THE JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS STUDIES

LA REVUE DES ETUDES INDIGENES

THE JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS STUDIES/LA REVUE DES ETUDES INDIGENES

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EDITORIAL

ᐊ�horᐟᖓᒧᐡ ᐅᒥ ᒪᕐᓇᐡᐃᕿ△ᓯᐡ

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ᕃᐊᐊᒋᐊᐧ ᐱᕆ ᑲᐟᕆ ᐊᑫᐅᒋ ᐅᑕ ᑭᑕᐢᑫᐧ ᒪᐊᑕ

(Text in Cree syllabics — several paragraphs)

The two articles in this issue are from two very different worlds. The first is about Australian Aboriginals, while the other is about the terms used in studies about Inuit in North America.

"Something to Show for Years of Work? Employment, Education and Training for Aboriginal Peoples in Australia" was written by Jill Gientzotis and Anthony Welch. Ms. Gientzotis holds a Bachelor's of Social Studies Degree and is completing her Master's of Industrial Relations. She is now Executive Director of the New South Wales Community Services and Health Community and Health in Australia. Anthony Welch holds a Ph.D. from the University of London, has taught and researched at universities in the United States and Germany. He is the author and editor of several books and specializes in the study of both national and international educational policy and practice.

"Something to Show for Years of Work?" deals with the historical aspects of Australian Aboriginal employment and ends with an analysis of the educational situation of Australian Aboriginal peoples, within the context of contemporary cultural revival. This paper was originally presented at a forum on `Indigenous Peoples in the Labour Market,' in Ottawa, 1993.

"What Was The 'Other' That Came On Columbus's Ships? An Interpretation of the writing about the interaction between Northern Native Peoples in Canada and the United States and the 'Other'" was written by Tony Kaliss. I attended Kaliss' presentation at the First International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences at Laval University, Quebec, in 1992 and was struck by his analysis of the terminology used by various social scientists. This article exemplifies the conscious effort which all studies must undertake to do away with preconceptions and a host of ethnotypes. Mr. Kaliss lives in Hawaii, where he is studying for his Doctoral Degree in the Department of American Studies. His research has taken him to the Arctic in the United States, Canada and Russia.

This issue includes three book reviews. The first review is by Winona Stevenson on Regina Flannery's *Ellen Smallboy: Glimpses of a Cree Woman's Life* (1995). The second review by Leah Dorion analyzes Georges Sioui's book *An Amerindian Autohistory* (1992). Michael Relland reviewed Gregory Cajete's *Look to the mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education* (1994). All three reviewers come from backgrounds that are inclusive of the Canadian Indigenous scene, and each one of them provides an invaluable insight into the use of publications about Indigenous peoples.

Like the Journal editors before me, I extend an invitation to our readers to advise us of events, conferences and programs, and invite you to use this Journal to communicate with others, at both the national and international levels. We accept suggestions for special issues, and encourage you to inform us, particularly if the topics or events originate from the Aboriginal communities.

I encourage Aboriginal students, senior undergraduate and graduate, to submit their thesis findings for publication in this Journal. I will provide some assistance

in rewriting the thesis as a publishable manuscript. Having finished my own Master's Degree in Education, at the University of Saskatchewan, I would have appreciated some advice on publishing. I realize that among the Indigenous populations around the world, there are many more Indigenous students who are undertaking a post secondary education level of studies. Many of these students bring with them knowledge of their Aboriginal community to academia. We need this insight to be shared among our readers. You can help me in identifying promising students by writing me a note as to how these individuals can be reached.

I would very much like to thank the following people for their contributions to this issue. Giselle Marcotte, who worked as Research Officer at the Gabriel Dumont Institute. She has now moved to another town and blessed herself and her husband with an adorable little girl. Michael Relland, Program Co-ordinator, who has been inexhaustibly handy in overcoming obstacles and lending ear to the editorial needs. Leah Dorion, Curriculum Development Officer, I thank for support when I was in doubt. Lorraine Amiotte, the Administration Assistant, I thank for conveying her observations on Journal production process. I extend my appreciation to Dr. Robert Devrome, Acting Executive Director of Gabriel Dumont Institute. He strongly supported the continuation of the Journal and has accepted the task of being an Assistant Editor.

My job as an editor has been much less anxiety-ridden, since Winona Stevenson, Associate Professor and Head of Indian Studies Department of Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, and Dr. Georges Sioui, Professor and Dean of Academics of Indian Studies at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College have accepted the chairs of Assistant Editors. Welcome all aboard.

KARLA JESSEN WILLIAMSON, Journal of Indigenous Studies

ÉDITORIAL

C'est avec grand plaisir que je vous présente ce volume 3, Nᵒ 2. Je vous remercie de votre patience. Plusieurs d'entre vous m'ont demandé ce numéro au fil du temps et ont fait preuve de beaucoup de patience à notre égard. Cinq ans se sont écoulés depuis la dernière publication de cette revue des études indigènes et, bien que les responsables de la revue aient changé, le mandat de la revue est resté le même. Au contraire, la revue renforce encore plus ses croyances en offrant un voix sur les questions indigènes pour servir les objectifs de l'autodétermination des peuples indigènes à travers le monde. Cela sera atteint tout en restant fidèle à l'excellence du niveau déjà reconnue de la revue.

Les deux articles que nous vous présentons dans ce numéro proviennent de deux mondes très différents. Le premier parle des aborigènes d'Australie tandis que le deuxième concerne les termes utilisés dans les études sur les Inuit en Amérique du Nord.

"Quelque chose à montrer après des années de travail? Emploi, éducation et formation des peuples aborigènes en Australie" a été écrit par Jill Gientzotis et le Dr Anthony Welch. Mlle Gientzotis possède une licence en sciences sociales et termine sa maîtrise en relations industrielles. C'est actuellement une des directrices des services de santé communautaires de New South Wales, de la communauté de la santé et de la santé en Australie. Anthony Welch possède un doctorat de l'Université de Londres. Il a enseigné et fait des recherches dans des universités américaines et allemandes. C'est l'auteur et l'éditeur de plusieurs livres. Il se spécialise dans l'étude des politiques et des pratiques pédagogiques nationales et internationales.

Leur article traite des aspects historiques de l'emploi des aborigènes australiens. Il se termine par une analyse de la situation pédagogique des aborigènes australiens dans le contexte du renouveau culturel contemporain. Ce document a été présenté pour la première fois lors d'une tribune sur "les peuples indigènes sur le marché du travail", à Ottawa en 1993.

"Qui était "l'autre" à bord des navires de Christophe Colomb? Une interprétation des écrits sur l'interaction entre les peuples autochtones du nord du Canada et des États-Unis et "l'autre" a été écrit par Tony Kaliss. J'ai participé à la conférence du premier congrès international des sciences sociales de l'Arctique à l'Université Laval, à Québec en 1992 et j'ai été frappé par l'analyse de la terminologie utilisée par les divers chercheurs dans le domaine social. Cet article représente les efforts conscients de tous les membres qui ont participé aux études pour supprimer les idées préconçues. Monsieur Kaliss habite à Hawaï où il prépare son doctorat au département des études américaines. Pour cela il traverse l'Arctique et voyage aux États-Unis, au Canada et en Russie.

Ce numéro comprend trois critiques de livres. La première critique a été écrite par Winona Stevenson sur le roman de Regina Flannery, *Ellen Smallboy: Glimpses of a Cree Woman's Life* (1995). La deuxième critique entreprise par Leah Dorian analyse le livre de Georges Sioui, *An Amerindian Autobiography* (1992). Michael Relland a fait une critique du livre de Gregory Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education* (1994). Ces trois critiques littéraires viennent du milieu indigène canadien et chacun d'entre eux apporte un point de vue inestimable sur l'utilisation des publications concernant les peuples indigènes.

Tout comme les rédacteurs qui m'ont précédé, j'invite nos lecteurs à nous tenir au courant des manifestations, conférences et programmes et je vous invite à vous servir de cette revue pour communiquer les uns avec les autres au niveau national et au niveau international. Nous acceptons vos suggestions pour des numéros spéciaux et nous vous encourageons à nous signaler les manifestations, surtout si elles sont organisées par des collectivités aborigènes.

Au cours de mon emploi à la rédaction, j'encouragerai les étudiants aborigènes du premier et du deuxième cycle à soumettre les résultats de leur thèse à des fins de publication dans cette revue. Je vous aiderai à rédiger la thèse sous forme de manuscrit que l'on puisse publier. Je viens tout juste de terminer ma maîtrise en

éducation à l'Université de la Saskatchewan et j'apprécierai des conseils pour la publication de certaines de mes données. Je comprends que dans tous les peuples indigènes à travers le monde, il existe beaucoup plus d'étudiants qui entreprennent la prochaine étape qui est l'éducation supérieure et nous avons besoin de faire partager leurs opinions avec nos lecteurs. Vous pouvez m'aider à identifier les étudiants en m'envoyant un petit mot sur la manière de les contacter.

Je tiens à remercier les personnes suivantes qui ont permis la publication de ce numéro: Giselle Marcotte qui a travaillé comme responsable de la recherche à l'Institut Gabriel Dumont. Elle vient de déménager dans une autre ville et d'avoir le bonheur avec son mari de donner naissance à une adorable petite fille, Michael Relland, le coordonnateur du programme, qui a été d'un concours inépuisable pour résoudre les obstacles et prêter l'oreille à mes soucis, Leah Dorian, responsable du développement des programmes d'études pour son appui quand j'étais dans le doute, Lorraine Amiotte, notre assistante administrative, pour avoir communiquer ses observations sur le processus de production de la revue et Le Dr Robert Devrome qui est maintenant directeur de l'Institut Gabriel Dumont. Il a fortement soutenu la continuation de la revue et il a accepté d'en être le rédacteur adjoint.

Mon travail de rédactrice a été beaucoup moins tourmenté par l'anxiété depuis que Winona Stevenson et le Dr Georges Sioui ont accepté les postes de rédacteurs adjoints. Bienvenue à bord à tous.

KARLA JESSEN WILLIAMSON, Revue des études indigènes

VIII

SOMETHING TO SHOW FOR YEARS OF WORK?
Employment, Education and Training for Aboriginal Peoples in Australia

JILL GIENTZOTIS

ANTHONY WELCH

ᐊᑕᕁᐊ ᐱᔾᑕᒍᑕᑲᐤ (2)

ᑭᐊᐤ ᑕᐊᐸᑕᑊᓈᓴᐤ ᑲᔅᐣ ᐅᕐ ᑲᑭᐊᑐᕁᑖᖦ, ᐊᑐᖇᐱᐊᐣ ᐃᐢᐊ Australia ᐅᕐ
ᐊᕁᓴᐊᔅ.

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ᐊᒧ ᔦᐊᕪᕁ ᐊᕫ ᐊᕫ ᐊᕠᕪᐊᕫ ᑲᕫ ᐊᐢᕁᕫᐧ . ᐊᒧ ᐊᒧ ᕂᕐᕁᐊᕁ ᐊᑐᕁᕫᐊᕫ
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ABSTRACT   This paper briefly examines the history, present situation, and prospects of Indigenous labour in the Australian economy. As with Indigenous groups in other countries, their labour remained unpaid and undervalued, while the skills they brought to industry also went unrecognized.

This paper shows how the regulation of Aboriginal people in the labour market has been achieved through occupational segregation, discriminatory legislation, and differentials in education and skill recognition. Also examined is the placement of Aboriginal workers today, while prospects for Aboriginal determination of work and education are discussed in the context of contemporary cultural revival.

Generally, the standards of Aboriginal employment were oppressively low, while dependency and control excluded Aboriginal peoples from conditions thought to be a minimum for whites. Aboriginal peoples were trained only for the most menial of tasks, and were often removed from their family and culture. Colonized in their own land, the systems of repression and exploitation of 'native labour' formed an essential part of the development of Australian industry.

The failure of the industrial relations system to address racial inequalities, and to respond to the cultural responsibilities and needs of Aboriginal workers and communities, helped lay the ground for a subsequent period of renewed Aboriginal struggle. Even today, however, participation by Aboriginals in employment and training is vastly overshadowed by that for whites.

RÉSUMÉ   Quelque chose à montrer après des années de travail? Le travail et les peuples aborigènes en Australie

Ce document examine brièvement l'histoire, la situation actuelle et les perspectives du travail indigène dans l'économie australienne. Comme pour les peuples indigènes dans d'autres pays, leur travail reste sous-payé et sous-estimé, tandis que les qualifications qu'ils ont apportées à l'industrie sont aussi restées méconnues. Les normes d'emploi étaient généralement d'une manière oppressive peu élevées, tandis que la dépendance et le contrôle excluaient les peuples aborigènes des conditions estimées minimum par les Blancs. Les peuples aborigènes étaient seulement formés pour les tâches les plus inférieures et on les enlevait souvent de leur famille et de leur culture. Colonisés sur leurs propres terres pourrait-on dire, les systèmes de répression et d'exploitation du "travail autochtone" formaient la partie essentielle du développement de l'industrie australienne.

L'échec du système de relations industrielles à régler les inégalités raciales et de répondre aux responsabilités et aux besoins culturels des travailleurs et des communautés aborigènes, ont aidé pourrait-on dire à établir les bases d'une période subséquente de lutte aborigène renouvelée. Même aujourd'hui, toutefois, la participation des aborigènes à l'emploi et à la formation est énormément éclipsée par celle des Blancs. Le document montre comment la ségrégation au travail, la législation discriminatoire, les écarts en éducation et la reconnaissance des qualifications. On a aussi examiné les endroits où travaillent les aborigènes de nos jours, tandis que l'on discute des perspectives de la détermination aborigène du travail et de l'éducation dans le contexte du renouveau culturel contemporain.

Australia was colonized by the British in the late 18th century, at a time when the American and French revolutions had recently articulated radical doctrines which enshrined the basic rights and dignities of individuals. Despite these powerful examples, colonial relations in Australia were largely based on other intellectual traditions, which portended much less egalitarian relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Economic and educational policies for Indigenous peoples in Australia have, for much of the last two centuries, been an unhappy amalgam of misplaced philanthropy, assumed cultural superiority, and forms of colonialism. This paper points to some of the differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal values and practices, in the areas of social action covered by the terms 'economy' and 'education and training'. An account of the history of these differences is given, as well as an analysis of the more contemporary scene, and it is argued that, despite increased efforts, much remains to be done before the skills of Aboriginal Australians can be utilised fully. In particular, more weight needs to be given to Aboriginal styles of working and learning, especially in an era when these two areas are increasingly coalescing within an overall agenda of national economic restructuring which, however, has been devised without substantial consultation with Aboriginal peoples.

