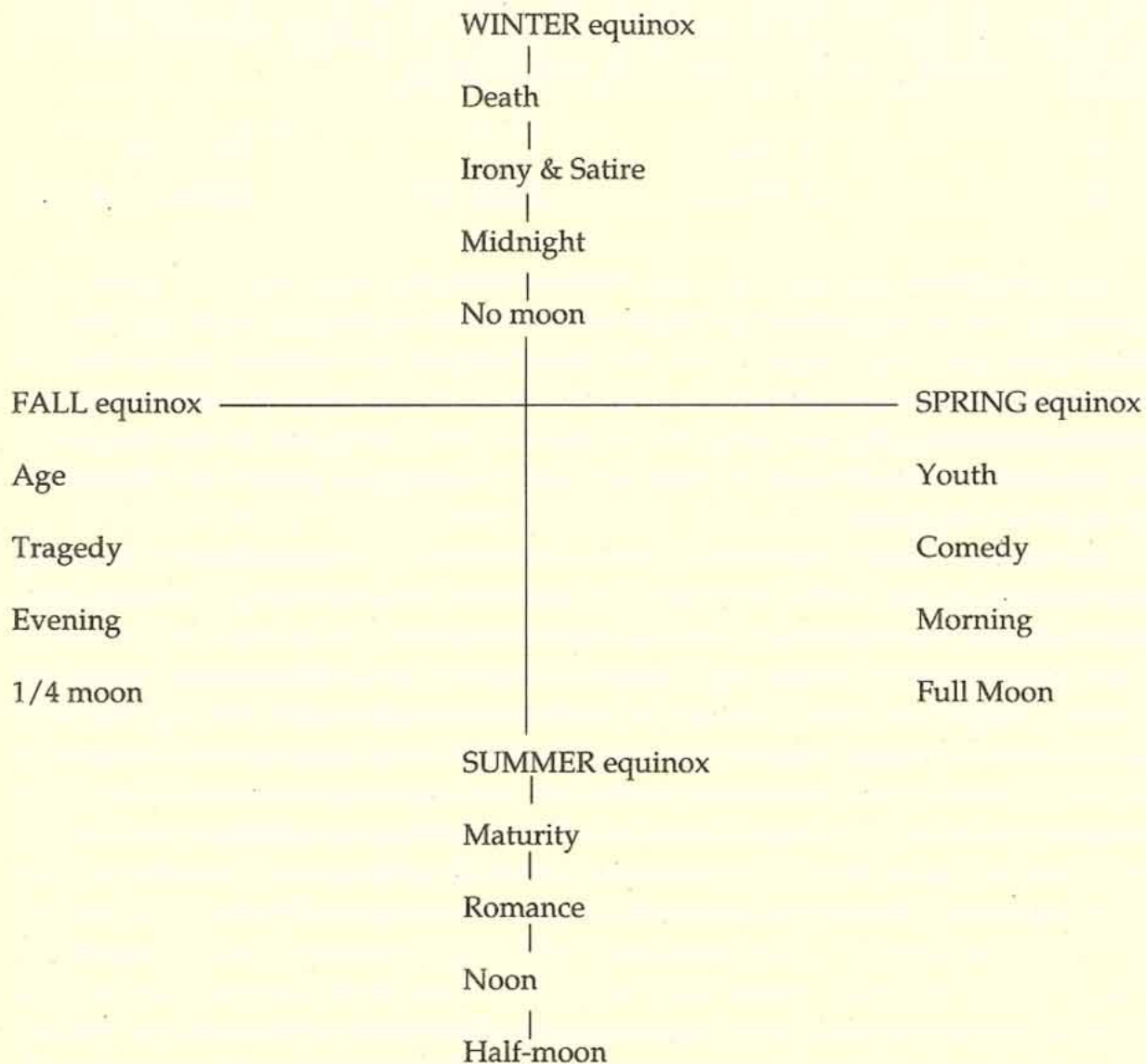
Wedding these two spheres, one cultural and the other natural, allows the student to see a connection between parts of the world that were previously considered distinct. These kinds of correspondence structures allow one to "modulate" from one world to another, just as the shaman journeys between various domains. The next step for the teacher is to integrate local indigenous material into the model. Let us examine how this might be done with Northwest Coast Indian cultures.

On the central coast of British Columbia, a winter ceremonial season (extending approximately from the Fall to the Spring Equinox) alternated with a nonceremonial season (Spring and Summer). Ranked series of dances, sponsored by chiefs who acted cooperatively within organizations known to anthropology as 'secret societies', were performed during the winter ceremonial season. Among the Bella Bella/Heiltsuk people, the first and most prestigious series of dances was known as *Cáiqá* ("to impersonate the supernatural") and it was associated with dark costuming the taming of *hámáca* initiates; the performances of these ranked series of dances took place from approximately the Fall equinox to approximately the Winter equinox. The second series of dances, known as the *Dhuláxa* ("off on another series of dances"), was associated with light costuming and a variety of dances linked to family crests (such as Chief's headdress dances); this second series of dances extended from approximately the Winter equinox to the Spring equinox. During Spring and Summer an entirely different repertoire was employed, including such nonceremonial songs as Love songs, Gambling songs, String Figure songs, and other songs connected with Children's games.

The ceremonial dances described above are generally concerned with taming initiates who have been abducted by supernatural beings. Hunters in the Spring