EARLY HISTORY

Early race relations in the new colony were conditioned by key colonial beliefs which together formed a conventionally supremacist framework: the particular interpretation of Christianity which accompanied the colonists was based on the view that only those who tilled the soil were entitled to claim ownership. The peculiar interpretation of the Genesis myth[1] was understood largely in terms articulated by John Locke, that is, that those who 'subdued, tilled and sowed (the land), thereby annexed to it something that was his property, which another had no title to nor could without injury take it from him' (Locke 1965:332-3; see also Miller 1985: 19; Welch 1988). This legitimated the view termed *terra nullius:* that the newly colonized continent was deemed to be an empty land, ignoring something in the order of 60,000 years of continuous settlement by Indigenous peoples.

Other elements, such as the association of black with evil, and the opposition to the ideal of the 'Noble Savage' (celebrated in the eighteenth century by Rousseau) were also legacies of prevailing versions of Christianity, which sailed out to the new colony with the First Fleet in 1788 (Miller 1985). Prior to this, however, there is considerable evidence that Aboriginal peoples lived in economic and educational contexts which were in substantial harmony with the environment, although this intimate relationship was little appreciated by early settlers, who largely failed to recognize the social and cultural richness of Indigenous lifestyles.

Conventional views that, when Captain James Cook landed in 1788, the Aboriginal population was around 300,000 individuals, are being revised upwards by recent scholarship towards 1 - 1.5 million (Butlin 1993:165). These peoples, who had been living on the Australian continent for some 60,000 years, and perhaps much longer, were divided into over 500 tribes, each with their own distinct territory, history, dialect and culture (Broome 1982:11). Aboriginal communities were semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers, each tribe foraging for food across its own defined territory in groups of several families. Perhaps once a year the whole tribal group, of perhaps 500 or more, would gather for social, ceremonial and trade purposes.

Each group had its own distinctive economic structure, which was not always static and was usually based on both a sexual and social division of labour (Rose 1987; Butlin 1993). On the coast, shellfish, the sea and the richness of the land often sustained larger groups, and formed the basis of their economy. Inland, the resources of the land supported fewer people, and the tools used for hunting and gathering, as well as the economic and social structures, reflected this difference. Economic exploitation of the land to meet material needs, and the spiritual maintenance of the land, were not separate aspects of people's relations to the country, but rather "each validated and underwrote the other. The land was a living resource from which people drew sustenance – both physical and spiritual" (Bell 1983:48).

The above demonstrates an important cultural difference which was insufficiently recognized by settlers in establishing relationships with Indigenous groups. Conventional Western notions which separate areas of social action into 'educational' and 'economic', and which view the sphere of economics as separate from ethical and spiritual concerns, are challenged by the

longstanding, and much more integrated, practices of Aboriginal groups (Fowell 1989). For example, each Aboriginal community was held together not by the economic utility of its members to each other, but by the fact that each member of the group shared the same world view and meaning system. Although language and forms of mythology differed from one group to another, a generally non-materialistic philosophy was common. Captain James Cook (in Broome 1982), for example, observed in 1770:

> They live in a Tranquility which is not disturbed by the inequality of Condition. The Earth and Sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for Life. They covet not Magnificent Houses, Household stuff, etc; they live in a Warm and fine Climate; and enjoy every Wholesome Air... (p. 21)

Economic activity, then, was not for personal profit or economic gain, as in Western society, but part of giving and receiving which reinforced the social bonds and kinship obligations of the culture. Ritualised forms of arbitration, and associated sanctions, limited the destructiveness of feuds.

Western views of educational philosophy and practice were challenged by traditional Aboriginal education, which nonetheless introduced younger people effectively into the expectations of adult society. 'Education' served as an initiation into culture - both the norms and the practices which were necessary to function successfully as an adult in that society. This entailed the extended and repeated performance of those practical skills which were acknowledged as necessary for the proper performance of adult roles, as well as learning expectations about correct social behaviour, and the particular forms of spiritual learning appropriate in that culture. Gender socialization was an important element of this education, since the tasks and expectations for boys and girls were substantially different; indeed each group were traditionally taught by older members of the same gender, who were more skilled in the required cultural norms and practices (Hart 1974; Miller 1985). Aboriginal educative practices were also distinct from colonial practices in other ways, with, for example, little distinction between theory and practice. Aboriginal patterns of education were oral, (based on songs, myths and stories), more communal than individualised, experiential, integrated, spiritually based, and organised along kinship lines. It was often the mother's brother, for example, that had particular responsibility for guiding the life of the child. "Kinship welded Koori life together" (Miller 1985: 2).

'Education' was nonetheless lifelong, and skills such as carving, weapon making, and story telling were practised regularly to improve proficiency. By 30, an adult might well have had a knowledge of most rituals and songs of her/his gender in the tribe, but a more sophisticated appreciation of their meaning and philosophy came later. Birth was not considered to be the beginning of existence, nor death the end. On the contrary, a continuity of existence - from the spiritual through the material to the spiritual - was usually postulated. Sex roles were clearly defined in daily life (Rose 1987), and sanctions ranged from ridicule/ostracism for minor offenses (such as disrespect to elders, lack of cooperation, greed, or unjust punishment of a child) to physical punishment (via the boomerang, or spear throwing) for major offenses such as assault, or elopement with an unacceptable partner.

These forms stood in clear opposition to colonial educational norms and practices, which operated from a position of assumed cultural superiority. Later in the nineteenth century, science added to the certainties of religion by confirming white cultural superiority. Evolutionary theory, especially through the well-known work of writers such as Darwin, Wallace, and Spencer, was used in order to license the view that the Aboriginal was at the very base of the evolutionary pyramid, while anthropological investigations, including craniometry and phrenology, confirmed Aboriginal genealogy, physical stature, and morality as being "base and wholly inferior to the British race" (Welch 1988). Science, used here as a form of morality, was indeed an instrument of racism, and legitimated a view which could, at most, situate Aboriginal workers at the very bottom of the colonial economic pyramid, as unskilled labourers toiling under the direction of colonialists.

The enormous power imbalance between Australian Aboriginals and colonizers at this time was further sustained by the 19th century tradition of *laissez-faire* economic liberalism, inherited from Adam Smith: that non-interference, particularly by the state, in matters of commercial/societal relations was best, because it was held to be most economically efficient. Under this view, propounded in an earlier era by figures such as Malthus, society was characterised as an economic contest in which the strong became stronger, while the weak gave way, or died out. Religion, science and economics were thus all united in their view that it was providential for the Aboriginal peoples to die out, or at best continue as subservient to colonists' economic and social interests. The British 'race' was assumed to be at the very apex of civilization, and it was therefore deemed legitimate to appropriate any and all resources of the inferior indigens.

COMPARATIVE COLONIALISM

Assumptions of cultural superiority, buttressed by forms of orthodox Christianity, and popular forms of science, were common elements of nineteenth century colonialist ideologies. Initially, "Native" peoples in Australia helped the new settlers to survive and to establish industries, just as had occurred with the fur trade in Canada, and cattle husbandry in South Africa. Once they began competing with the settlers for land and resources, however, itself a result of more systematic incursions by colonisers, "Indigenous" peoples were violently displaced. The settlers wished to continue to exploit 'native labour', as cheaply as possible, for their own purposes. Conditions of employment were generally oppressively low, while dependency was created and control asserted to keep them in conditions unacceptable to colonisers.

Many have argued that Aboriginals in Australia suffered more than during other examples of colonialism. As Rowley (1972) argues,

> In North America and in New Zealand, the invaders met Indigenous people with concepts of warfare, and with organization for it which could not be ignored. Furthermore, the first settlements of North America were made in a period when the technology of Europe, especially in strange conditions, gave the settlers less advantage, while the European nations' competition for the support of the tribes was one factor

which aided the Indians by putting guns and ammunition in their hands. In addition the European political philosophers could idolize the social and political organizations of the Iroquois, even though the settler on the spot did not necessarily share his view. (p. 10)

On the basis of comparative epidemiological and demographic evidence, Butlin (1993) argues that the impact of introduced disease, particularly smallpox, gonorrhea and syphilis, was at least as devastating in Australia as it was in Africa and North America. In Australia, however, there were no Indigenous tribes of the Bantu or American Indian type, (with patterns of settlement and authority which were more likely to be recognised by colonisers), nor did any treaties concerning land exist, which enshrined the recognition of traditional rights. Compared to Aboriginals, the San in South Africa were perhaps the main group to have been ignored and decimated to the same extent. Like the Bantu-speaking peoples, however, who stubbornly opposed the South African colonists, and who organized warfare in defence of interests and identifiable settled villages, Aboriginal peoples in Australia doggedly resisted colonial incursions.

Education and training were reserved for the colonizers. The Indigenous populations receiving only enough education to fill their prescribed role in the colonial economy. Where their labour was not required, they were isolated in reserves and 'homelands,' in labour compounds or on the fringes of European urban settlement. It can be argued that the original inhabitants of settler economies became colonised within their own country, as defined by "the subordination and continuing domination of a previously independent nation within the borders of another nation state" (Welch 1988:206). Certainly, as Jensen (1984) argues in the context of the North American situation:

> Experiences of internal colonization have shown how a... tradition of a politically dominant culture, modified by assumptions about limits in the culture and the capabilities of native people, serves forever to keep those people at the bottom of the social structure while maintaining the illusion that failure and dependency are due to their own deficiencies. It includes the prejudicial syndrome of blaming the victim. (p. 155)

While the outcomes have been expressed differently in each of the countries mentioned – segregation in Canada, Apartheid in South Africa and dispossession in Australia – the systems of repression and the exploitation of Native labour have been an essential part of the development of settler economies in all three contexts.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN 19TH CENTURY AUSTRALIA

Given the constellation of colonialist beliefs described above, practices such as expropriation of land, (often by 'squatters')[2] shooting and poisoning of Aboriginal people, hunting of Aboriginal food (game), and sexual abuse of Aboriginal women were all too often seen as legitimate. Aboriginals were usually seen as sub-human, particularly by squatters who coveted their land (Hartwig 1972).

Predictably , however, Australian Aboriginal peoples were less constrained by this web of beliefs, and continued to strongly resist colonial incursion

(Willmott 1987; Rosser 1987; Butlin 1993). This clash represented the collision of two very different life worlds, including conceptions of 'economics'. The 'economies' of Aboriginal peoples were predicated upon mutual obligations, responsibilities and needs. The principles underlying the colonial economy were seen to be quite alien, just as the colonisers failed to recognize Aboriginal practices[3]. But in this process of mutual misunderstanding, unequal power relations ensured that colonial conceptions of economics prevailed. Aboriginals, who were often invaluable in helping the first settlers to simply survive in the Australian bush were often deemed an economic encumbrance, once the settlers were established. As Europeans pushed further into traditional Aboriginal territories, traditional access to water, game, and the land for economic and spiritual purposes was often halted. Where there were conflicts of interest, the interests of the settler, (including his pastoral animals which destroyed traditional food supplies such as yams, as well as consuming grasses, and disturbing river systems), prevailed (Butlin 1993). When, for example, Aboriginal people explained to Governor King in 1804 that the settlers' farms cut access to the river and therefore to their water supply, and that when they continued to cross the farm to gain access to the river, they were fired upon by the settlers (who claimed that Aboriginals damaged and burned crops), it was colonial economics which proved dominant (Broome 1982). Captain Paterson (in Broome 1982:29) wrote in 1795 that: "it gives me concern to have been forced to destroy any of these people, particularly as I have no doubt of their having been cruelly treated by some of the first settlers who went out there;" but he added that the Hawkesbury area was vital to the early settlement's food supply and needed to be retained.

Contrary to European histories, Aboriginal peoples often resisted the advance of colonialists. Pemulwuy lead successful guerilla warfare for twelve years against a succession of governors and the New South Wales Rum Corp, while Yangin resisted in Western Australia, and others in the mountains. Many Aboriginals in Queensland today still recall the organized resistance of the Kalkadoons and the fight at Battle Mountain (Rosser 1987).

Most often, the response to Aboriginal resistance was predictable. Colonial vigilante groups were established to deal with Australian Aboriginal struggles over land and resources, and legislation was enacted to assist settlers. For example, in 1816 Governor Macquarie banned all Aboriginals from carrying weapons within two kilometres from a house or town, or from congregating in groups of more than six. As indicated above, violence by colonialists was underpinned by generally racist beliefs and practices. The Reverend W. Yate (in Broome 1982:30) complained in 1835: "I have heard again and again people say that they were nothing better than dogs, and that it would do no more harm to shoot them than it would to shoot a dog."

European land grabs in turn made Aboriginal communities encroach upon other Aboriginal communities, upsetting traditional boundary agreements and accelerating inter-tribal disputes. By the middle of the nineteenth century, most Aboriginal groups had either been killed in significant numbers by disease and murder, and/or had been rendered economically dependent upon local pastoralists and farmers.

RACISM AND LABOUR

It can be argued that where Aboriginal hunter-gatherer communities had little to offer the colonists in terms of labour, they were treated as expendable. Dalapai, a Queensland Aboriginal (in Broome 1982:51), describes how:

> We were hunted from our ground, shot, poisoned, and had our daughters, sisters and wives taken from us...What a number were poisoned at Kilcoy...They stole our ground where we used to get food, and when we got hungry and took a bit of flour or killed a bullock, they shot us or poisoned us. All they give us now for our land is a blanket once a year.

The same was true in other colonies, for example Western Australia (Milnes 1985). From a pre-contact population in Port Phillip area (around the current city of Sydney) of about 10,000, the number of Aboriginals declined to 1907 by 1853 - a decline of 80% in 18 Years (Broome 1982:61). A successful immigration policy and the role of convict labour meant that Aboriginal labour did not become essential to the colonial economy until the opening up of the pastoral industry in the north.

Broome argues that the one thing that spared a number of Aboriginals in the north was that their labour was needed, for the early pastoralists there did not have the benefit of cheap convict labour, nor were they later able to attract a large non-Aboriginal labour force into the area. This was not always the case. For example, the Eastern and African Cold Storage Company, which leased the entire half of Arnhem Land around 1900, employed several gangs of Aboriginals led by Europeans to shoot any Arnhem Lander on sight (Broome 1982). Aboriginal labour also proved to be essential during the Australian gold rush of the 1850s, when most colonial labour deserted for the mines. In Western Australia the regime which licensed the use of Aboriginal labour by pastoralists was brutal, involving chains, imprisonment and flogging for those individuals who, having simply crossed land which was now given over to pastoralists, were captured, became serfs and attempted to escape (Milnes 1985).