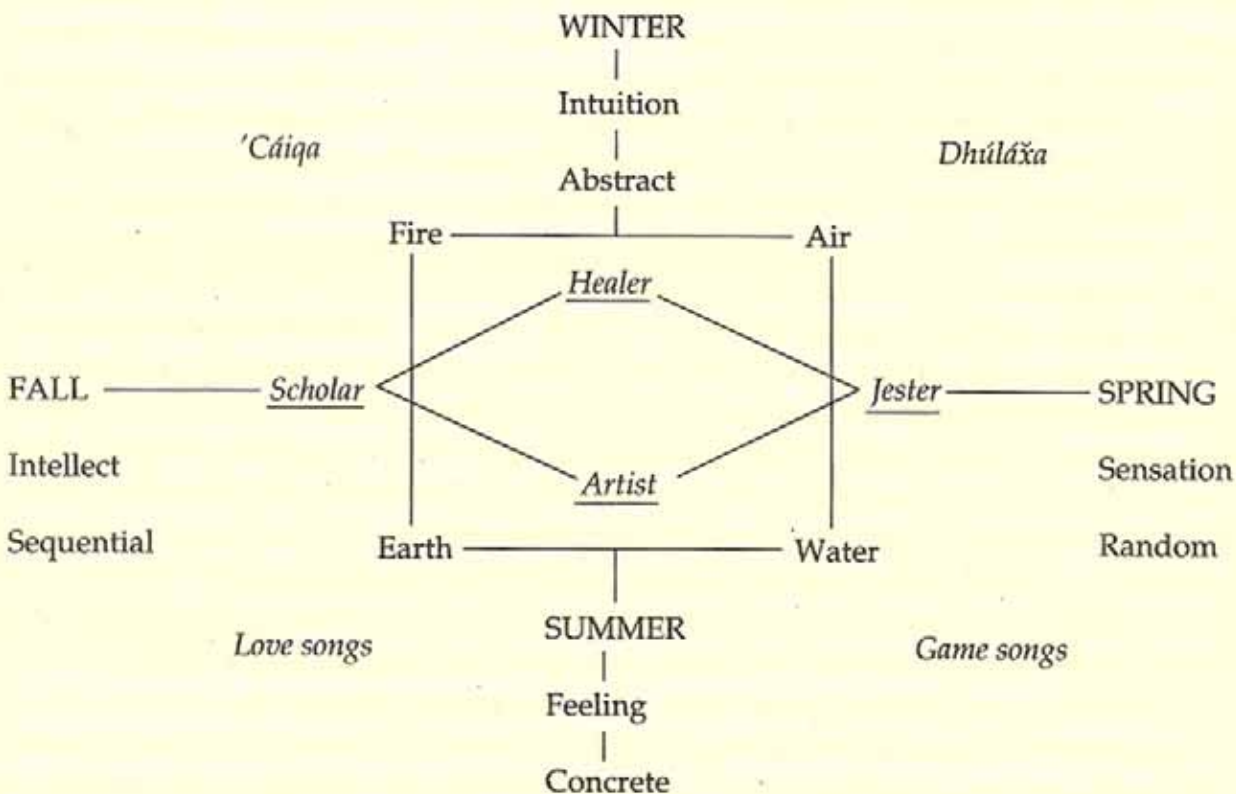
and Summer, these initiates are "the hunted" during the sacred Fall and Winter seasons. After they have been ritually killed in the domain of the supernatural, and thus phenomenologically transformed, the initiates return to their communities in a frenzied and power-full condition. They must, through the intervention of the shamanic societies, be gradually restored to their humanity. Essentially, then, these dances are concerned with the Tragic and the Ironic/Satirical. And again, generally speaking, the Spring and Summer repertoires may be said to be concerned with the Comic and the Romantic.⁵

Polysemous in meaning, the winter ceremonies may also be said to be concerned with bringing about the return of light in the Spring after the decline of fecundity and brightness in the Fall and Winter. All of the above, as well as additional metaphors pertaining to the four stages of human life, the four phases of the moon, and the four main types of musical repertoire, may be illustrated as below:



This 'shamanic wheel' can be made to accommodate an enormous number of heuristic concepts. We could add, for example, the four elements, four kinds of learning styles, four kinds of perception, and four kinds of professions. The latter can be understood as four modes of being which are also four aspects of the shaman, namely, Jester, Artist, Scholar, Healer. These correspondence structures

may be illustrated as follows:



For the art teacher, or anyone wishing to integrate their curricula, I would propose the idea of having the students create a colour scheme and then composing mandala-like compositions to make manifest these four stages. Dance teachers could also show this wheel in action with four, or any multiple of four, dancers. Each archetype mentioned could thus be personified and animated.

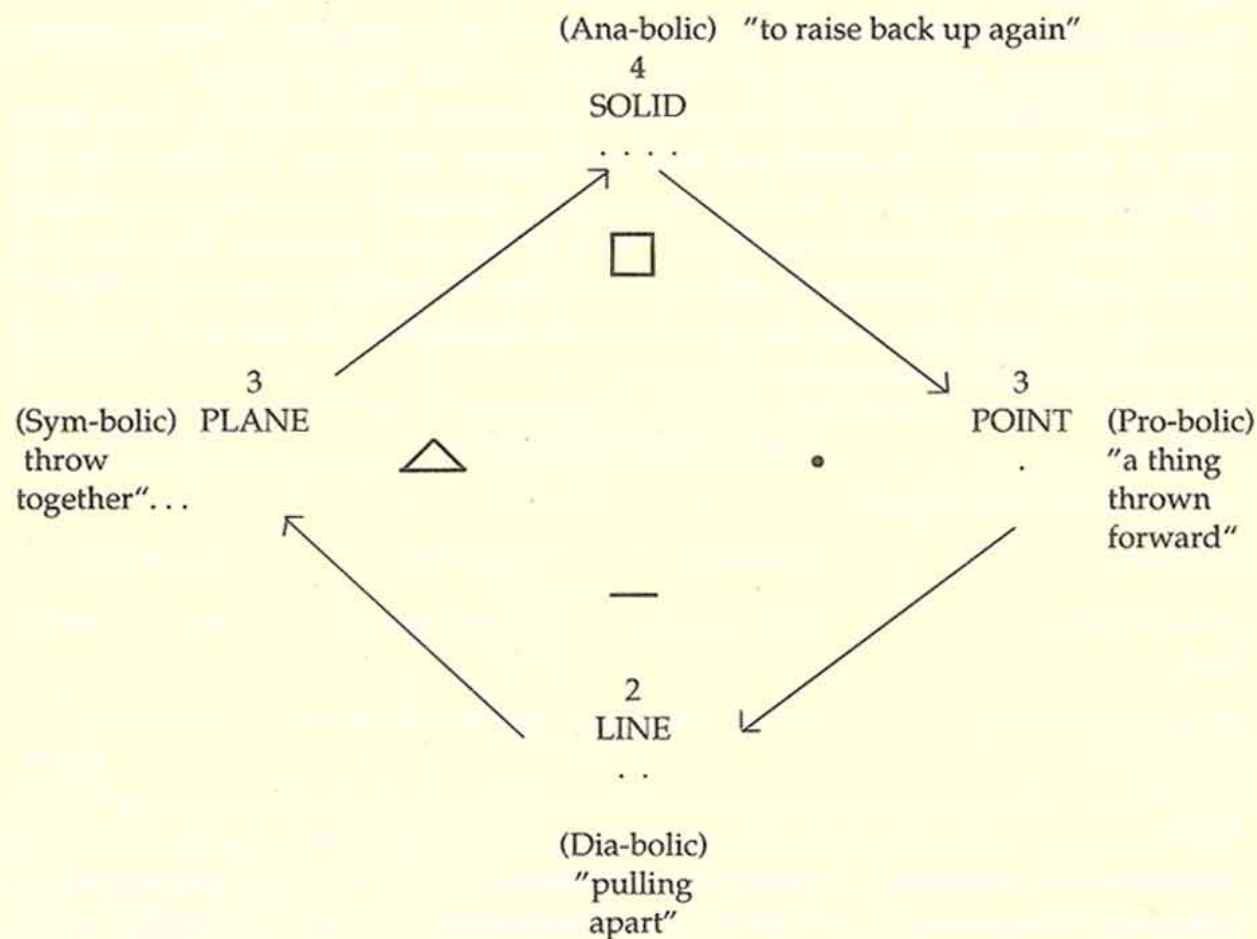
I suggested earlier that the tri-partite movements from Ordinary Consciousness to Shamanic Consciousness and back again, and from Problem through Supernatural Intervention to Solution, would ultimately be shown to consist of four parts on the Northwest Coast. This is the case because the shamanic consciousness or supernatural intervention stage essentially consist of two parts: one which I shall term diabolic and the other symbolic. The resultant four-part structure may be described as follows:

| Problem | Supernatural Intervention | | Solution |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| (all words of Greek origin) | | | |
| Pro-bolic | Dia-bolic | Sym-bolic | Ana-bolic |
| <i>Pro</i> = forward back | <i>Dia</i> = across | <i>sum</i> = together | <i>ana</i> = again, |
| <i>blema</i> = a throwing from <i>ballein</i> | <i>ballein</i> = to throw | <i>ballein</i> = to throw | <i>ballein</i> = to throw |
| thus | | | |
| "a thing thrown forward" (especially for the mind to solve) | "to throw apart" | "to reunite, to compare" | "to throw back again" |