Aboriginals also became dependent upon the colonial invaders as their land and food sources were taken from them. In turn, Europeans demanded work from Aboriginals in return for rations. They first worked for Europeans in itinerant or casual positions transporting sheep across rivers, tracking stray stock, cutting wood and timber for building, shepherding, sheep washing and shearing, as well as working as stockmen. Aboriginal women were often traded for sexual or domestic service, in return for food, tobacco and alcohol.

DEPENDENCY AND CONTROL

Where Aboriginal groups achieved economic self-sufficiency, their lands were usually coveted and they were dispossessed of them. As well, the agricultural success of initiatives such as the community at Coranderrk, and the experiment with wool washing at Lake Alexander at Raukkan, proved difficult to replicate because the reserves that were often granted to Aboriginals were on poor land, or bureaucratic restrictions inhibited their ability to compete economically. For example, the Victorian Aborigines Act of 1886 allowed only 'full-blood' or 'half

castes' over 34 years of age to reside on the reserves, thus depleting the available labour. Indeed the very success of Aboriginal enterprises often led to their demise. Diane Barwick (in Broome 1982:83) argues that:

> because they had proved competent farmers and achieved a working class standard of living the Board believed that the dispersal policy would benefit the half castes, giving them complete independence and new opportunities for "absorption" into the general population. Because they had made the land profitable, there was intense political pressure for its resumption and sale.

In 1893 Coranderrk lost 970 of its 1960 hectares and by 1923 the last of its inhabitants were forcibly sent to Lake Tyers, which had been chosen originally because the land was so poor it would not attract the interest of Europeans. In South Australia by 1913, of the 97 Aboriginal reserves gazetted after the 1830s, 64 had been sold or leased to Europeans (Broome 1982:83).

Despite some more enlightened episodes, European contact with Aboriginal peoples resulted in continuing trauma for Indigenous groups. By 1933, the Aboriginal population had been decimated – by introduced disease, as well as more direct forms of harassment – and was no more than one-fifth of its estimated size at the time of contact with British settlers (Daylight and Johnstone 1986:21).

FORMS AND CONDITIONS OF ABORIGINAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Aboriginal labour was crucial to the pastoral industry, although such contribution is often still poorly acknowledged in historical scholarship (Cohen 1988). Food supplies, housing, and working conditions were usually extremely poor. Over 10,000 Aboriginal workers were employed at any one time between about 1900 and the 1960s (Broome 1982:120). While legislation supposedly provided for minimum rations, wages and accommodations, no minimum standards were set, and wages were extremely low. Also, the pastoralists did not have to pay a wage that was sufficient to support the Aboriginal worker's family. Instead, the families were either supported on nearby missions or government reserves, or on the station itself. For example, the need for cheap Aboriginal labour in Darwin led to the creation of the Kahlin compound to which every Aboriginal (unless exempted) had to return each night. It consisted of a collection of galvanised iron huts. A half caste home was also established in the 1920s and attempts to disband the home were opposed by the non-Aboriginal residents of Darwin who saw it as a source of cheap labour (Broome 1982). On the cattle stations, pastoral workers virtually lived in compounds, and were paid a single wage, as in South Africa, because their families were deemed to live elsewhere.

Few Aboriginals were employed in mining, although they were often forced off their land to make way for mining interests. A recent example is the forcible removal of the residents of Mapoon from their land between 1961 and 1963 (Bennett 1989:4). Until 1969, Aboriginal workers at Weipa, who made up ten to twenty percent of the workforce were not eligible for bonuses, holiday pay, and the board and lodging other workers received (Broome 1982:141). It

would be fair to characterize the treatment of Aboriginal workers as a surplus and expendable reserve labour force in the Australian mining industry. The pearling and Beche-de-Mer industries employed a large Aboriginal workforce.

Aboriginals were also often kidnapped and forced to work in the pearling industry. So appalling were the conditions in this industry, that in 1870 Aboriginal employment was prohibited except under government supervision (Broome 1982). Nevertheless they continued to work in pearling until the use of plastics brought about a decline in the 1960s.

TRADE UNIONS AND EQUAL PAY FOR ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

Historically, many trade unions did not support Aboriginals, except when pressured to do so. Labour and non-labour developed a legislative system that kept Aboriginals in a state of bondage. It was illegal in many states to "cause or induce, or attempt to cause or induce, an Aboriginal to leave any lawful employment" (Markus 1978:142), a system which had its origins in the exploitative employment regimes of the nineteenth century. Yet while Aboriginal workers were kept out of awards, non-Aboriginals often received extra renumeration for supervising them. Chief Justice Detheridge ruled in 1928 that in the pastoral industry supervisors should receive extra money as Aboriginals were human beings, not machines, but that two Aboriginal workers should be counted as one in fixing rates (Markus 1978). Today, conditions of employment for non-Aboriginal workers in Aboriginal communities often include the conditions and salaries of the primary labour market, while Aboriginal people work beside them on less than award wages (Altman and Saunders 1991). Until 1964, Aboriginals were prevented from joining the Australian Workers Union, the trade union mainly concerned with the traditional occupational areas for Aboriginal people (Stevens 1981:31). During the Equal Pay case for Aboriginal pastoral workers in 1965, the North Australian Workers Union was unable to inform the Bench of how many Aboriginal members there were in the union, as no organizer had visited the cattle stations on Union business for fifteen years (Stevens 1981:31). Talking of his experience of non-Aboriginal unionists Stevens wrote,

> Lip service is cheap... but when you approach them to do something positive about the situation you find the old priorities of improving the lot of their own members more important then correcting one of the major tragedies of our past. (in Markus 1978:157)

Both the Seamen's Union and the Waterside Workers had taken issue on civil rights matters in the 1950s. However, some Unions and the Aboriginal Rights Councils of New South Wales and Victoria had disclosed information passed to them about members of the meat industry union and their deplorable conditions and in September 1963, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) adopted a comprehensive policy of equal rights for all workers which basically called for an end to all wage discrimination. Pressure was brought to bear by the national trade union council, the ACTU, upon the Northern Australian Workers Union to include Aboriginal stockmen in their union's pursuit of better conditions for their non-Aboriginal members.

The 'outstation' movement, where Aboriginal people moved off stations and missions back to their traditional land, often as protest against conditions and the desire to reclaim Aboriginal culture, brought a new awareness of the Aboriginal struggle (Nathan and Japanangka 1983). The adoption of the strike weapon by the Aboriginal workers in the Pilbara region of Western Australia began the long struggle for equal wages for Aboriginal peoples. On the 5th of May 1946, twenty of the twenty-two Pilbara station properties were strike bound. Three years later the pastoralists surrendered, offering twice the strikers original demands. In 1951, Aboriginal workers in Darwin went on strike to gain a pay increase. Aboriginal leader, Fred Waters, in that strike, was exiled to Haasts Bluff, away from his own people and country, while some of his co-workers were gaoled. The use of the strike weapon was significant in terms of wages and conditions. On May Day, 1962, several hundred Aboriginal people marched through the streets of Darwin, demonstrating for equal pay, despite police harassment and other forms of provocation. The Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders was instrumental in the development of relevant Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) Policy (Bandler 1989; Markus 1978).

In 1965, the Northern Australian Workers Union lodged an application to vary the Cattle Station Industry (Northern Territory) Award 1951. Specifically, the application asked to delete those sections of the award which discriminated against Aboriginals. The matter was heard by the full Bench of the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, who found that "there must be one industrial law, similarly applied to all Australians, Aboriginal or not" (Broome 1982:140).

During this case, the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, who had lobbied the ACTU to advance the case within a general program of citizen rights, equal pay, and a standard of living regardless of race, were not allowed to appear before the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (Patmore 1991). The employers' (Cattle Producers Council) legal representative, testified to the Court that it was policy to use Aboriginal labour in the Pastoral industry, but it was not customary to pay except in kind, such as food rations (flour, tea, jam and perhaps some other staple commodities), and stressed that for climatic reasons an Aboriginal workforce was preferable to a non-Aboriginal one (Bandler 1989).

The 1965 decision by the federal Arbitration Commission to grant equal pay to Aboriginal workers did not have to be paid until 1968, a delay of 30 months. While it ended formal wage discrimination on the basis of race, it was limited in its application. Aboriginal people felt the decision was inadequate and strike activity spread. The ACTU attempted to prevent an extension of the dispute, participating in a conference with the pastoralists and the federal Government which agreed to Aboriginals receiving less than award wages under a 'slow worker' clause. Aboriginal workers were not invited to the conference (Markus 1978).

In 1966, Aboriginal workers walked off key cattle stations. In August the Gurindji people left Wave Hill to set up a new camp in part of the area they regarded as their traditional land, and very soon what had begun as a wage issue became a claim for Aboriginal ownership of the land (Bennett 1989; Bandler 1989). This led to a resurgence of the struggle for Land rights that still characterises Australia today.

A survey in 1965 and in 1967 showed that non-Aboriginal workers on

Northern Territory cattle stations rarely received the full benefit of the award; it was small wonder, then, that pastoralists ignored similar prescriptions for Aboriginal workers. By 1971 only a minority of employers had raised Aboriginal wages to award level, and a 1973 survey showed that few if any met the legal requirements for accommodation and food for Aboriginal workers (Lyon and Parsons 1989).

A committee was established in 1970 by the Minister for the Interior to investigate whether

> new or additional steps need to be taken... to give better effect to existing policies for the
> social, economic and educational advancement of Aborigines so far as the special needs
> of communities on pastoral properties was concerned. (Lyon and Parsons 1989: 490)

It found that with the introduction of "equal wages" there was a significant decline in Aboriginal employment. Aboriginal workers were replaced by technology such as helicopters, and by non-Aboriginal pastoral workers. A 1972 survey showed a 32% reduction in the employment of Aboriginal men on Northern Territory cattle stations, and a boost in non-Aboriginal employment of 60% (Lyon and Parsons 1989:50).

The inclusion of Aboriginal workers in the Cattle Station Industry (Northern Territory) Award, and the Federal Pastoral Industry Award in 1968 ended formal wage discrimination on the basis of race (Whitfield 1987). More recent figures show that earning differentials are still substantial, despite outlays of almost $200 million in the financial year 1990-91, through the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP). Incomes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait people are about one-half the levels enjoyed by other Australians, while one third of the Aboriginal population of working age are still dependent on welfare, including Jobsearch or Newstart employment programs (Social Justice 1992:6). This is six times the national average.

Despite the absence of a formal system of apartheid, Aboriginal people in Australia are overwhelmingly segregated into the lowest skill grade of the occupations in which they are employed. Beaumont found that in 1966, 98% of Aboriginal workers were employed in the lowest skill grade of their occupations compared to 65% of all workers, and that two thirds of Aboriginals were employed in manual work as against 16% of the workforce as a whole (in Whitfield 1987:114). Bell argues that Aboriginal women, having had their traditional roles as maintainers of harmonious relations usurped by colonization and suffering from a significant incidence of domestic violence associated with alcohol abuse, participate in employment at a rate of 32%, compared with 46% of all women over 15 (in Daylight and Johnstone 1986:76). Workforce participation by Aboriginal women still tends to be concentrated in poor jobs, that span a limited range, although there are a smaller number who are establishing careers in state or federal bureaucracies.

Access to employment and training differs for Aboriginal people across Australia. In many parts of Australia, where Aboriginal people reside, there are very few employment opportunities in mainstream labour markets. In an attempt to create jobs at the community level, the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) use social security benefits as wages. This leads to a situation, unique in Australia, where people work for unemployment benefits, although attempts have been made to restructure salaries and part time wages

under the relevant awards. Projects are often used by communities to provide them with the essential infrastructure, which elsewhere is provided by local council or state government funds (Altman and Saunders 1991).

The struggle for equal pay continued outside the cattle industry, including the condemnation of the Wards Employment Ordinance which determined the wages of most Northern Territory Aboriginal workers: "the wages it specified were consistent with the indignities imposed on the people" (Bandler 1989:25). The problem of obtaining wage equality is only partially solved by such claims. In 1976 Treadgold showed that the main income of Aboriginal males aged 15 and over was only 62% of that for all males, while for Aboriginal females the equivalent figure was 72% (Whitfield 1987:114). Today, depending on the form of calculation, Aboriginal people still earn only half the income of other Australians (ACTU 1991).

The ACTU aims to establish full award coverage and compliance for all Aboriginal workers and workers in Aboriginal communities (ACTU 1991). However, often the tangible benefits provided by underresourced, but Aboriginal-owned, community development projects override this aim.

Is full award coverage and compliance the answer? The failure of the 1965 Equal Pay case to achieve any real measure of wage justice, led to extreme suffering for those Aboriginal workers and communities, which no longer had access to the pastoral stations where they had lived for years. This result exposed the inadequacy of the centralized wage fixing systems to deal with the struggles of Aboriginal peoples. Aboriginal work and traditional and cultural productivity is often not recognized in the cash economy, at least not to the same extent as non-Aboriginal measures of productivity. Equal pay is dependent on a number of related issues; access to training, promotion, and a range of employment without occupational segregation. For Aboriginal people it is more than this. It requires the righting of past wrongs, including the recognition of Aboriginal economy and culture, and finding a role for it within Australian society. This may mean 'equal but different'. Land Rights is the increasingly preferred option of Aboriginal people, both rural and urban. To quote Aboriginal spokesperson Pat Fowell in her 1989 address to ACTU Congress:

> Land Rights can give contemporary Aborigines a degree of independence. However, it is my belief that too much emphasis has been placed on this particular aspect. While one white family may make a handsome profit from a station or a farm, for 200 people there is not even a subsistence living. More importantly, land represents the ability to once more resume control over our own lives. In the Northern Territory on some stations owned by Aboriginal people there is talk of bringing back muster on horseback and declaring helicopters redundant. On purely economic terms this may not be profitable but in terms of self esteem and identity and the sharing of common goals, it is a step forward. (Fowell 1989:9)

LAND RIGHTS AND THE AUSTRALIAN CONSTITUTION

The growth of racial ideas, coupled with the decimation of Aboriginal peoples and the coercion of their labour, led to a decline in the legal status of Aboriginal peoples. By the 1840s the equal rights of Aboriginals before the law were being

eroded. In New South Wales, which at that time included Port Phillip and Queensland, Aboriginals could be arrested and held without trial, they were unable to testify in court, and they were not permitted to buy alcohol or carry a gun. Traditional lands had simply been taken, and Christianity offered as compensation (Fletcher 1989a).