What this model shows is that shamanic ritual generally (in this case we are showing the structure of myth and the structure of the winter ceremonies) reverses the 'natural' order of events in the world. That is, it moves symbolically from Death/Winter/Probolic, through Age/Fall/Diabolic and Maturity/Summer/Symbolic, to end with Youth/Spring/Anabolic.⁶ By thus teaching initiates "how to die", through various types of ritual, the shaman teaches philosophy in the sense that Plato defined it, literally, as *phaedros melete thanatou*, or "practice and preparation for death".

The four-part structure described above appears in myths on the Northwest Coast and may also be applied to world mythology. The structure duplicates the structure of the shaman's initiation: the shaman crisis is a "thing thrown forward" (especially for the mind to solve), the shaman's ritual death is diabolic in the sense that it "throws apart" the initiate, then the initiate is reunited with his or her Self by means of a guardian spirit, and finally the shaman is set "back up again" in the final anabolic stage. One could of course substitute the word 'hero', or several other concepts, for the word shaman in the preceding and the four-part structure would continue to serve a useful heuristic function.

Turning to the area of mathematics, I would recommend that the teacher begin with an historical discussion of Pythagoras and his secret society. And instead of discussing Pythagoras's theorem concerning the relation of the sides of a right triangle to the hypotenuse, I would advise that a beginning be made with the more elemental *tetractys*; stated in terms of the four-part structure employed above, the *tetractys* would look as follows:

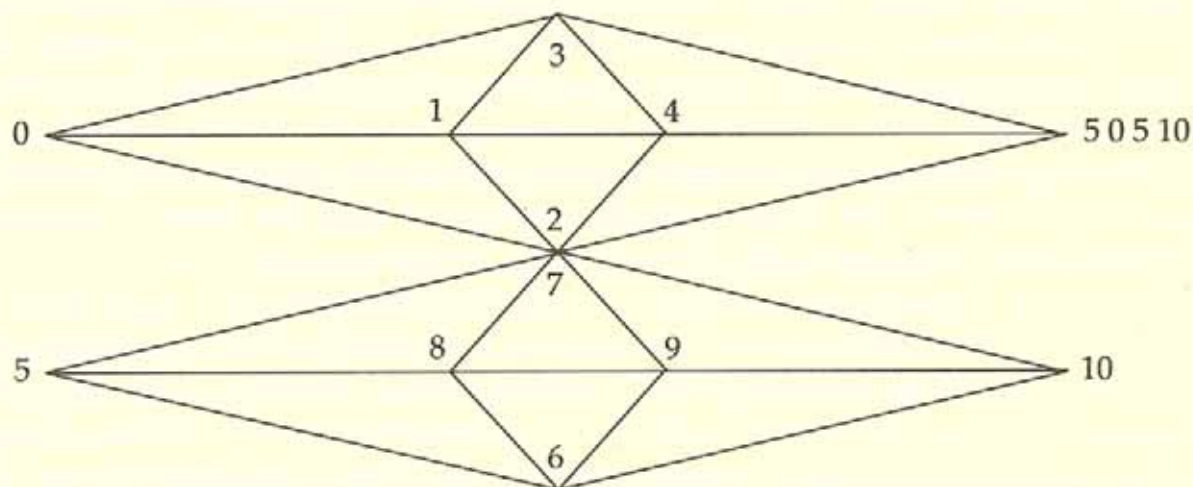


The *tetractys's* total of 10 points may next be shown as below, as the sum of three dimensions of experience by which "perceptibility comes to percipients", the pattern of three increases" (McLain 1978:42):



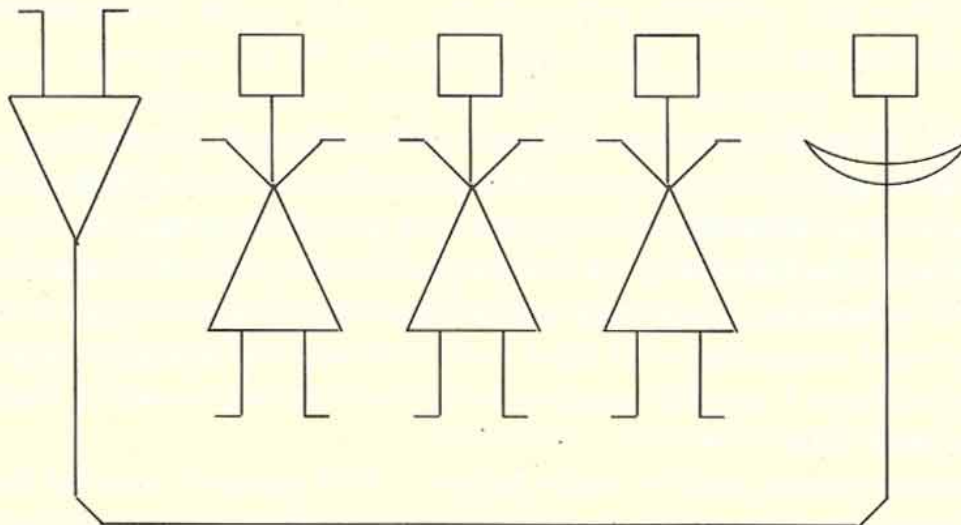
At this stage the teacher could modulate from the four-part shamanic wheel to the structure of the pyramids, using the *tetractys* as the connecting link. A discussion of how and why societies based on agriculture give rise to complex mathematical systems would also be in order at this stage. In terms of North American Indian cultures, for example, one would want to point out that the gods in Mayan cosmology were associated with time and numbers: "All the main figures of the Mayan myths have a specific number which is even expressed in their names" (von Franz 1980:12).

A connection could also be made between Pythagoras's number theory and ancient Chinese mathematical theories concerning the rhythms of the cosmos. In this system, 0, 5, 10, each functions as a centre to which the four-part patterns constantly returns. Carl Jung has termed this the rhythm of the archetype of the Self, which illustrates the Self's eternal process of constant rejuvenation through the mathematical model of 4 double pyramids in a ring. A former pupil of Jung's, von Franz, shows the connection between the Chinese *Ho-tou* and Jung's model of the double pyramid as follows:



A psychologist with a special interest in myth, von Franz is interested in the basic orders underlying mathematical structures and mythological representations. Making points similar to ones made earlier in this paper, von Franz discusses connections "between 'telling' a story and the idea of *Zahl*, number" (1980:80). In a similar vein, she points out that the Greek words for number and rhythms, *arithmos* and *rhythmos*, have the same etymological root (1980:88). I cite these points since they allow the teacher to re-turn the mathematical discussion to other levels of culture.