Sections 51 (xxvi) and 127.1[4] of the Constitution of Australia discriminate against Aboriginal people. The constitution was not amended to give Aboriginals the same rights and freedoms as other Australians until 1967 (Bennett 1989:10-12), when a referendum produced a 90.77% "yes" vote (Bennett 1989:64) on the twin issues to include Aboriginal peoples in the census, and to provide full citizenship rights. This was the highest recorded "yes" vote in any referendum. It was also the culmination of the contemporary civil rights movement, and much was expected from the entry of the Commonwealth into the field (Bennett 1989:65). However, while the Commonwealth gained the power to legislate for Aboriginal people, it did not follow that they would exercise it. Aboriginals are vitally concerned with matters of land ownership, health education, social welfare, housing and mining, and all such matters remain firmly within the powers retained by the individual states, since granting of land titles is generally a State power.

An example of the use of these powers by a 'state' government occurred with the Northern Territory Land Rights Act in 1976 – which for some Aboriginals came as a shock. The land to which they considered they had eternal entitlement was, as a result of this legislation, to be parcelled out to them by non-Aboriginal Australians (Lippmann in Bennett 1989:65).

Generally, Aboriginal people seek inalienable freehold title to traditional lands, and are becoming increasingly impatient with the Commonwealth Government's failure to enact uniform land rights throughout the country. For Aboriginal peoples, the righting by governments of past wrongs, and the reparation for those wrongs, is non-negotiable. In Queensland, for example, only 18% of the land is freehold, the rest is Crown land held under lease, and when the Aboriginal Land Fund Commission purchased various Queensland properties, including Archer River for transfer to Aboriginal communities, the Minister refused to allow the lease transfers (Nettheim in Bennett 1989:72).

The most recent, and groundbreaking, High Court judgement of 3 June 1992, the so-called "Mabo" decision, finally recognized the rights of the Murray Island people of Torres Strait "as against the whole world, to possession, occupation, use and enjoyment of the lands of the Murray Islands" (High Court of Australia: Mabo and Others vs. the State of Queensland 1992). This means that Australian law now recognizes Native Title, but at the same time declares that in many areas Native Title has been extinguished by actions of the Crown, for example the granting of freehold title. It also found that there is no legal requirement to pay compensation for the elimination of Native Title, and that Native title can be lost by the Indigenous people themselves, through loss of traditional connection with the land. In fact Native title appears to be possible only where there is vacant Crown land, or where Crown land has been allocated for some public purpose, which would not be inconsistent with continuing Native Title (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation 1993).

While not the giant leap forward for land rights that some proclaim it to be, the Mabo decision could be an important step toward giving the original

inhabitants of Australia access to their land and their essential cultural identity, provided the opportunity is not mortgaged to conservative political groups or business, pastoral, and mining interests. The few Aboriginal groups that have managed to hold on to their land despite two hundred years of expropriation may now have their title protected against anyone – except the Crown who can extinguish it without any compensation. The Mabo decision is an ambiguous legacy. For example, it still begs the question as to whose land it was originally. It does however, overturn the doctrine of *terra nullius*. The practical consequences of the Mabo decision are yet to be determined, and one should be wary of extravagant claims about its pivotal nature.

CURRENT SITUATION: CONTEXT AND PROBLEMS

The effects of exploitation and dispossession cannot be dismissed as the mere detritus of history. Data from the 1986 Australian census reveal a systematic pattern of Aboriginal disadvantage across most indicators of economic and social participation.[5] For example, unemployment rates for Aboriginal individuals were 35%, compared with 9% overall, and labour force participation is much lower for Aboriginal peoples than for the non-Aboriginal population (Dodson 1991:388). Moreover, as indicated above, Aboriginals in Australia are overwhelmingly segregated into the lowest skill grade of the occupations in which they are employed. Median annual family income was around 67% of that for all Australian families, while only about 14% of Aboriginal workers occupied posts as managers, administrators or professionals, compared with 30% for the non-Aboriginal population (Allen, Altman, and Owen 1991:vii). Only 4% of Aboriginal women earned in excess of $10,000 in the mid 1980s, irrespective of occupation (Daylight and Johnstone 1986:79)[6] and youth unemployment "is about three times that experienced by the non-Aboriginal labour force" (Miller 1987:v). Less than one third of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of working age are employed, while the corresponding figures for non-Aboriginal Australians is almost two thirds (Social Justice for Indigenous Australians 1992:6; House of Representatives 1992:14; Dodson 1991:377-413; Johnston 1991).

Health remains another area of 'chronic disadvantage' (Social Justice for Indigenous Australians 1992:7; see also Reid and Trompf 1991). As late as the 1970s infant mortality rates of Aboriginals was comparable with Black South Africans and Third World peoples, and was at least six times the non-Aboriginal rate, three times that of North American Indians, and 2.5 times that of Maori New Zealanders (Hetzel 1980:184).

Even more disturbing are disparities in rates of incarceration. Profoundly disproportionate numbers of Aboriginal Australians languish in gaol, too often for socio-economic reasons (Social Justice for Indigenous Australians 1992:7-8; Dodson 1991). The inter-related nature of disadvantage is revealed in the finding by the recent Royal Commission, that, of those individuals who died in custody, some 40% had not experienced education beyond the primary stage.[7]

Other factors are directly attributable to the history of colonialism. For example, well after the nineteenth century, particular regional Aboriginal populations continued to decline precipitously (Altman 1987:3) while even today,

the legacy of dispossession and dispersal continue to be felt (Edwards and Read 1989).[8] This has led to much higher dependency ratios, and consequently heavy burden on those individuals who are employed: "The ratio of economically inactive to employed persons is 4.2 to 1 for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, but only 1.4 to 1 for all Australians" (Social Justice for Indigenous Australians 1992:9).

Settlement patterns of Aboriginal and Islander peoples often reflect a choice to live in remote areas on ancestral lands,[9] which then inhibits integration into the mainstream economy. Some 34% of Aboriginal and Islander peoples live in rural areas, compared with 14% of all Australians, while only 24% live in urban areas compared to 64% of all Australians (Social Justice for Indigenous Australians 1992:9; see also House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs). Rural unemployment rates for Aboriginal peoples are devastating (Ross, 1988).[10]

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

From the colonial era, the myth of the ineducability of Australian Aboriginals has been a most pervasive one, which, in defiance of available evidence, has continually licensed second-rate education, or educational exclusion. This myth was often perpetuated by those who sought to profit by the exploitation of Aboriginal land and people, as Hartwig (1972) has argued: "For the colonist participating in the process of dispossession, it was psychologically desirable, at the very least, to persuade himself that Aborigines were inferior beings, pests and nuisances who deserved their fate" (p. 12).

If the history of educational provision for Aboriginal Australians accurately reflects the major colonizing practices and policies in the development of Aboriginal education in Australia (Miller 1985; Welch 1988; Fletcher 1989 a and b), how much less has the position changed in contemporary Australia? Currently, programs designed to educate prospective teachers about Aboriginal society, including anti-racist teaching strategies (New South Wales Department of School Education 1992; Education Department of South Australia 1986-93) and guidelines for seeking Aboriginal input in classes, are being prepared, with the assistance of Aboriginal organizations. Too often in the past, however, Aboriginal people have been presented as an impediment, or "as a problem... to be explained away" (Houston 1981:85), and in some cases are still effectively ignored. McGuiness (in Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace 1978) has pointed to the 'book-bias', whereby, for example, histories of the major explorations of the Australian continent often failed to acknowledge the prime importance of Aboriginals in these expeditions, and consistently ignored those individuals who possessed essential local knowledge, and who had a long and successful history of survival in difficult terrain. Worse still, however, is the blatant bias of history texts which begin their story with the British colonists, and ignore perhaps 100,000 years of previous settlement by Aboriginals. It is in this way that prejudice is perpetuated in the young:

> History as learned by most Australians is the history of Europeans, and especially of the British, and of their descendants in Australia. It is the history of the dominant races and nations, written by them and for them. As such it does nothing to make us sensitive to the

impact of the events of that history on the Aboriginal population. Nor does it lead us to an
awareness or interest in the history of the Aboriginal people who have lived here for at least
30,000 years... (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace 1978:6; see also Charles 1987)

Conflict between Aboriginals and encroaching colonialists is often omitted
from school history texts. Even today, the reality of colonial invasion is rarely
explained within the context of a history of murders, pauperization, expropriation
of traditional lands and abuse of Aboriginal women. If conflict is treated, it is often
in terms of retribution for misdeeds by Aboriginals, although these 'misdeeds' may
well have been defence against territorial incursions, or defence of hunting rights
on traditional lands. And again, the close spiritual relationship between Aboriginal
peoples and the land is usually omitted, or glossed over. Nor is the destruction of
numerous Aboriginal societies with viable cultures, totalling perhaps more than 1
million individuals prior to colonization, to only around 60,000 in 1921, featured.
Historians of Australian education are no less guilty of the omission of Aboriginal
history. To date, there are barely any texts on the history of Australian education
that focus specifically on the education of Australian Aboriginals; Fletcher's two
volumes being welcome recent additions (Fletcher 1989 a and b). Major texts in the
field have ignored the problem altogether, or have at best included only a few token
pages (Barcan 1986). A notable consequence of this situation is that many teachers
of Aboriginal students are poorly prepared for the task.

In New South Wales, the State Government finally moved in the 1970s to
take over mission schools and staff them with trained teachers. Yet many
teachers working at schools with high proportions of Aboriginal students
(especially older staff) have little if any training in Aboriginal cultures, or the
special needs of Aboriginal pupils. And because such schools are often in
depressed inner city areas or remote outback areas, they are often staffed with
inexperienced, youthful teachers, who view their appointment as 'serving time',
pending a more favourable appointment. Staff turnover has traditionally been
high and the schools tend to lack resources.

Lack of resources available for bilingual education programmes, and in
general for the teaching of Aboriginal languages is a further, pressing problem
which has even provoked television treatment (Australian Broadcasting
Corporation, 1986). It is generally acknowledged that "Aboriginal languages are in
an endangered state" (Lo Bianco 1987:54), and the loss of Aboriginal languages is
all the more significant since, in such oral traditions, the language is the repository
of the culture: myths, law, values and social organization. Once the language
disappears, the culture which it supported also dies, and there is considerable
evidence that many Aboriginal languages are either already extinct, or on the
verge of extinction. By 1971, it had already been calculated that some 114
languages were only spoken by 10 people or fewer, while another 45 languages
were spoken by between 10 and 100 individuals. The rate of extinction is said to be
about one distinct language per year. From a position in 1788, when more than
two hundred Aboriginal languages were in use, it is now the case that although
perhaps 100 languages remain, perhaps fewer than one-third of that number are
viable in the longer term, particularly without a massive effort directed at their
maintenance (Lyon and Parsons 1989; Lo Bianco 1987; Ozolins 1993).

The factors cited above go quite some way to explaining why, instead of a
pro-rated 1,600 Aboriginal students in the final year of secondary school in 1982,

there were only 454 (Quality of Education 1985:144). The factors also explain why, even in 1991, more than 10% of the Aboriginal population had never attended school (see Table 1), why some 45% of Aboriginal primary pupils exhibit significant literacy and numeracy problems, three times the national average (Australian 1994:26/2:5). And why, by 1984, only seven Aboriginals had ever graduated in law from an Australian university, and two in medicine (Aborigines and Tertiary 1984:51).

In the state of New South Wales, for example, there are about 250 state schools with over 20 Aboriginal students, and something in the order of 200 Aboriginal Educational Assistants (AEAs). Areas with concentrations of schools with high Aboriginal enrolments are Queensland, Western Australia, and Northern Territory. One of the distinctive features of Aboriginal schooling in many parts of Australia, is the heterogenous nature of the Aboriginal population and its geographical dispersion, with large numbers of Aboriginals dwelling in urban, or semi-urban environments. Educational facilities for rural communities can also be expensive. This is also used as an excuse not to provide adequate facilities (Walton 1993).

While improvements in Aboriginal retentivity at high school have been recorded, these do not always coincide with success at the Higher School Certificate (HSC) level. Programs to increase participation in higher education also need to include bridging programs and support for Aboriginal students. Post-graduate courses in Aboriginal education are now becoming more widely available, and schemes to train both Aboriginal teachers and Teacher Assistants, for schools with high Aboriginal enrolments have also been introduced. Innovations such as Tranby College in Sydney, and the first Faculty for Indigenous People at the Underdale campus of the University of South Australia, are also having an impact. Also, discussions were held in 1994 as to the prospects for a national university for Indigenous peoples.

All states and territories, whether governed by more conservative political parties or not, have now begun to institute measures to boost Aboriginal participation and retention rates in education (National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy [NAEP] 1989:11). Most, if not all, universities have begun to institute special programmes that take into account the special needs of Aboriginal students, including the most numerous group, those wishing to become teachers. The number of trained Aboriginal teachers are, however, still depressingly low. Hughes (1981) reported a figure of less than 80 in 1979, while the figure for 1984 was still less than 400, nationwide. Total Aboriginal higher education enrolment in 1991 was around 4,800, of which more than 30% were in Teacher Education (DEET 1992:1). As a whole, this cohort exhibited a gender imbalance of almost 2:1 in favour of women. In 1992, the 4800 Aboriginal students represented less than 1% of the total of overall enrolments in Australian higher education (DEET 1992:1; DEET 1993:218).

Nationally, Aboriginal enrolments in higher education rose from 2,000 in 1970 to 20,000 in 1986, and retention to year 12 increased from 10% in 1982 to 22% in 1988 (National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy 1989:12). A number of Teacher Assistants have gone on to train as teachers, with urban Aboriginals outnumbering rural Aboriginal students significantly in the 1980s (Scott 1985:1). Technical and Further Education (TAFE) is another area of

increasing Aboriginal enrolments throughout Australia. Despite some notable successes in Aboriginal participation in education and training, such as TAFE, Aboriginal participation in education and training remains low. For example, one TAFE system could report an increase from 20 courses and 280 students in 1977, to 252 courses and 5340 students in 1990 (NSW TAFECOM 1990:6), together with high completion rates (76%) and high proportions of enrolees (77%) taking accredited courses. In the above example only 17% of students were enrolled in vocational education, and of these 70% were males.

Aboriginal education groups now exist, at state and federal level, and there is a greater desire to teach all Australian children of the contributions and complexities of Aboriginal cultures (Chaney 1982; Australian 1993). Indeed most state governments have now devised, in consultation with Aboriginal Education Consultative Groups, programmes of study to teach all children about Aboriginal cultures (Education Department of South Australia 1986-93).

Although the statistics on education and training are forbidding, they do bear witness to some improvements in recent years, and to ongoing efforts to undo the failure of the educational system to address Aboriginal needs. It is still the case, however, that in the early 1990s, disparities are stark (See Table 1). Many older Aboriginal people still remember the policy of exclusion, which operated in most states and territories. Until 1949, and under certain circumstances until 1972, the New South Wales Education Department excluded Aboriginal children from state schools if the European parents in the town objected to their presence. Although this practice has ended, in practice Aboriginal children are still denied access to the education and training opportunities of non-Aboriginal children.

In an era of credentialism (Dore 1976; Oxenham 1984; Welch and Freebody 1993), and an increasingly strong connection between education and economic restructuring in *fin de siecle* Australia, the failure of the non-Aboriginal schooling system to adequately address Aboriginal needs and interests (Walton 1993) continues to disable Aboriginal peoples from fully participating in the Australian economy. It must be re-emphasized that "education does not, of itself, provide straightforward solutions for Aboriginal and Islander people" (Dodson 1991:338). The following table briefly highlights the disparities as of the early 1990s:

TABLE 1:

ABORIGINAL AND NON ABORIGINAL PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION		
Form of Participation	Aboriginal Rates	Overall Rates
Preschool	<50%	>90%
Primary and secondary	85%	almost 100
16-17 yr. old. ed'n and training	30%	75%
18-20 yr. old. ed'n and training	7%	40%+
20-24 yr. old. ed'n and training	4%	20%
Never attended school	11%	?
Post school qualifications	10%	31%

(Social Justice for Indigenous Australians, 1992-3:6-7)

The figures for post-compulsory education and training are of particular importance in light of current Australian moves to link education and training with industry restructuring, including career progression. Strategies to improve employment outcomes have now been developed (Johnston 1991), and are in line with the major findings of the recent Royal Commission. It remains to be seen whether good intentions will translate into substantial progress, especially in an era of recession and associated financial stringencies.

Such problems will not be redressed until there is much greater general esteem in the Australian community for Aboriginal Australians, and land rights claims. Despite innovations such as the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy of 1989, which was agreed between the Commonwealth and all State and Territory governments (NAEP 1989), non-Aboriginal acceptance of Aboriginal Australian lifestyles and values is still low among powerful groups in society. Despite sincere attempts by Aboriginal communities, and many non-Aboriginal teachers, racist incidents continue to occur.

There is still too little knowledge and acceptance of the fact that White Australia has a black history, and too little understanding and recognition of the damage still being done to Aboriginal Australians, and the consequent feelings of alienation which are engendered. Only in recent years was a Royal Commission established into the horrifying numbers of Aboriginal deaths which occur in Australian gaols, the disproportionate rates of incarceration, and associated factors (Johnston 1991). Three years later it was claimed by the Federal Social Justice Commissioner that despite much trumpeting, an 'appalling indifference' on the part of state and federal bureaucracies continued to licence inaction. One Aboriginal Australian summed up the situation by stating that:

> There is no sense of urgency in the report which does actually recognize the fact that my people are still being arrested, imprisoned and dying in custody at an unacceptable rate, and no sense of urgency that every day, hundreds of more children are being born to a life of crippling disadvantage. (Sydney Morning Herald 1994:28/6:6)

CONCLUSION

In the current context of national and international economic restructuring, education and employment are strongly interwoven (Johnston 1991). We have pointed to some of the disparities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, Australian values and practices. Practices which account for the substantial failure of the education and employment policies and programmes for Aboriginal people in Australia. While some of the worst aspects of Australia's inter-racial history have been overcome, and a vigorous cultural renaissance is occurring among Aboriginal groups, our analysis of the contemporary scene reveals that glaring disparities persist across key economic and social indicators, and that much remains to be done in order to give due recognition to Aboriginal lifestyles and aspirations. Even now, there is strong opposition to accepting responsibility for two centuries of oppression, particularly over key issues such as land rights. Indeed, as late as mid-1993, a forum of state and federal political leaders failed to agree upon a formula which would enshrine Native Title,

guarantee forms of compensation for loss of lands, and establish tribunals to adjudicate claims for land, and/or compensation."[11] This public failure of political leadership at the state level meant that the Federal government was forced to take the lead by promulgating legislation which finally gave effect to the Mabo High Court judgement. A number of new land claims are now being mounted in the courts, by Aboriginal peoples from various parts of Australia.

Some notable exceptions notwithstanding, key political leaders of particular states are still too captive to either conservative political agendas, business and mining interests, or both, to engage in mutual and reciprocal dialogue (Welch 1993) with Aboriginal peoples over issues such as land rights and compensation, in order to arrive at a mutually satisfactory resolution. Until this process of mutual understanding occurs, and until Aboriginal demands for greater autonomy are satisfied, Aboriginal Australians will remain fringe dwellers in their own land.

ENDNOTES

1. In particular Genesis 1:28: 'God blessed Adam and Eve, he said unto them be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish in the sea and over the fowl in the air and every living thing that moveth upon the earth' Holy Bible (King James version).

2. The term used in Australia to denote individuals who simply took possession of land by taking up residence, often illegally. (See for example Butlin 1993: 225.)

3. Butlin (1993: 219) itemizes the differences in the following typology:

British in Australia	Aborigines
1. Market Activity, trade and exchange	Limited trade and exchange
2. Profit - oriented business	Satisfaction of ends in common
3. Specialisation of activity of labour	Joint quasi-household functions with gender division
4. Fixed residential and work locations	Migratory actively and associations
5. Directed tasks by employers	Variable and adaptive group tasks
6. Monoculture	Multi - resource use and management
7. Domesticated pastoral animals	hunting including use of fire
8. Extensive unfree labour (in most locations)	Free workforce subject to non-deviance
9. Written language and rules	Unwritten tribal laws and ritual
10. Hierarchies in work and society	Limited hierarchies
11. Both central and privatised order	Group order and enforcement
12. Private transferable property	(Essentially) communal property
13. Enforceable private contracts	Inter-group obligations
14. Communicable crowd diseases	Few communicable crowd diseases

[Section] 4. 51. The parliament shall, subject to this Constitution have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to: ...(xxvi) the people of any race, other than the aboriginal people in any State, for whom it is necessary to make special laws.

[Section] 127. In reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, Aboriginal natives shall not be counted.

5. Data from the 1991 census are not yet fully analyzed.

6. To put this figure into perspective, average annual wages at that time were more than double the Aboriginal rate of pay.

7. The following Table, adapted from Dodson's (1991) The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, (Vol.2) Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra 1991:339. is based on 99 individuals who died while in custody (often by their own hand), and reveals the following:

Highest Education Level Attained by Those who Died in Custody

Educational Level	Total Surveyed
No Schooling	8
Some Primary	20
Complete Primary	12
Some Secondary	50
Complete Secondary	2
Some TAFE*	2
Complete TAFE	1
Not Known	4
TOTAL	99

* TAFE, in Australia, is the Technical and Further Education system, specialising largely in the area of vocational training.

8. The book, The Lost Children (Edwards and Read 1989) details graphically the all too common history of Aboriginal children who were stolen from their parents by officials, and taken to live with white parents. Many of these children never saw their parents again. Although the practice might be thought to be in keeping with 19th century views, the practice continued into the 1950s.

9. Although recent trends also show a move to small regional centres. See House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Affairs Mainly Urban 1992:12.

10. In Ross's (1988) sample, unemployment rates for male Aboriginals were estimated at 76%, while for females it was 65%. Many of these were long term unemployed, while the great majority of Aboriginals who were employed, worked in low pay/low tenure jobs. More highly educated individuals, and those exposed to labour market programs were more likely to be employed.

11. It is, however, of concern that the current negotiations have once again been conducted without any representation from Aboriginal peoples. This underscores the past failures to ensure representation.

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WHAT WAS THE 'OTHER' THAT CAME ON COLUMBUS'S SHIPS?
An interpretation of the writing about the interaction between Northern Native peoples in Canada and the United States and the 'other'

TONY KALISS

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ABSTRACT   This paper explores definitions, drawn from academic writing during the last thirty years, of the "other" from Europe that has so drastically impacted on Northern Native peoples. It is suggested that definitions of the nature of that "other" have too often been unclear, partial or incorrect with the result that most academic writing seriously underestimated the nature of Native resistance to the "other" and to this day lags behind the Native peoples' own understanding of the situation they face. Academic studies are challenged to more accurately explore the nature of the two interacting social-economic systems and to develop more accurate terms to describe them.

RÉSUMÉ   Ce document explore les définitions tirées des écrits universitaires des trente dernières années à propos de "l'autre" venant d'Europe qui a eu tellement d'impact sur les peuples autochtones du nord. On suggère que ces définitions de la nature de "l'autre" ont été trop souvent peu claires, partielles ou inexactes, ce qui a résulté dans le fait que la plupart des écrits universitaires ont sérieusement sous-estimé la nature de la résistance autochtone face à "l'autre" et que, jusqu'à ce jour, elle est en retard sur la propre compréhension des peuples autochtones face à cette situation. Les études universitaires sont mises au défi d'explorer de façon plus exacte la nature des deux systèmes socio-économiques qui ont eu des interactions et de développer davantage de termes exacts pour les décrire.

The most fruitful analytical framework for understanding the interaction of Native and non-Native societies in the United States and Canada is to view each society as a distinct social-economic entity. Nevertheless, an examination of the literature about northern Native peoples, over the last thirty years, shows that such an approach was virtually non-existent until quite recently.

Understanding that interaction is key to understanding Native North American history for the last several hundred years, as it is key to the formation of strategies for the continued survival of Native peoples so long as they wish to remain distinct peoples. I agree with Frideres' statement, in his 1983 book, *Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts*, that "The nature of the analytical framework through which Native-White relations are viewed largely determines what solutions can be put forward" (p. 294). But the terms he chose to describe the interacting entities illustrate the weakness of one of the major analytical frameworks employed during the last thirty years.

This paper explores the terminology used since 1960 to describe the 'other'[1] that impacted on Northern Native peoples, as well as definitions of the 'other' on the fairly rare occasions that a writer supplies one. Also discussed is how the terms chosen and the definitions given, influenced the authors' understandings of the interaction between Native and non-Native societies.

THREE STAGES OF TERMINOLOGY AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE 'OTHER'

From 1960 to the present, there are three stages in the description of the 'other'. Throughout the entire period the 'other' is most frequently described in what I call terms of evasion. By terms of evasion I mean terms that name the 'other' but evade giving any clue to its social and economic nature. The term far and away most frequently used is "white". It can be found in phrases such as "white society", "white thinking", "white customs" and many other combinations. A close second is "Western", which can be substituted for "white" in the phrases just mentioned. Other terms ranked by frequency of their use are locational or national terms ("American", "Canadian", "Euro-American or Canadian", "European"), "modern", "Southern" (used in Canada), "industrialized", "dominant", and collective terms such as "we", "our", and "us".

The opposite of these terms, that is, "non-white", "non-Western", "traditional" and "them" are no more enlightening when applied to Native social and economic systems. These terms do not and cannot specify the social-economic nature of the impacting society. "White" is a colour, "Western" is a direction, "America" a country or people, "modern" is a time period, and just who are "we"? If the writer does not supply the social-economic content, and almost none do, the reader must do so. This only compounds the problem, since the reader often has his or her own concept of what the term means. In short, these are not useful scientific categories.

In the first of the three stages, terms of evasion are almost exclusively used and there is a virtually unquestioned assumption that what is "white", "Western", "modern" etc. is good, is the wave of the future and Native peoples must adjust to and become part of it—an assumption that reminds one of the grade B science fiction movies in which the alien 'other' confronts the Earthlings with the classic statement, 'Resistance is useless—you will be absorbed.' This position dominates the 1960s, but is easily found throughout the 1970s and even beyond.

In the second stage it is discovered that the intentions of the 'other' are not benign, are even oppressive or exploitative, and Native resistance to absorption

is recognized as a legitimate response. This stage, which persists to the present time, appeared in the 1970s as organized Native resistance reached the point where it could no longer be ignored in academic literature.

However, as in stage one, because descriptive terms (indeed, the same terms of evasion) are used for the 'other' with no definition or analysis of the nature of the 'other', the reader is left at a loss to know why the 'other' is now seen to act in such a negative fashion. This is no different than one knew why it was assumed to act in the opposite way in the first stage. But if stage two writers could not explain its nature, some could and did begin to raise serious questions about the actions of the 'other'.

In spite of the important questions raised by the existence of widespread Native resistance, it was not until the third stage, in the later 1980s, that a small handful of academic writers turned to terms describing the 'other' having specific social-economic content. To date only two such terms, "colonialist" and "capitalist" have been used. How well they have been used to describe the 'other' is discussed below.

STAGE ONE

For first stage writers it follows inevitably that the Native people will become, "white", "Westernized", "Americanized", "modernized" and/or "industrialized". The title of Hughes' 1960 work *An Eskimo Village in the Modern World*, provides an excellent example of the unquestioning assumption both of the direction of change and the nature of the 'other'. The Eskimos are part of a "world wide transition" to the "industrialized economy of the modern world" (p. 391). This formula is encountered repeatedly even to very recent times. Eskimos will undergo "modernization" (p. 3) and become "Western" (p. 80), writes Chance in 1966. Jenness (1966) is one of the few who regrets that we must "lift them out of...degradation ... and make them useful, respected, and contented citizens of the richest nation...." (p. 126). They will be changed by "civilization", (p. vi) says Graburn (1969).

Balandier (1973) states that the goal of development is the integration of the Eskimo into the "modern economy" (p. 22). Lloyd (1973) calls them "the new arrival in the modern world" (p. 58). Schuurman (1977) sees a "trek toward modernization" (p. 78). Klausner and Foulks, writing in 1982, see the Eskimo as being incorporated in the "American economic market" (p. xi) becoming part of "technological civilization" (p. 1), and find that "[t]he direction of social development has been that of western industrial society, generally, toward social and cultural rationalization" (p. 31). Condon (1987) sees Inuit as "catapulted...into the modern world" (p. 13) due to exposure to the "South" (p. 5). Palinkas (1987) describes "a modern orientation based on a commercial economy" (p. 293). As recently as 1991, Goehring and Stager write of "an industrialized world far to the south" (p. 667), and sees the Eskimos as going "from the stone age to the atomic age" (p. 671). Given this situation, for Lantis (1966) it follows that the Eskimos are "the responsibility of all of us" (p. 89) and cannot be left "to stagnate" (p. 119). They will be brought up to "white standards" by "Eurocanadians" (p. 160) according to the Honigmann and Honigmann (1965).