After showing how the four-part structure noted above in connection with the shamanic wheel has also manifested itself in Western thought, von Franz provides an elegant example of this basic pattern as it exists within Navaho cosmology. In symbolic form, the four goddesses of the Navaho pantheon clearly demonstrate the pattern we have been pursuing through our journey:



(von Franz 1980:93)

In this image we clearly are shown how the fourth member represents the oneness of the group of three; in other words, as in the *Ho-tou* and the *tetractys*, the fourth is anabolic in the sense that it raises the series "back up again".

Examples of similar four-part patterning abound. One could discuss the medieval four-level sequence noted by Frye earlier in this paper or examine four-part organization in indigenous North American or European art musics. It is important to remember that there is no need to prove casual connections between these correspondence structures. It is enough to have students learn to see relationships where none existed before and learn to make imaginative leaps. The goal is to remove the fear of being creative so that the learner can move independently into uncharted territory later in their studies.

For those "wishing to get back to basics" there is much to gain from the shamanic model outlined above. The approach should be attractive to those who consider themselves teachers in the "traditional mold" because at the basis of the shaman's craft lies an intricate system of remembering and reminding. The key to the shaman's mnemonic system is to link that which is to be remembered with another, more easily remembered, set of ideas. The shamanic wheel is one such

device. It is based on natural cycles, yet it has a life of its own within our interior geography that may be termed archetypal. It is, indeed, that which Raven stole from the Land Above for the enlightenment of all of humanity.

NOTES

1. All of the etymological data, except for the native Indian terms, are taken from Eric Partridge's classic work *Origins* (1983). Throughout the paper, only non-English words are placed in italics. It should also be pointed out here that I am not a linguist and am not attempting to "prove" anything here in the area of linguistics.
2. This study was first published in French in 1954.
3. The Kwakwaka information is from Jay Powell (personal communication) while the Salish information is from Randy Bouchard (personal communication); their assistance in this regard is gratefully acknowledged.
4. See also the "Theory of Myths" in Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* (1967).
5. For a more thorough discussion of how these repertoires are associated with the yearly cycle see Kolstee (1988).
6. See also the Tibetan book of the Dead which is clearly shamanistic in nature.

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Biographie Anton Kolstee possède un doctorat en musicologie de l'université de l'Illinois, à Urbana-Champaign; son mémoire porte sur la musique des Indiens Bella Bella ou Heiltsuk du littoral du Nord-Ouest. Il a terminé sa thèse de maîtrise sur la musique et la culture des Indiens Bella Coola/Nuxalk, à l'université de Colombie-Britannique. Il enseigne actuellement la langue indienne Squamish et les études indigènes à l'école secondaire Carson Graham, dans le nord de Vancouver, en Colombie-Britannique. Il est aussi directeur musical d'un groupe autochtone qui se produit en spectacle, connu sous le nom de Shaman Society Singers (les chanteurs de la société chamane).

THE TRAINING OF SUBSTITUTE TEACHERS IN NORTHERN MANITOBA, CANADA

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University of Manitoba

Abstract. Education and training are seen as major instruments in the development of any people. The aboriginal peoples of Canada believe that their survival is dependent on the quality of education for themselves, remote teachers and substitute teachers. This paper deals with the problem of training substitute teachers in remote aboriginal communities in rural northern Manitoba. The intent of this paper is not only to share information about training substitute teachers, but to encourage other aboriginal peoples to modify this model as required for improving their education.

Résumé: On considère l'éducation et la formation comme ayant une part très importante dans le développement de tout peuple. Les peuples aborigènes du Canada pensent que leur survie dépend de la qualité de l'éducation qu'ils reçoivent. Les communautés aborigènes isolées ont quelquefois de la difficulté à trouver des enseignants permanents qualifiés et des suppléants. Cet article traite du problème de la formation des suppléants dans les communautés aborigènes isolées, dans la région rurale du nord du Manitoba. Cet article a pour but non seulement de partager des informations concernant la formation des suppléants, mais aussi d'encourager d'autres peuples aborigènes à modifier ce modèle suivant leurs besoins afin d'améliorer leur éducation.

INTRODUCTION

The aboriginal peoples of Canada who live on reserves do so under Third World conditions. These conditions are characterized by high unemployment, high rates of infant mortality, poor sanitation and health facilities, high incidence of alcoholism and low levels of education (Lithwick, 1986). In many cases, up to sixty percent of the reserve population are on social welfare. The system of economic support for aboriginal peoples in Canada has created chronic dependency with the concomitant phenomena of personal disorientation, lack of motivation, poor administration of local affairs and a general feeling of frustration.

The economic base for most of these reserves is not viable for the development of industries or agriculture. Most reserves are situated in remote areas where

transportation by road is difficult, seasonal and costly. In the case of agriculture, the soil and frost-free period are not conducive to growing food crops. The hunting and fishing conditions have changed, and if families were totally dependent on these for their survival, there would be mass starvation. In recent times, however, there were discoveries of petroleum on some reserves in Alberta which have assisted the peoples of those reserves to exert some independence and control over their lives. In the Province of Quebec, the native Cree have negotiated with the government for compensation in a deal for leasing lands for hydro development. There have been some land claim settlements between the Federal Government and aboriginal peoples in various parts of Canada; for example, in the North West Territories, British Columbia and Alberta. The majority of land claims have not been settled and are still in the process of litigation.

The problems and conditions of aboriginal peoples stated above are macro in scope; however, when applied at the local level, that is at the provincial and further the reserve level, the situation appears to become worse. (Hull, 1987). Canada has neglected its aboriginal peoples, and has created a framework for control that is not viable or acceptable to the people being colonized today. Aboriginal peoples are fighting fiercely for: self-determination, economic and social control of their lives, the settlement of land claims, adequate health, housing and educational facilities, and their rightful place in the "Canadian Mosaic" through constitutional reform. However, the tools and weapons available to the aboriginal peoples for battle against the Canadian Government are limited to public embarrassment of the Government, creation of guilt in the political leaders, and accusations of foul play. This happens at the provincial and national levels in the forms of protest marches, sit-ins at Federal buildings, withdrawal of students from schools, fasting, and drawing attention internationally through representations at the United Nations and to the British monarchy (since they started this devastation in the first place). As can be deduced from these forms of protest, the aboriginal peoples have chosen (so far) to use the peaceful approach to achieve results. They have procured few concessions, and at best, their success may be seen as limited.

On another front, education, a gentle slow revolution is taking place in the Province of Manitoba. Except for status Indians, education in Canada is a Provincial responsibility. In every Province, there are Provincial schools, private schools, and Federal schools. Schools on Indian reserves are Federally funded and may be administered by government appointed personnel or by locally elected schools boards who in turn select and appoint school administrators and teachers.