Resistance is useless. In the end, writes Hughes (1960) the Eskimos will become "as much like white men as possible" (p. 389), and the Eskimo village of Gambell will "disappear from the human scene" (p. 389). He doubts any possibility of an Eskimo revival (p. 387). Stevenson (1973) approvingly quotes Knud Rasmussen that "when the hand of civilization touches a primitive people anywhere there is no turning back" (p. 194). He concludes that "social responsibility precludes leaving the Eskimos to their traditional pursuits" (p. 195). Boserup (1973) knows that since "there is no way back, it seems logical to shorten this ... painful transition by unfaltering pursuance of the modernization policy, including the concentration policy" (p. 476). Schuurman (1977) raises the "sensitive"(p. 83) question as to whether the Eskimo language and certain aspects of the "culture are in fact the most appropriate vehicles for expressing the genius of the Greenlandic people" (p. 83), whereas Hobart, writing in 1982, is willing to take it as given that "an appropriate level of cultural retention is contributive in facilitating the adaption of traditional band and tribal societies to more developed/industrialized conditions of existence" (p. 47).

In the first stage there is little or no need for a direct Native voice, since the non-Native scientist knows better what is happening. Native society is seen as negative and inadequate and lacking in qualities necessary to raise Natives into the "modern" world (for sample quotes see footnote).[2] And even if there is no longer a singing of the glories of "civilization" and Christianity, Native society is seen in such negative terms that there can be no doubt of the writers' confidence in the "modern" present and future. This confidence also explains why, even when there is some recognition of negative behavior towards the Native people by the 'other', such behavior is never probed or explained. Signs of Native resistance are non-existent, minimized or not recognized for what they signify. Not one of the authors quoted gives an explicit statement as to why the 'other' society is superior. It is too obvious to need explaining.

It is also striking that only two of the almost sixty writers reviewed, attempt any definition of the terms used in the first and second stages. Williamson (1974) says he cannot find a better term than "white" (p. 60). Berger (1985) takes the use of the term "white" to its ultimate logical end and declares that white is black in that he will use the term to "include persons of other colors" (p. viii). But for most writers it was, once again, apparently not necessary to define the obvious.

STAGE TWO

Malaurie, editing a 1973 collection of essays on Northern Native peoples, was the first writer I found who not only mentioned oppressive treatment of Natives but vigorously condemned it as "ethonocidal," (p. ii) "rape" (p. v) and the "shameless exploitation" (p. xi) of a people. He notes that Eskimos are making demands on "the White Man" and are forming common fronts with the Indians (p. x). But his explanation for the harmful behavior of the 'other' goes no deeper than referring to "self-satisfied and dominating western Nations" (p. v) and a mistrust of polyculturalism in the Judeo-Christian tradition (p. viii). Lauritzen (1983) wonders how the Inuit can strengthen their community "so that it is not totally destroyed by the white industrial society" (p. 21), and Müller-Wille (1983) refers

to "other expanding interests that interfere and infringe on native rights in their own homeland" (p. 132) and "expanding Euro-Canadian...interests" (p. 132). Brody's 1975 and 1987 works are noteworthy for his presentation of and listening to the Native voice and for his sharp criticism of what he calls the "colonial" ethics, ideology and behavior of the "whites". His 1975 use of "colonial", along with one passing use of the term "capitalists", makes him one of the first to use terms for the 'other' which can be given specific social-economic content. However, his frequent use of "colonial" has little such content and usually refers to an attitude and behavior towards Eskimos. He never defines exactly what he means, and the term is dropped from his 1987 work.

In the latter book, Brody makes use of Native values to sharply criticize the economic behavior and related moral values of a society he continues to label as "white", "modern", "Southern", and "Western". He argues that "we", who are discovering so many problems in our own society, have much to learn from Native peoples (pp. 178, 179, 241). Berger's well known works in 1977 and 1985 are very similar to Brody's (1987) work, in that Berger allows Natives to speak for themselves and strongly condemns what has been done to Native peoples. Yet he cannot get beyond terms like the "industrial" system, in 1977, and "white" and "western" to describe who or what is doing this.

The essential argument in his well known 1977 study of the impact of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline is the concept of the 'industrial frontier' (1977, Vol.One:2) (a phrase used by Brody in 1975:232) pushing against the "northern homeland" (Berger 1977 title) of the Native people.

Berger's (1985) work contains many thought-provoking ideas about the 'other' society and, along with Brody's, is one of the first to raise such questions. But, like Brody, he limits his analysis, since he does go beyond seeing the 'other' in terms of "[w]hite men who dream of vanquishing the wilderness in the name of industry and progress," (Berger 1985:184) or beyond "Western" (p. 57) and industrialized (p. 175) to the economic dynamic beneath.

Oswalt and Fienup-Riordan, both writing in 1990, while well aware and supportive of Eskimo resurgence, are nowhere near as probing. Fienup-Riordan still sees things in terms of "we", "western" people who do not understand the Eskimos. Oswalt (1990) who recognizes that Eskimos are *Bashful No Longer*, still writes of the 'other' as "Western", "white," and "American". And Oswalt's view that Eskimos must change in order to achieve their own goals because "Americans" still retain "their assertive and domineering behavior", even though "their goals have shifted" (Oswalt 1990:182), illustrates the advances and the continuing limits of analysis in stage two. There are two major advances. First, there is recognition of the existence of 'evil' on the part of the 'other' and, second, there is recognition of Native resistance to that 'evil'. But to recognize is not necessarily to explain—in fact, more questions are raised than answered—and there is no analysis of why the society that was assumed to do all good is now seen as doing bad.

Why was the 'other' all good? Is it now all bad? If it is both good and bad, what are the sources of this contradictory behavior? Why did Oswalt's Americans change goals and still retain their aggressive behavior? Fienup-Riordan never does explain why "we" look at the Eskimos in a certain way.

Generally, these questions cannot be answered using terms of evasion that in themselves provide not a clue to the social-economic content, if any, intended

by those terms. Moreover, these terms apply to all members of the category—"white", "Western" —and thus cannot explain the differences between members of the category. Are "white", "Western", "Southern" academics writing about Northern Native peoples to be considered among the good or the bad?

Thus, neither Brody nor Berger, nor any of the other writers in stage two, can explain the dynamic of change in the 'other' that has allowed Native resistance to take on new and effective forms. The fact that social protests were taking place within the 'other' and that attitudes (whose?) toward minorities were changing is noted, but with no explanation of the antagonisms within the social-economic dynamic of the 'other' that are the underlying cause of the protests. Yet the most important analytical question that needs raising is precisely the nature of these antagonisms, because they relate to the dynamics of change in both societies.

The fact and the nature of Native resistance is key to both of Brody's books. He makes the important observation that the "colonists" define progress as the triumph of civilization over nature and see Eskimos as part of nature, with the implication that they must be both overcome and civilized. He notes that "[t]his society insists on the right of all men to the basic liberties" (1975:99) as part of "liberal social philosophy. Yet in their colonial activity, Whites do the opposite" (1975:99). He cannot explain why the contradiction exists, and I believe his complete reversion in 1987 to using terms of evasion prevents him from getting any further than the idea of an earlier European peasant culture devoted to private property as the cause of the problem. Phrases such as "the hierarchial and competitive systems of Euro-Canadian culture" are still description, not explanation (1987:133).

Berger makes clear, by their own voices, the determination of the Native peoples to remain themselves. And, in common with Brody, he does try to specify what is wrong with the "white" and "western" behavior, the "industrial system" and "southerners". But for Berger it appears that the "industrial system" is the problem, which allows him to avoid dealing with the social-economic dynamics specific to American or Canadian capitalism. Indeed, it allows him to lump that capitalism together with Soviet socialism as two forms of the same thing, as will be discussed below.

STAGE THREE

The third stage is marked by the use of terms describing the 'other' that can have specifically social-economic meaning. As noted above, only two such terms were encountered, "colonial" and "capitalism." This major step forward allowed writers to move beyond descriptive terms of evasion toward some understanding of the internal dynamic of the 'other'. Such understanding could lead to a comparison and contrast of Native and non-Native societies, and, perhaps, a critique of the exploitative behavior of the 'other'. In this stage, works by Chance (1987 and 1990), and by Cox (1987), take the critique furthest by attempting to connect observed behavior with the inner dynamic of both societies. But even social-economic terms may be used only descriptively, without connecting the acts described to the inner dynamic. When this occurs, the analysis loses some of its penetrating force.

This occurs, for example, with the use of the term "colonial". It is the weaker of the two terms analytically, since colonialism of any kind is a consequence of some other more fundamental dynamic in the society and not the root cause of the observed behavior. It is the fundamental dynamic that needs to be understood, not only its colonial symptoms. Since the term, in its general sense, says no more than that one group from outside an area is moving in to dominate another group, the author can completely miss the economic basis of colonialism as it affected Native peoples and, indeed, not give the term any economic content whatsoever. This is the case with the five writers who make the most use of it, namely Paine (1977), Ponting (1986), Frideres (1983) and Coates and Powell (1989) as well as with Brody's more passing use of the term "colonial" in his 1975 work, discussed above.

Paine (1977) uses "colonial" as part of a concept he calls "welfare colonialism" (p. 3), a phenomenon he views as increasingly prevalent in the contemporary world, differing from old colonial empires in that it is not tied to economic factors. His main term for the other is "white" and his analysis goes no deeper than describing the colonizers as "illegitimately privileged" and the colonized as "illegitimately devalued" (p. 3). Frideres (1983) states that one must make a structural analysis of the interaction of Natives and non-Natives as opposed to a micro-analysis that views it on an individual basis (p. 294). Raising this point is a step toward examining the inner dynamic of the 'other', and Frideres proposes a model that "presents the Indian reserve as an internal colony that is exploited by the dominant White group in Canada" (p. 295). But although "exploited" suggests an economic content for "colonial," his analysis is immediately blunted by seeing "Native-White relations" as a "White problem" (p. 301). Once again, Frideres, like so many writers before and since, has been blinded by the white, and his analysis becomes a list of colonial symptoms of what "Whites" do (p. 299). Ponting's 1986 work entitled *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization*, presents an analysis almost identical to that of Frideres, with virtually the same list of symptoms—not causes—of what are called colonizing practices. Like Frideres he still uses the terms "white", "Canadian", and "modern" to describe who is doing the colonizing. Therefore, while he sees a process of "decolonization" (Ponting 1986: 408) going on, he has no way to explain the change, based on such terms of evasion.

Coates and Powell writing, in 1989, make frequent use of the term "colonial" and "decolonization", in fact saying that their book is "an account of the decolonization of the Canadian North" (p. xvi). But the reader is at a loss to know what is meant by the terms, though there is some indication that colonization is being done by "mainstream Canadian society" (p. 102). Osherenko and Young (1989) use the idea of core and periphery and of internal colonialism, citing Hechter's *Internal Colonialism* (p. 56). But they no more connect that concept to the economic dynamic of the 'other' than does Hechter. Moreover, the central conceptual framework of their study is the idea of "interest groups" (p. 233), an analytical step backwards because it reduces the conflicting forces in the Arctic to a set of equal interest groups whose existence is taken for granted, obscuring the roots of those groups in the societies in which they originate as well as obscuring the roots of the conflicts among the various interest groups.

The first use of the word "capitalist" I found was in Frideres (1983), where it appears several times in reference to business practices and values but in no way enters into his analysis of colonialism or the nature of the 'other' (pp. 300, 307). Anders (1989), writes of a "dominant capitalist political economy" (p. 292) and of cultural and economic conquest, but does not develop the theme and still makes use of "white" and "Western" (pp. 292, 296). Three authors, Cox (1987), Chance (1990) and Jorgensen (1990) make the term "capitalism" their major analytical term for the 'other'. The chapter by Michael Asch (in Cox 1987) should also be mentioned.

Cox and Chance best illustrate the much greater analytical penetrating power of the use of a term that designates a specific social-economic system. They contribute several concepts and raise important questions that indicate the direction of significant future work. Having chosen the word "capitalism", Cox (1987) employs the economic concept of "relations of production" as his tool of analysis, attributing the latter concept specifically and favourably to its originator, Karl Marx (p. xi). Chance (1990) refers to Wolf's 1982 work as the source for his view of the 'other' as an exploitative social-economic system, Marx's name never being mentioned (p. 8), although Wolf (1982:21) attributes his own basic ideas to Marx. Going beyond merely observing and questioning the behavior of the 'other', both authors tie the institutions and value system of the 'other' to its capitalist base (Chance 1990:210; Cox 1987:xi; Asch in Cox 1987:235, 236). Chance is the only writer to specify the economic basis of colonialism and to link it historically to the accumulation of capital (p. 30). This is important, not only because such a link provides an explanation for the exploitative and racist attitudes Native peoples reacted against, but because connecting the behavior of the 'other' directly to the inner dynamic of the capitalist system makes possible an analysis of behavioral changes across time due to developments of that dynamic. Since neither author presents such an analysis, it leaves open a major and important area for future work.

If one employs the concept of modes of production to analyze a specific social-economic system, then the interaction of the 'other' and Native societies should be examined as an interaction of two differing modes of production. From this starting point many questions can be raised about the nature of both systems, economically, philosophically and morally.

Cox (1987) sees two modes of production, the capitalist mode, and what he calls "a 'bush' or foraging mode...based on co-operative labour, communal land tenure, and the mutual sharing of surpluses" (p. 220). This latter description of the Native social-economic system marks Cox as one of a tiny handful of writers who do any more than describe Northern Native societies as "Eskimo", "traditional" or "Native". The application of the mode of production concept to Native social-economic systems is another area that could be a source of fruitful and useful work. Cox's more penetrating analysis of the dynamic of Native society leads him to support measures that will help to strengthen the bush mode of production and thus support the institutions and values of Native society (p. 221). I believe that the effects of the recently popular idea of 'privatization' need to be considered in this light.

Chance specifically delineates the economic and related ideological and moral conflicts between what he calls "forces representing industrial, corporate, profit-making interests on the one hand with those of a more kin-based,

cooperative, partially subsistence-oriented way of life on the other" (1990: 214). The approaches used by Chance and Cox, showing the relationship of Native peoples and the 'other' as an interaction between two different social-economic systems, can show why these two systems, one capitalist the other communal, are in such mutual opposition to each other on virtually every point of importance to human life—economics, law, philosophy, morals, social relationships and the relationship with nature. The recognition of this opposition provides the analytical basis for explaining the resistance of Native societies to the imposition of capitalist values and economic practices as well as the changing nature of that resistance over time.