In 1971, it is estimated that there were about five qualified and licensed aboriginal teachers in the Province of Manitoba. In 1989 it is estimated that there are over four hundred aboriginal teachers who are employed in schools throughout the Province. Most teachers do not wish to work outside the large urban areas and it becomes difficult to attract qualified teachers to Northern Manitoba, especially to reserve schools which are located in small rural communities.

Although schools on reserves are the responsibility of the Federal government, they operate on the basis of Provincial laws, and follow the curriculum guides designed by the Provincial department of education. One of these laws makes the

school responsible for the welfare of the students while they are in the school building or under the supervision of teachers on the school grounds. When a regular teacher is absent, the school administrator is required to provide adequate supervision to ensure the safety and welfare of the students in the school. As a result schools have designed a system of employing substitute teachers to perform the functions of the regular teacher when he/she is absent.

The author was responsible for designing and delivering a program for training substitute teachers in two different reserves in Manitoba. This paper will (a) analyze the reasons for this program, (b) describe the expectations of principals, teachers and students, (c) explain the components of the program, and (d) discuss the results of trainee evaluations. For the purpose of this paper, the term Indian will refer to status or registered aboriginal persons. Northern Manitoba will include lands within the Northlands Agreement boundary — this is a rather jagged line drawn by the Federal Government to denote an area that may be given priority funding for economic and social development; many reserves are located within this area. Reserves are those tracts of land designated by law (treaty) for the use of Indian bands and held in trust for them by the Federal Government. There is no individual or private ownership of land on Indian reserves.

Rationale for Training Substitute Teachers

In the City of Winnipeg (population 600,000), there are many trained teachers, some of whom are unemployed. School Boards normally have a list of trained, certified teachers (or at least university trained) who may be called upon for service as the need arises. In urban areas (Brandon, Winnipeg, Thompson, The Pas), many people who wish to pursue post-secondary training can do so without having to relocate; thus they may choose to upgrade their education and become eligible to be substitute teachers. There are no set minimum educational requirements to be a substitute teacher. The qualifications are determined by supply and demand, and by the discretion of the Superintendent's office. As pointed out earlier, many aboriginal peoples are graduating as teachers, but the numbers are still small in relation to the demand. Thus, there is no surplus of trained teachers or university graduates to perform the duties of substitute teachers on reserves.

The reserve communities are small (some as large as 3000 people but many are smaller than 800) because many people leave and do not return. Those with completed high school certificates usually find employment on a steady basis with larger incomes or they leave the community for further training. The large percentage of unemployed people have not attended or completed high school and thus need further training to be effective in the classroom as substitute teachers.

Teachers on the regular staff are absent periodically because of illness, specially called meetings, school-sponsored sports activities and in-service in specialty areas. The principal of the school must find replacements for these teachers. For example, one principal reported that in his school with thirty—eight teachers, he used twenty substitute teachers in one month; another principal with a staff of twenty-nine teachers reported using nineteen substitutes in a month. It became clear that there was a need for substitute teachers. It also became evident that

those who were accepted as substitute teachers spent their time sitting in the classroom solely to prevent excessive disruptions. Substitutes were being paid but the returns for the dollars spent could be improved only if these persons had some training; thus the basis for providing this program.

The author of this paper was invited by two reserves to design and deliver substitute teacher training on the reserves. The information and analysis provided here are based on those experiences, and the data collected from principals, teachers and trainees in the programs. Questionnaires were used to collect data from all three groups; the results will be presented as appropriate. The response rate from principals and students was 100%. The response rate of teachers is shown in Table I.

Table I
Response of Teachers

| School | No. of Teachers | No. of Responses | % of Responses | % Used: Sub/No. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Reserve 1 School A | 38 | 31 | 81.5 | 74/23 |
| Reserve I School B | 9 | 9 | 100 | 100/9 |
| Reserve II | 29 | 17 | 58.6 | 88/15 |
| TOTALS | 76 | 57 | 75 | 82.4 |

Expectations of Principals, Teachers and Trainees

In order to make changes and plan programs for training substitutes, the author sought the opinions of principals, teachers and students. The principals invariably suggested some training in the areas of teaching methods, professional conduct, subject content, and following written instructions. Further, they suggested that substitutes should know the safety procedures of the school, some school rules and how to mark the students' attendance register. Principals were overwhelmingly enthusiastic and supportive of the effort to train substitute teachers. They participated in the training sessions by delivering a guest lecture on school rules, routines and expectations, and were most co-operative in drawing up a schedule for trainees to observe and practise in the classrooms.

Teachers appeared to be most direct and detailed in their answers to the survey questions (See Table 2). Consistently and overwhelmingly, teachers expected substitutes to (a) teach lessons, and (b) to leave a record of all activities; some teachers wanted their students entertained while others wanted their classrooms left in an orderly fashion at the end of the day. To the question: What do you expect substitute teachers to know? the teachers who responded placed discipline and

Table 2

Teacher Responses ("no" responses are not reported)

| Questions | Responses | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | Reserve I-A Max=31 | Reserve 1-B Max=9 | Reserve II Max=17 |
| 1. How did you prepare for a substitute teacher? | | | |
| a) Supplied by daybook with lesson plans | 19 | 9 | 17 |
| b) Supplied daybook with topics to be covered | 22 | 2 | 8 |
| 2. What are your expectations of a substitute teacher? | | | |
| a) To teach lessons | 28 | 8 | 15 |
| b) To leave a record of all activities | 25 | 6 | 9 |
| c) To entertain the students | 3 | 0 | 2 |
| 3. What do you expect a substitute teacher to know? | | | |
| a) How to discipline and control students | 29 | 8 | 16 |
| b) Some methods of teaching | 26 | 7 | 13 |
| c) Classroom routine | 23 | 4 | 10 |
| d) Content subject areas | 16 | 2 | 7 |
| 4. Were substitute teachers | | | |
| a) Helpful? | 12 yes | 5 yes | 10 yes |
| b) Useful? | 9 yes | 7 yes | 8 yes |
| c) Disruptive? | 94 yes | 3 yes | 0 |
| 5. What level of education do you believe substitute teachers should have? | | | |
| a) Training is a substitute | 25 | 6 | 15 |
| b) Grade 10 minimum | 18 | 6 | 12 |
| c) Some training in education | 16 | 2 | 6 |

control of students as their top priority. The second expectation of substitute teachers was knowledge of some teaching methods followed by knowledge of classroom routine and content in subject areas.

The trainees were asked: What do you want to learn in this course? The answers can be divided according to (a) those with experience as substitutes and (b) those who had never substituted before. In category (a) the demands were: how to control children in the classroom, learn some teaching skills, how to plan lessons, how to keep records, how to motivate children, and how to organize the classroom. In category (b), the trainees were less direct; they wanted to learn about: the skills they needed to be a teacher, how to "run" a classroom and the role of the teacher in the classroom.

The responses obtained for the three groups — principals, teachers, trainees — show a remarkable agreement on expectations, namely, how to control students in class, teaching methods, and lesson planning. While teachers expected substitutes to have a record of their activities, experienced substitutes wanted to learn how to keep records. The implications for program planning and program modification to include pertinent and relevant content was obvious.

Components of the Program

It is important to know the background of the trainees from these reserves. Twenty-four out of twenty-eight completed the program (twelve on each reserve). Of those who finished, nineteen were females and five males. The trainees' age-range was between twenty-three and thirty-four years. Twenty of them had children; some were single parents. The educational background ranged from grade eight to some post-secondary; the majority had completed the grade ten level. Seventeen of the twenty-four trainees had at least fourteen days of experience as substitute teachers. Trainees were not selected for this program; anyone who applied was accepted.

The program was designed to be completed in fifteen days. The first five days were devoted to lectures, discussions, readings and assignments. During the second week, the trainees were placed on a rotating basis with a different teacher for half of one day. This gave them exposure to different levels and styles of teaching. The trainees were required to keep a detailed record of what they saw, what they did and their evaluation of both. This they found tiresome, but later when they had finished the task, they confided that they learned more than they had envisaged at first. The third and final week was spent on a review and analysis of their practical experience, more lectures and discussion, listening to guest speakers, and practice teaching in a simulated situation in front of their peers. Each day began at 9:00 a.m. and finished at 3:30 p.m. with one hour off for lunch.

On the first day each trainee was given a course outline that included the objectives of the program, the topics to be covered and the instructor's expectations of them. There was a discussion later that afternoon and some topics were added to the list. The topics covered were as follows: your exposure to education and schooling, teaching, how you might understand your students, daily routine in school, safety, what is involved in substitute teaching, lesson planning and lesson preparation, communication in teaching, some characteristics of an effective teacher, discipline and control in the classroom, and the motivation of students. This list of topics is quite comprehensive to be covered in depth over a period of fifty contact hours (excluding the practicum of twenty-five hours); as a result not all topics received equal treatment. The emphasis was placed on teaching, lesson planning and preparation, discipline and control of students. Every opportunity was used to emphasize the importance of the tasks that they were being prepared to undertake as substitute teachers.

One of the advantages of delivering a short program in the trainees' home community is the quickness with which they assert their confidence. This was evident throughout the course: despite their low level of educational background

they were able to devote their attention and energies to the materials, concepts and practices of the program. They were at home; the instructor was the stranger (normally the aboriginal peoples are made to feel like strangers in the Euro-Canadian system!).

One aspect that all four stakeholders in this program (principals, teachers, trainees and the instructor) would have liked to see included was training in subject content. Unfortunately, this was impossible because of the time and money required. In order to teach the higher grades (especially 7, 8, 9, 10), it will be necessary for these trainees to receive further training. Perhaps most of these substitute teachers would be required to work at the elementary school level.

However, the instructor suggested that a program be developed in which qualified teachers on regular school staff would provide instruction for these trainees once per week in academic subject areas.

Analysis of Trainees' Evaluation of the Program

Trainees were generous in their evaluation of the program; they were very positive in providing answers to the questions on the evaluation sheet. They were not required to write their names on the questionnaires; they were not allowed to use their notebooks nor were they allowed to discuss the questions. All trainees felt that the objectives of the course were met; they were able to state at least four major skills that they learned in the course and felt that they would be better substitute teachers. The one-week experience in the classroom was regarded as a revelation, an entrance to a forbidden, sacred world; most trainees, who are also parents, never had an opportunity to see the teachers of their children in action!

Why did the trainees feel so positive about this short program? First, it appears that they felt privileged to be given this type of attention by their community, the Tribal Council, the principal and a university professor. Second, the trainees were all mature people; they knew generally what they were looking for; they were clear about their needs and made sure that these were met satisfactorily. Third, the organization of the program gave them adequate power to decide what could be added or changed in light of local conditions and politics. Fourth, there was immediate feedback. Whatever the instructor taught could be checked with the principal and some of the teachers. Furthermore, they had an opportunity to practise and evaluate some of the teaching methods taught to them. Fifth, the trainees also saw the program as a confidence-building exercise and as preparation for earning some money. And sixth, the trainees felt comfortable with the instructor who had over ten years of experience teaching and counselling aboriginal students at the university level; he had also lived on a reserve and visited their communities previously.

The trainees realized the problems that they will face when they take their jobs as substitute teachers seriously. Because these are small communities, people cannot avoid each other; they come in contact with each other almost daily. Some teachers did not want parents as substitutes; they wanted to keep their classroom activities private and mysterious.

Trainees also found out that regardless of what they did in the classroom, they will always be regarded as marginal; incidents in the staff room (although they

were few) certainly made them feel like strangers. Some trainees felt they were not welcome there.

Being a substitute teacher is not an easy task. Generally, the substitute teacher is informed that he/she is needed between 7:30 and 8:00 a.m. to arrive at the school at 8:45 a.m. The substitute knows that there is very little time to get to the school, report to the Principal, look over the teacher's instructions and be ready to execute those directions within the hour. Yet teachers overwhelmingly expected substitutes to teach (see teacher expectations above)! To compound this situation, most of the students know the substitutes outside the classroom and they know that these persons are not "real" teachers; this creates many discipline problems at the higher grade levels. Those trainees who had been in the classroom before this training program were very realistic about what they can achieve and accomplish as substitute teachers; and this is what made the major difference between a theoretical program and a practical, worthwhile exercise.

Conclusion

Many reserve communities in Manitoba and Canada have obtained, or are in the process of negotiating, local control of their education system. This means that residents of the reserves will be able to hire their own staff, determine curriculum and make decisions about the philosophy and direction of the school. To support such an undertaking, there will be the need for qualified and competent local personnel at least within the school system. Substitute teachers are not a priority in the general plan, and realistically the leaders should be placing more emphasis on motivating people to seek training as teachers, administrators, counsellors and subject specialists. By the very nature of the job requirements, the tentativeness and irregularity of opportunities for employment, substitute teachers will remain on the margin of the teaching service.

Considering the poor living conditions on Indian reserves in Manitoba and Canada, the lack of a viable economic base, the smallness of the reserve community and the remoteness from urban centers, it is encouraging to see that Indian leaders take education seriously. Indeed, like in most Third World situations, education is regarded as the basis for development, upward and outward social mobility.

All too often, education and training are seen as a major industry on the reserves; education programs are one of the largest employers. Leaders may have to regard education and training as enabling factors, not as ends in themselves. In order to reduce social problems (alcoholism, vandalism, suicides) people must develop and maintain a sense of self worth through gainful employment; people must have hope, and if this look into the future does not inspire people to actively seek a better way of life, no amount or quality of education and training in the present form will bring about any social change.

There are many other areas such as small motor repair and maintenance, nurses' aids and community social workers where elements of this model for training can be adapted with equally good results. This will accomplish at least two things: first it will give people skills and employment, and, secondly, it will expose residents to new areas of expertise. This model will also have relevance for the Aborigines of Australia, the Sami of Fenno-Scandia and other peoples who

live in remote areas such as Greenland and the Central American countries.

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THE NATIVE IN LITERATURE: *Canadian and Comparative Perspectives*

ed., Thomas King, Cheryl Calver and Helen Hay

Oakville, Ontario: ECW Press, 1987

NOTES, INDEX, 232 pp.