One suspects that Jorgensen in a future work with a slightly different purpose, would present an analysis similar to Chance's. As it is, he accepts "capitalism" as the term to describe the 'other', associating a certain way of life with it. He shows how that way of life opposes the cooperative Native way and how the Eskimo have been determined to maintain their own way of life.

BEYOND STAGE THREE

Generally, there is a need to go beyond describing the events and the symptoms generated by deeper processes to understanding the processes themselves and the dynamic of those processes over the longer term. None of the works I read gave consideration to the directions in which Native and capitalist societies are evolving. This is another topic of major importance that needs investigation. Of all the authors reviewed, it is Chance who best states the central analytical issue: "could a historically cooperative economic system based on sharing, reciprocity, and redistribution through exchange prevail when conjoined with one based on competition, one which concentrated its attention on the accumulation of wealth?" (1990:168, 169)

Yet in the last phrase there is a drawback that suggests directions for future inquiry. 'Maximizing profit' would be a more accurate description of the capitalist economic process than "accumulation of wealth," which in fact is not the goal of capitalist investment. More importantly, Chance's phrase tends to move in the direction of blaming the consumer rather than the capitalist. The problem, as he sees it, is that nature has become a commodity to be subjugated and appropriated as an object of human satisfaction (1990: 218). Profit has thus been turned into satisfaction, leading him into the argument that the high material consumption and stress on consumer products in the "world of industrial capitalism" is the problem (p. 218).

This is similar to a position held by Berger, who generally ignores any kind of economic dynamic, as discussed above in stage two. He blames the "industrial system" itself as the problem, thereby converting a social issue into a technical question. As he saw it in his 1977 work, there was a much deeper issue that went beyond "ideological conflicts" about who should run the industrial machine and reap the benefits to the nature of the industrial machine itself (1977, Vol. One: 2). The idea of an "industrial system" common to "the East and the West" allowed him to lump together "the West" and the USSR as different forms of materialism, both of which want to bring people into the industrial economy and produce an

"industrial man." This position sidesteps an analysis of the specific social-economic dynamic of the social systems "East" or "West" (Berger 1985: 175). There is no examination of what the industrial system is or why it acts as it does.

Recognition of the maximization of profit as the central goal of the economic process of capitalism better focuses on the dynamic of exploitation, and this, in turn, explains the dynamic of opposition to that exploitation. The reaction to being exploited by an outside system generated the colonial liberation movements after World War II, which in turn influenced the nature of the resistance of Native people in the Americas. A resistance, it should be remembered, that originates in the first contacts with the 'other' that came down the gangplank from Columbus's ships.

It was the tensions produced within capitalism by the existence of exploitation of both people and nature that produced the civil rights, women's, environmental, and other movements that challenged the moral and economic dominance of capitalism. These, in turn, led to changes within American and Canadian societies and in public attitudes that enabled Native peoples to organize much more effectively. Academic writers note these important changes almost in passing and seem to have no explanation for them. Yet, analytically, this is the basis for understanding why some "whites" act one way and some another. A situation that is unexplainable as long as the 'other' is described in terms that include every member of the 'other' and, therefore, cannot explain the differences among them. I suggest that the non-exploitative aspects of Native society and the resulting lower level of tensions led many people within the 'other', including many recent academic writers, to express a moral bias in favour of Native people and their resistance. An attraction sometimes leading to an idealization of Native societies. Obviously there is a need in the academic world for some self-criticism regarding writing on the North. Fienup-Riordan (1990) remarks "it is not that the primitive Eskimos are simple, but that our understanding of them is primitive" (p. 34). I agree, but the use of the term "our" will not lead to a better understanding, since it cannot see the differences among those she includes in "our".

Hamelin (1976) in the first book I saw specifically addressing the "new" resistance by Native peoples, noted that if the bibliographies were a guide there was very little research on Indian political activity (p. 83). The situation has not changed much, since understanding Native resistance and its implications depends on an understanding of the conflict between the two societies. Williamson, in that same 1976 book, says that in addition to saying "mea culpa" to Native peoples, "we" need to make better efforts to understand "the white man's culture", using the same techniques anthropologists have been using on other people (1976:184). This would be especially useful to the anthropologists, but one could suggest that the Native people have long had an understanding of the nature of the 'other'.

Both Brody and Chance sharply criticize the notion of modernization, and Brody is the only writer I found to specifically criticize the modern versus traditional contrast as a way of covering up the exploitation of Native peoples (Chance 1990:8; Brody 1987:xiv, 181). Yet the use of the terms 'modern' and 'traditional' and the contrast drawn between them, remain standard analytical concepts. Brody ties the use of this contrast directly to the justification of exploitation when he asserts that "the privileged" in the 'other' society, being aware

of the inequalities in their own society, deliberately want to view Native peoples as being in the past, that is "traditional", as a way to ignore the opinions of Native peoples, their rights, and the implicit lessons of their way of life in regard both to such inequalities and the development of northern natural resources. Brody sees the Native peoples' world view as being as modern as "anyone else's" (1987:21). I agree and suggest that the 'modern-traditional' contrast plays the same analytical role in academic literature presently as the 'civilized-primitive' contrast the literature was forced to drop around 1960. Chance notes his own use of the term "westernization" and how that term has been criticized as a cover-up of the "exploitation of colonized peoples" and says his work tries "to correct this earlier omission" (1990: xv). Chance's 1990 thoroughgoing revaluation of his own earlier work sets a welcome challenge to the field.

The academic world must consciously move beyond the arrogance of capitalism that carried over into social science theory. An arrogance that identified Native societies first as "primitive" and later as "traditional", an arrogance that results in many writers even now employing terms of evasion and disregarding the Native voice. Thus, I must disagree with Chance when he states that it was not "western-based scientific concepts" that dehumanized the Inupiat, but that they were forced by the colonizer to modify their ways (1990: 211). The scientific method itself is not the problem, but social science concepts developed within an exploitative context reflect that context. One of the unfortunate results of analytical arrogance is that among all the thousands of works written by academics about Native peoples, I know of not one that has as its central purpose to explore the Native point of view of the 'other' society and to understand the philosophical, moral and economic basis of that viewpoint.[3]

Certainly, the tables have been turned with the recent sharp criticism of the actions of the 'other'. One does not have to read deeply to realize that many non-Native authors see many good qualities in Native social systems. Native resistance to becoming absorbed is now fairly broadly seen in academic literature as something to be expected on both economic and moral grounds. Three writers, Chance (1990: 218), Brody (1987:241) and Berger (1985:183) are specific that non-Natives can learn from the Native people's approach to the world. But if Native societies are now to be approved of with no greater understanding of the basis of that approval then there was of the assumption of the goodness of the 'other' in the first place, then there has been no analytical advance.

Today, the fact of contradictions within the 'other' and of Native resistance to and criticism of the 'other' are so obvious that terms of evasion are completely inadequate. I believe that when the existing American or Canadian societies begin to question themselves, they must logically do so from the point of view held by Native peoples and by Marx. From the Native peoples much can be learned about how the members of a society can learn to live with and respect each other and nature. Much can also be learned from Native moral and social-economic commentary on and analysis of the 'other'. From Marx, as Wolf (1982) points out, one can learn about how the specific exploitative social-economic dynamic of the capitalist 'other' works.

If the present sympathy in American and Canadian literature towards Native peoples is obvious, the fact of Marx avoidance is equally obvious. As Wolf writes, in his very useful 1982 work, *Europe and the People Without History,*

"the social sciences constitute one long dialogue with the ghost of Karl Marx" (p. 20), because Marx's was and remains the deepest analysis of the exploitative contradictions of the capitalist economic system. Could it be that many writers on the Native situation are almost instinctively more comfortable with terms like "white" or "Western", terms that keep them well away from such dangerous ground? I believe that we in the academic world owe it to our science, to the survival of Native peoples and to the survival of our own society to face up to the existence of these contradictions, to fully explore them both backwards, because so much history needs to be reexamined, and forwards to discover the solutions for living with each other and with nature that are so urgently needed today, worldwide. A deeper analysis of the dynamic of development within each of the societies—Native and non-Native—and between the two societies will provide a firm basis for proposals and strategies to maintain the distinct way of life of Native peoples.

For far too long academic writers looking at the 'other' that confronted Native peoples, have been blinded by the white. It is time to move beyond sympathy and support to solid analysis, to move beyond noting existence to explaining process.

ENDNOTES

1. I will use the 'other' in single quotes as a neutral term to refer to whatever it was that came along on Columbus's ships, subsequently developed, and had a great and continuing impact on the Native peoples of this hemisphere. Double quotes indicate material taken from other authors.

2. Honigmann and Honigmann (1965) felt that traditional Eskimo life did not provide for leadership (pp. 120, 241) and that Eskimos could change quickly because their "culture's stripped-down nature" promotes change and they have no "hallowed tradition" (p. 161).

   Lantis believed that centuries of living in small groups "were not good preparation for modern organization" (1966:111).

   Jenness (1966) saw Eskimos as "lately emerged from the stone age", and needing to be lifted "out of their present degradation, physical and mental" (p. 126).

   Balandier (1973) saw "a poverty moral and religious as well as social" due to living in small groups and constantly moving about (22).

   Stevenson (1973) states that Canadian Eskimos "lived a fairly primitive nomadic life" until World War II (p. 185), and feels missionaries were right to advise Eskimos to drop "pagan" elements of their culture (p. 186).

   Williamson (1974) sees Canadian Eskimos as "members of a culturally-impoverished and less-well-established and integrated society" (16).

   Schuurman (1977) writing about Greenlandic Eskimos delicately suggests that Eskimo language and culture may not the best vehicle to advance with (p. 83) and he notes that in the past "physical mastery", rather than "intellectual analysis", was the criteria for achievement among Eskimos (p. 76).

   All the above writers fall within stage one. There is virtual silence on the nature of Eskimo society, as writers in stage two begin to realize that adjustment problems may have something to do with the actions of the 'other'. But even those writers in stage two and three, who specifically approve of Eskimo society, did not provide any in-depth analysis of its nature. The mode of production concept used by Chance and Cox offers a good starting point, but the real work remains to be done.

3. It was impossible in this paper to deal with the Aboriginal point of view of the 'other.' But that point of view exists for anyone who cares to look for it in many sources, books, articles, newspapers, newsletters, testimony before various boards of inquiry and so on. A very different analysis of the 'other' from that generally presented in academic writing emerges. It is about time that point of view was fully explored and analyzed both by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal academic writers.

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ELLEN SMALLBOY:
Glimpses of a Cree Woman's Life

By Regina Flannery. McGill Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1995. 104 pp., maps, photographs, index.

Throughout the early 20th century young Boasian ethnographers hit the bush to chronicle the ways of life of Aboriginal societies they believed were fast vanishing. Regina Flannery, along with Ruth Landes and a handful of other female anthropologists, focused their studies on the daily lives of Aboriginal women.

During the summers of 1933, 1935 and 1937 Regina Flannery interviewed a number of elderly Cree women at Moose Factory, Northern Ontario in Canada. Among her respondents was Ellen Smallboy (c. 1853-1941), then in her eighties, who was born on a trapline at Kesagami Lake and spent most of her life in the bush following the seasonal subsistence round of her people. By the time Flannery arrived, Ellen and her husband Simon had settled in a log cabin near the Hudson's Bay complex at Moose Factory, Ontario. With the aid of translator Rubina (Ruby) Mcleod, a local bilingual Cree woman and friend of Ellen Smallboy, Flannery spent hundreds of hours recording Smallboy's stories of life in the bush. Fifty years later Professor Emeritus Flannery returned to Moose Factory and resurrected her Smallboy fieldnotes to write a brief biography of her favorite respondent. While Flannery's original interviews were not intended for a biography, true to the forms of personal reminiscences in oral traditions, many of Smallboy's stories were descriptions of daily life based on hands-on experience and observation.

Ellen Smallboy's voice is evident in Ruby McLeod's quoted translations and some of the narrative prose of the author/anthropologists. Through these "glimpses" the reader envisions a confident, competent, hard-working, and gentle woman with good humour. Among Ellen's most valuable contributions is her discussions of high degree of autonomy women in her time possessed. Much of Ellen's time on the trapline was spent alone with her children where she hunted, trapped, fished and gathered to provide for her family. She also recounts stories of women who trapped and hunted independently and traded directly with the Hudson's Bay Company; a little known fact in fur trade history.

While the prose and content of the Smallboy text makes for pleasant reading, in many ways it is frustrating, because behind those "glimpses" are a wealth of untapped or unrecorded details. Aboriginal societies did not just do life. Their actions, understandings and points of views were grounded in spiritual and intellectual traditions that have been generally overlooked by scholars schooled in the Western traditions of Flannery's time. Why, for example, were children who were born on the same day as one's own child or grandchild treated as a member of the family (p.45)? What were some of the âtalôhkan

(legends) Ellen mentioned (p.20) and what were their meanings and purposes? The stories behind the stories are missing. Perhaps Regina Flannery did not know what questions to ask; perhaps her short-hand could not keep up with Ellen's oratory, perhaps much was lost in the various levels of translation (Cree to English, oral to written, stranger to stranger). Or perhaps Ellen Smallboy did not want to share any of this with a *moniyasquawew* (white woman). Unless the author addresses this issue in the text, the reader can only speculate.

While the voices of both women come through the text, Flannery's voice is predominant: She selected the original questions, selected which material to record and which to publish, and edited and wrote the text. However, Flannery must be commended for writing herself into the text and writing from both a personal perspective and as an anthropologist. Unlike conventional ethnographic texts, or as-told-to biographies, Flannery discusses her relationship with Smallboy and the context of their dialogues. Clearly, the author has tremendous respect for her respondent and views her in retrospect as a friend.

Flannery was kindly supported in her endeavour by a number of well-known scholars. The Smallboy text itself is only sixty pages—the other forty-odd pages consist of a series of commendatory essays by John S. Long, Laura Peers and Lorraine Le Camp.

Long, a well-known ethnohistorian of the Moose Factory Cree, provides a useful overview of Cree-European relations on Moose Factory region, from first contact to the mid-nineteenth century, which serves to provide a historical context for the Flannery/Smallboy encounter. Long demonstrates that the Moose Factory Cree have a long history of European contact beginning in the late 1600s with Hudsons' Bay Company fur trade, followed in the 1850s by the Anglican missionaries, and Treaty No. 9 in 1905, which opened Cree territory to increasingly intrusive government agencies from the south. Laura Peers provides a brief literature review on the James Bay Cree and suggestions for further reading, and Lorraine Le Camp, a distant descendent of a contemporary of Ellen Smallboy's, validates the usefulness of Flannery's work from a personal perspective.

The text does not live up to the promise of offering a "richly detailed image of a woman's life" (p.xi); the title promises "glimpses" and that is what it provides. Overall, Flannery's work helps to fill gaps in current knowledge of the life and times of Cree women in the late nineteenth century. In addition, it is a pleasant and thought-provoking read.

WINONA STEVENSON
Associate Professor/Head, Indian Studies Department
Saskatchewan Indian Federated College

FOR AN AMERINDIAN AUTOHISTORY:
An essay on the foundations of a social ethic

By Georges E. Sioui. McGill-Queen's University Press Montreal and Kingston. Second edition, 125 pages.

Contemporary Aboriginal societies are speaking out about Indigenous history from their own point of view. The book, *Amerindian Autohistory* by Georges Sioui, reflects this emerging Aboriginal voice in a scholarly discourse, materializing a sophisticated philosophical and historical analysis on the foundations of social ethics in a clear and understandable writing, using six thematic chapters. These chapters are well organized and contain several sub-headings to guide the reader. Elements of storytelling, personal experience, songs and poetry are interspersed throughout the book, and these add to the book's readability. The use of the various writing styles allows for symbolic and philosophical meanings to be communicated to a much broader audience. It is important to note that this book is a translation from the original French version *Pour une autohistoire amerindienne*, published by Les Presses de l'Universite Laval in 1991. Translation can change the meaning and effectiveness of a writing. In this case, however, the English version remains effective.

Georges Sioui is a Huron Indian who was born and raised near Québec City, Canada. Sioui is a well recognized academic, holding a Ph.D. in history. He is currently the Dean of Academics at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College based in Regina. Sioui's academic writing style is influenced by his worldview which includes experience with spiritual leaders, Native philosophers and participation within the Aboriginal community. In 1990 Sioui went to court over the right to practice ceremonies in a provincial park in Québec. This ended successfully and his family asserted their right to practice spiritual ceremonies on traditional lands. These efforts have greatly contributed to a broader legal status and interpretation of Aboriginal rights in Canadian law. Sioui's style is non-confrontational and very much connected to Indian values such as the sacred circle of life ideology. He reevaluated history as it is used in mainstream society with a culturally-sensitive approach to issues, and he stresses the universality of mankind. He identifies fundamental interconnections between culture and people, resulting in a sense of collective ownership of his thoughts on social justice and change. He neutralizes problems and effectively uses a non-threatening character in his approach to solving these problems.

In Amerindian Autohistory, Sioui challenges the conventional histories and ethnologies of the Indian peoples in Lower and Upper Canada. He challenges historical fallacies and stereotypes, such as the images of the Iroquois described as "savages" and "inhuman" peoples. He reevaluates historical myths such as the destruction of Huronia by the Iroquois, the practice of cannibalism, cruelty and violence, slavery and crude social relations among the Indian people of that

region. Sioui's research approach includes a critical review of papers such as the Jesuit Relations, the writings of Father Joseph-Francios Lafitau, and past histories and ethnologies. This helps the reader to understand the cultural bias and point of view starting from such early documents of the early authors.

Sioui contrasts traditional western thought with the spiritual and philosophical foundations of Amerindian people. This comparison points out that one must critically examine historical foundations and seek alternative historical interpretations inclusive of the past, from an Amerindian point of view. He advocates the recognition of oral tradition and storytelling as a means to deconstruct the so-called "historical truths".

Sioui's footnotes and bibliography cite related literature from other authors and scholars whose writing is pertinent to his subject. Throughout his book he presents alternative ways of thinking about points of view and bias. As a result this book is an excellent exercise in deconstructive methods for university students in history, Native studies and related disciplines. Sioui encourages the reader to go beyond prescribed academic thought and encourages the reader to arrive at one's own conclusions. His work is a significant contribution to those disciplines interested in the deconstruction of Eurocentric beliefs, values and social systems.

As the title of the book indicates Sioui uses an autohistorical approach. He claims that Amerindian autohistory is the study of correspondence between Amerindian and non-Amerindian sources. According to Sioui, "the technique of autohistory is also an attempt to create strategies for intercultural action that would give our society the power to use the enormous wealth represented by a knowledge of Amerindian history and philosophy" (p. 37). This autohistorical model looks at reciprocal relations and exchange from a Native point of view. Sioui's methodology examines how Amerindian cultural values have influenced the formation of the Euroamerican character. Ultimately, he looks at history as a two-way process of exchange between Indian and European cultures. An example of this two-way process is demonstrated in Chapter Five where Lahontan, a European who was recognized as the discoverer of Americity and founder of modern anthropology, was influenced by Amerindian peoples, is often overlooked by conventional historical literature. In this case, Sioui reverses traditional thinking and explores how Native cultures have influenced and changed European culture and thought. This approach acknowledges the role Amerindian peoples played in the philosophical foundations of our modern society. In Sioui's work, Amerindian people are viewed as contributing members of society rather than a people completely destroyed by cultural contact and the social and economic dynamics of colonialism.

One concern I have is Sioui's use of the term 'Amerindian'. This term tends to overgeneralize without recognizing the diversity of the Aboriginal peoples on this continent prior to contact. I felt Sioui avoided defining the term 'Amerindian'. Who is an Amerindian? Does the term have implications of historical or geographical importance? However, I do feel that Sioui intrinsically encouraged the reader to question the existing social, economic, political and values systems. He bridges the past and the present and encourages anyone living in North America to contemplate the philosophical foundations of contemporary social structures. Sioui takes a positive and proactive approach towards social change, by encouraging learning from the knowledge and spiritual perspectives of Aboriginal

peoples. Sioui states that Amerindian spiritual values need to be applied to mainstream society and Eurocentric institutions, before we destroy the environment and ourselves as human beings. According to Sioui, it is essential that we examine the Amerindian philosophical tradition which includes reflective thinking of self and others. Sioui believes that by incorporating Native philosophy into today's world, we can improve on our ways of doing things. I learned many important teachings from the book and enjoyed the gift of being encouraged to think critically about who I am and the world around me. I believe that the message of the book is strong on its own merits that anyone, regardless of cultural background can benefit from this greatly.

LEAH DORION
Curriculum Officer
Gabriel Dumont Institute

LOOK TO THE MOUNTAIN:
An Ecology of Indigenous Education

By Gregory Cajete. Kivaki Press, Durango, Colorado. 1994. Models, illustrations, notes, bibliography, 227 pp. $24.45 paperback.

Cajete, an academic from the Pueblo Nation, explores the destruction caused by the empirical scientific world view of capitalist society upon North American education, the world ecology, and the collective soul of humanity. Cajete explores how traditional Indigenous thought can be used to benefit all humanity and how such an application may avert impending ecological disaster.

The book is an academic and reflective work, which is appropriate for the post-secondary level. While the book is intended primarily to develop a science curriculum based upon traditional Aboriginal philosophy, it also questions the Western scientific paradigm. By referring back to his cultural roots, Cajete is able to develop a thorough philosophical basis which he uses to examine unquestioned assumptions underlying Western thought. During this discourse, he closely examines the merits of traditional thought, its impact upon human development and its underlying implications for Indigenous education. Cajete describes this work as, "a pilgrimage, tracking the spirit of Indigenous education through concentric rings of relationship. Images and metaphors have been portrayed as reflected in the words of many people, Indian and non-Indian, artist and scholar" (p.186).

Through the course of his "pilgrimage", Cajete traces the traditional Aboriginal approach to learning and teaching. He attempts to apply Aboriginal philosophy within a practical contemporary framework. Cajete states that because Aboriginal philosophy is closely tied to nature and has the capacity to rejuvenate and restore the natural order, the capitalist world has much to learn from the Aboriginal paradigm. Cajete stresses the urgency of establishing a world view, like that of the Indigenous people, to advocate for an environmental education, which in his mind will address the impending ecological disaster confronting all humanity.

Another focus of Cajete is the unique educational needs of Aboriginal people. He points out that the uniqueness of his view is based on the Aboriginal world view and vision of reality. In examining Indigenous educational need, he wants, "to plant seeds of thought and deep reflection regarding the nature of Indigenous education. I wish to draw attention to a way of looking at and understanding a primal process of education grounded in the basics of human nature" (p. 23).

This "seed" metaphor is an interesting aspect Cajete uses in discussing traditional Indigenous philosophy, because it characterizes the importance of an individual's relationship to the environment. He elaborates on how the

relationship with the environment impacts on other aspects of culture, such as the myth, visionary tradition, traditional arts, tribal community, and spirituality. The work stresses how these elements are crucial to the development of the individual and since these aspects are lacking in current Indigenous education, it is important that it be developed, "for life's sake." Hence, the need for a new educational paradigm.

Cajete foresaw a number of obstacles in implementing this new paradigm. For example, he states that, "a fundamental obstacle to cross-cultural communication revolves around significant differences in cultural orientations and the fact that Aboriginal people have been forced to adapt to an educational process not of their making" (p. 19).

Cajete contrasts the Western and Aboriginal paradigms and states that Western paradigm is, "destructive to the individual, spiritual, communal, and environmental levels of being (p. 76)." He goes on to discuss the limitations of the Western world view's approach to science, noting that, "objectivist research has contributed a dimension of insight, but it has substantial limitations in the multidimensional, holistic, and relational reality of the education of Indian people (p. 20)." Cajete poignantly examines the imposition of the Western paradigm on Native thought, which in his opinion is more holistic in connecting body, mind and spirit, opposed to disconnecting the individual from the environment. Cajete further explores this contrast by asserting that the Aboriginal world view utilizes natural mythology and traditional art as an expression of spirituality and an educational tool facilitating cultural preservation. In his opinion, art and mythology provide the cultural identity and foundation necessary for the development of community members.

Cajete brings in concepts such as the orientation to self, family, community, place, society, and spirit. He also outlines the Indigenous view of illness, traditional healing, use of plants and how the healer plays a role in spiritual and physical development. He elaborates on how, "metaphors and processes of tracking, hunting, questing, pilgrimage, visioning, orienting, and pathway are used in the mythic stories of all cultures (p. 68)." By contrasting the Indigenous and Western world view, and by expanding on Indigenous philosophy and the teaching of the Elders, Cajete establishes the need for the revival of Indigenous cultural traditions. He states that the re-establishment of traditional teachings would reinforce the view that learning is an instinctive, continual and complex experience, that is geared towards sustaining a wholesome life process that encourages learning through experience and self-discovery. In further establishing this theme, Cajete reinforces his argument that the Elders' teachings that the life journey is a quest in which we must all look to the mountain for inspiration, insight and clarity. While the title is a useful metaphor, its innate symbolic meaning may be less significant to the Plains Nations.

This work examines the rich oral traditions of the Indigenous Nations and attempts to articulate their teachings within the context of a model. The models discussed by the author examine the processes of visioning and creativity. He also describes a model outlining the Indigenous stages of developmental learning and proposes an Indigenous curriculum for science. The first model that Cajete describes is a model which he calls the Connected Rings of Indigenous Visioning. Although this model is composed of concentric circles,

Cajete implies that the Vision is a directional process which moves from asking, to seeking, to making, to having, to sharing, to celebrating, to being. The subsequent models that Cajete develops follow a similar pattern, in that they tend to utilize the concept of concentric circles where the focus initially begins at the centre before expanding outward.

Cajete's most ambitious model proposes a science curriculum that is based on traditional Indigenous philosophy. This makes it relevant to the First Nations learner. His science curriculum reflects a culturally sensitive model that approaches science from the Indigenous world view. The model tends to be holistic in nature and, in keeping with Indigenous thought, is constructed of concentric circles that start in the centre with the individual and expand outwards to the family, community, and cosmos.

In addition to bridging the oral and written tradition, Cajete's work is insightful and the presentation is communicated in a respectful manner. For example, Cajete uses traditional stories and myths such as "The Journey of Scar Face", "Water Jar Boy" and "Stone Boy" to effectively explain his points. He uses myth, discussions on art and the oral tradition to reflect the traditional relationship Native Americans had to the earth, and he stresses the oral tradition representation as a metaphorical educational tool reflecting the living history of the people. Similarly, in discussing traditional art, he describes how art in Indigenous society provides, "a pathway to wholeness for both the artist and those who utilize the artist's creation (p.159)."

While Cajete states that he does not intend to offer concrete solutions about how traditional Indigenous philosophy can be adapted to contemporary society, his proposed science curriculum can serve as an invaluable example for later models. By offering his own curriculum model, he makes the transition from philosophy to practical application. To his credit, the curriculum model which he developed achieves this transition without violating the teaching of the Elders or compromising the Indigenous world view.

To Cajete's credit, the Indigenous world view is also evident in the structural organization of *Look to the Mountain*. He maintains the holistic world view of Indigenous people by presenting his arguments in the form of metaphor, poetry and story, both traditional and personal. This approach is further enhanced by his use of visuals which, when used in addition to metaphor and story, reinforces the interconnectedness of the book and the underlying philosophy. It also lends a cyclical nature to the work which serves as a refreshing alternative to the linear convention of the Western academic paradigm.

Throughout *Look to the Mountain*, Cajete, not only remains respectful of his traditions, but he outlines the need and urgency for utilizing the Indigenous world view in contemporary society. The author reminds us that "we are all related" and that we share a common origin and spiritual connection. This interconnectedness is especially clear when we examine humanity's relationship to the earth, and how our collective survival may be only ensured through the cooperative effort of all cultures and nations now inhabiting North America.

Cajete recognizes the challenges that humanity must address in the future. He states that in order to move forward as a society a, "new vision of democracy is urgently needed that can support the individual and at the same time promote a greater sense of community and more harmonious international relationships

(p.135)." Towards this end Cajete believes that Indigenous people must take responsibility for leading themselves, and stimulating the consciousness of their counterparts in Western society, towards a more ecological view of the world. Cajete also discusses how Indigenous people must take more ownership and responsibility for their own education and develop a plan to revitalize the Indigenous perspective and rejuvenate a functional cultural/mythic perspective that is healthy and fits contemporary life. While he is realistic in recognizing the magnitude of these changes and the obstacles involved, Cajete suggests that the successful fulfilment of his proposal will be beneficial to all, and that, "by co-creating a learning experience, everyone involved generates a critical consciousness and enters into a process of empowering one another" (p.219). Perhaps Cajete is correct in stating that it is time for all people to, "look to the mountain".

MICHAEL RELLAND
Program Coordinator
Gabriel Dumont Institute

ADDENDUM TO VOLUME 3, NUMBER 1 OF
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Additional reference information for the article "I Am I and the Environment" by Arlene Stairs and George Wenzel (pages 1-12):

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