SEEN AS AN EXAMPLE of the state of literary criticism of Native Literature over the past decade, *The Native in Literature: Canadian and Comparative Perspectives* provides a valuable perspective on the current burgeoning renaissance of Aboriginal writing in Canada. *The Native in Literature* is a collection of twelve essays, most of which were presented at a conference at the University of Lethbridge in 1985. Publication was made possible through financial assistance from the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Canadian Secretary of State, The Canada Council, and the Ontario Arts Council.

The essays are organized into three sections: the first four essays survey the effects of the Indian presence on non-Native writing. The second section examines the image of Indigenes in the works of specific writers. The five essays of the last section explore the oral and written literature of Native story tellers and writers. The volume is prefaced by a salient introduction by one of the book's editors, the Native novelist Thomas King, who uses the metaphors of mapping, surveying, and charting to describe the exploration of this new literary territory. King notes that most early non-Native writers failed to move beyond the visions or masks of "the dissipated savage, the barbarous savage, and the heroic savage". (p. 8).

Early writers, faced with the distinct identities and voices of the various tribes, attempted to capture the potential confusion and the potential power by trapping the genius in a comfortable generic term—much like catching a genie in a bottle. Twentieth-century terminology, for all its sensitivities in other areas, has done no more than add a second comfortable generic term—Native—to our vocabulary, in an effort to suppose an organic unity for disparate peoples. These terms, "Indian" and "Native," are historical and literary terms much like "continent" and "narrative," which seem to suggest specific, known quantities but which hint at vast geographies and varied voices. And, while some writers and critics have ventured behind the mask, behind the Indian, this wilderness has yet to be properly explored and charted. (p. 9).

Margery Fee in "Romantic Nationalism and The Image of Native People" surveys a selection of prose and poetry by non-Natives including Margaret

Lawrence, Marian Engle, Robert Kroetsch, Howard O'Hagen and Rudy Wiebe and concludes that the image of the Indian is a significant mythical figure in the romantic impulse to mediate on "the evil of technology and the good of a life close to nature, the latter offering a temporary inoculation against the former". (p. 7). Combine this with the 'elegiac nostalgia consistently associated with ... a dying culture" (p. 25) and "the burden of ... representing all that the modern person has lost" (p. 29), it is no surprise that Natives are so rarely depicted as individuals. Weaving a myth of the Canadian identity, Canadian writers cling to the image of the tragically heroic Indigene because "we are afraid that if we don't believe in Indians, we will have to become Americans". (p. 30).

Eli Mandel covers much the same ground in "Imagining Natives: White Perspectives on Native Peoples" by exploring the myth of the Indian embedded in the dominant culture's understanding of life "on the outside, at the margin, on the frontier ... and the gradual shift from a sense of difference and otherness to a means by which the white culture might fuse with the alien other". (p. 45). This empathy animates, for example, the tendentious *Temptations of Big Bear* by Rudy Wiebe. In such historical fiction character and author merge in one voice. Mandel expresses well the profound ambiguity in the sympathetic non-Native appropriation of the Native voice: "I am one with the events but I cannot read them." (p. 47).

Gordon Johnston's "An Intolerable Burden of Meaning" points to the tragically ironic confusion between the rise of realism as an aesthetic mode in the novel and the simultaneous inaccurate depiction of Indigenes within the realistic genre. "It is the exceptional student these days who can see Uncas and Magua in *The Last of the Mohicans* as anything but realistic and hence, as inaccurate, racist distortions." (p. 57). One problem is that supposedly realistic renditions of Indians have been used as a romantic contrast or primitivist challenge to the values of white society. Johnston focuses on a number of specific characters including Ken Kesey's Chief Broom of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, "the laconic brave" (p. 53) and Jacob Atook in Fred Bodsworth's *The Sparrow's Fall*, the "exceptional Indian, a Darwinian proto-ecologist" (p. 54). Anna Yellowbird in Robert Kroetch's *Badlands* is an example and symbol of powerless minorities, "a guide, a follower, a healer, a victim". (p. 65). If we are to move beyond the stereotypes "readers need the means to tell when they are *not* learning something about Native peoples, so that they may be more confident when they *are* learning something." (p. 52). Johnson makes a crucial distinction: while all authors are free to use the power and authority of their imagined "voices" and while the use of Indians as symbols is not, in itself, racist—such characters in the neo-realistic settings of the modern novel are in danger of being racist if "they are separated from the humanity of the other characters and obliged to carry an intolerable burden of meaning." (p. 65).

Terry Goldie's semiotic study "Fear and Temptation" provides cross-cultural literary comparisons among Australian, New Zealand, and Canadian writing. One conclusion: the image of the Indigene in all three cultures has been tied historically to "sex and violence ... they are poles of attraction and repulsion, temptation by the dusky maiden and fear of the demonic violence of the fiendish warrior". (p. 70). The "orality" of all Indigenous cultures marks their commonality and their difference from the cultures of colonial rulers. The mystical allure of

the "other" has been slow to be tempered by an appreciation of peoples that have been highly cultured and educated without depending on print. Forced to learn a new culture and a new language, Indigenous people become immigrants in their own land.

Indigenous peoples in literature are not a reflection of themselves but of the needs of the white culture which created that literature. Each novel, each poem, each play is, of course, different and has different forces shaping the reflections. But the primary ones remain fear and temptation, and the need for that impossible process of indigenization. (p. 78).

Essays in the second section include works by Leslie Monkman who surveys the use by various contemporary writers of the historical sagas and journals and by Terence Craig who takes a critical look at the religious images of the Indian in the writings of Charles Gordon and Rudy Wiebe. Both essays show how over the last one hundred years one set of stereotypes has been replaced by another set determined by the dominant culture's evolving ethnocentrism.

Angela Maeser Lemieux in her essay "The Metis in the Fiction of Margaret Lawrence" uses Jungian psychology and feminist liberation theology to describe how the Metis "serve as a metaphor for the alienated and repressed parts of the individual and collective psyche in patriarchal culture." (p. 116). Because the Metis archetypally incorporate both European and Aboriginal worlds, characters like Jules in *The Diviners* are able to mediate "the primordial" of the preconscious and point to the discovery by white female characters of the instinctual powers of their own psyche, free from the repression of a white patriarchy. While Lemieux's analysis is coherent, it too seems imposed and Eurocentric, part of the neo-romantic movement that rescues the Native from the physical and emotional fringes of the social order.

In Laurence's work, they [Native characters] mediate a union with the lost and alienated portions of self and society, and thereby counterbalance or compensate for the oneness of our own culture's perception of reality. As this changes to a more integrated one, we may expect changes in the types of roles assigned to Native peoples. Instead of dying out, vanishing, or destroying themselves, they may, in the future, be presented as energetically alive and thriving. In other words, Lazarus' descendants may realize the resurrecting power symbolized in his name. (p. 129).

Barbara Godard's essay "Listening for the Silence: Native Women's Traditional Narratives" offers a cross-cultural comparison between the methods and contents of two different kinds of writing: non-Native women writing on Native subjects and the works of Native women writing about themselves. She acknowledges that feminism has honored the power of the female in traditional Native life and the empowerment signalled by ceremonies that signify the "lyrical evocation of a lost Golden Matriarchal Age". (p. 140). Writers like Anne Cameron, in *Daughters of Copper Woman* for example, write "in a process of transmission" and seem to bridge the gap between the two kinds of writing. Even here, however,

Godard sees the danger of “feminist revisionist mythmaking” in distorting the truth as it has been experienced by Natives themselves. Native and non-Native writers alike often share the same didactic intent to teach and share values, and communicate with others about Aboriginal cultures that may shrivel and die without written transmission. More recent post-modernist theories of “literature as process and play” focus on the primacy of the oral in Indian culture. “Differing aesthetic traditions and notions of the communicative event” (p. 151) cannot simply be transcribed; Godard seems to be saying that the very process of transcription becomes an alien act of appropriation.

“Oral Influences in Contemporary Inuit Literature” by Robin McGrath describes some of the genres to be found in Inuktitut including song duels and legends from the oral tradition as well as songs and stories of romantic love, essays, lyrical mood poems and a unique fusion of legend and autobiography. Although literacy came early after European contact, standardization did not. (By the 1930’s there were a dozen writing systems ranging from an imported Slavonic alphabet, Roman script, Cree syllabic adaptations and orthography of the Moravian Missionaries.) Although a commission of the Inuit Tapirisat in the mid-1970s fixed one Roman system of writing and one syllabic system there is still “great variation in spelling and dialect ... no complete dictionaries, and everyone is convinced that their way of doing things is the right way”. (p. 160). Reflecting a culture in transition and now vulnerable to the media, a literature that once contained vibrant hunting narratives full of wit, satire and derision has declined to laments for a lost life and a proliferation of romantic love poems in the European tradition.

George L. Cornell, a Chippewa, argues in “The Imposition of Western Definitions of Literature on Indian Oral Traditions” that literary critics should stop marvelling patronizingly at the poetic nature of the Native oral tradition and realize that the fluent and descriptive use of words was an integral part of cultures not bound by the elaborate codification of writing. “The sophisticated use of language by Indigenous peoples should not be considered a remarkable feat but rather a cultivated ability in a different cultural context.” (p. 177). Similarly, myths and legends need not be interpreted literally but allegorically and as socio-political commentary which reflects a particular time and space. Language is culture and traditions cannot be “usurped by literary imperialism defined by scholarship”. (p. 176). Oral traditions as “internal history” carry with them messages and meanings that must not be misconstrued.

“Making Faces” by Assiniboinian Kate Vangen is a sensitive and critical examination of the use of humour as a narrative device in Maria Campbell’s *Half-Breed* and James Welch’s *Winter in the Blood*. She points to the shrewd use by both authors of verbal, dramatic and situational irony which leavens the romantic and tragic elements of their visions and permits a crucial distancing from the world of the white man.

... in order to be seen and heard as Natives and as writers, Campbell and Welch must not only counter stereotypes (often by defiantly “making faces” at their white readership), but they must also create “new” faces—that is, versions of Natives that testify to a contemporary Native presence in their respective mainstream cultures. By fusing

together the pathetic and courageous events in contemporary indigenous peoples' lives, Campbell and Welch write a role and a place for their people in history - a role as more than "the white man's burden," ... (p. 189).

The collection ends with Jarold Ramsey's essay on "Native American Assimilation of European Folklore" which focuses on the folk hero of Ti-Jean, a Provençal folk-hero whose tales were spread, as biblical stories were disseminated by missionaries, by "French Canadian voyageurs, bush-runners, and squaw-men". (p. 201). North American cultures were never "hermetically closed" (p. 220) and in "mixed-blood families", European folklore and Native traditions "co-existed with equal honor". (p. 210). In the Native appropriation and adaptation of European folklore important archetypal similarities cross the cultures: despite humble beginnings the typical character has within him the potential for greatness; virtue of a mystic or divine nature is demonstrated by exploits that prove the selfless valor of heroism. Consistent with the oral nature of Indian literature, in such adaptations "the story is always what counts; character attends upon action". (p. 216).

We are now in a new period of Aboriginal literature in which a new generation of writers of Aboriginal ancestry are speaking and writing with increased confidence and authority. They are animating their characters with appropriately ethnocentric voices—their voices. Less restricted by the genres imposed by European culture and the dominant culture's study of "Literature", Aboriginal writers can move beyond the images of the 'heroic mystic-warrior-healer', and can remove the masks which merely symbolize all that is best in the Human Spirit. The challenge now lies with literary critics, editors, publishers and teachers to herald these new explorers, to help us hear these new voices and show us how the compass no longer points to the outside or the edge of society but to the very centre of imagination and experience.

JAMES MCNINCH

GABRIEL DUMONT INSTITUTE

DICKENS *of the Mounted.*

By Eric Nicol

Toronto, Ontario: McClelland & Stewart Inc.

The Canadian Publishers, 481 University Avenue, 1989.

ONCE IN AWHILE, the clever devices of authorship, the ingenious selection of more or less insignificant events dubbed with what might be considered the most uninspiring title—combine, into a literary work that actually ranks it in the leagues of the Masters (or very nearly). In fact could the late Charles Dickens, himself have read, “Dickens of the Mounted”, awe-struck, no doubt he would have pondered the cheekiness of one, Eric Nicol, the upstart, for doing a rendering on Francis, his third son - and a rendering in a most convincing “Dickensian” tradition, one might add. Nicol, of course, does not stop there. His literary masterpiece, the inspired work truly worthy of Clio, in a sort of Collingwoodian fashion depicts the characters particularly Francis Dickens, who influenced the more inept string of events encompassing the period between 1874 to 1886. Under this subtle aura the reader is taken in, to experience through all the scenes of the participants, each evolving event and it is out of this that Nicol creates the Francis Dickens, the hero of this story.

Historically, Francis Dickens is real, and the historical events accounted are also real as are the other luminaries named in the evolving events. It is here perhaps, that Nicol takes the liberties with the so called tenets of historiography which have, it seems labelled this work as both fiction and non-fiction. But what of it—Nicol has masterfully drawn his readers to taste the pompous dichotomies, to smell the ethnocentrics. Through the understatement, room is given over to the understated. Francis’s ineptitude grows in stature while a contradiction to his own physical stature, yet he is the giant. The reader experiences Francis’s ethos to be famous, which is always just “annudder hill away”. Francis enters the unfolding drama of the great West, plays awhile then exits in a whisper so gentle, it could be missed. Such is the skill of Nicol.

As reviewer, I cannot help but single out one particular example, that in my opinion totally epitomizes the message of the author through Francis Dickens. It is the episode, out of many others, where Francis ponders the Blackfoot medicine bundle and then ponders his own medicine bundle - under his bed. So subtle yet

so powerful. It is this type of sensitivity that renders Eric Nicol the gifted author of this type of work. Truly, this book is meant to be enjoyed and maybe as a tonic for chronic ethnocentrism.

CECIL KING

INDIAN & NORTHERN EDUCATION PROGRAM
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