

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE LEGACY OF DRESS-UP CREEK:
FORMAL EDUCATION FOR NORTHERN ALGONQUIAN HUNTERS

by

© John Stewart Murdoch

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

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c John S. Murdoch 1986

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JOHN STEWART MURDOCH

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

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ABSTRACT

Thus far, formal education for Canada's Native people has centred on a Euro-Canadian view of the world and the values and definitions which such a view supports. The researcher proposes a different set of values and definitions based on a hunter-gatherer, and specifically Northern Algonquian view of the world. In the first three chapters, the author criticizes current Euro-Canadian social scientific assumptions about and descriptions of hunter-gatherers, paying particular attention to Northern Algonquians. This critique is synthesized with a similar critique of Euro-Canadian education for Canadian hunter-gatherers and particularly for Northern Algonquians.

To offer practical illustrations as well as the opportunity for the author to 'ground' his assumptions, this study next focuses on the development of a course outline of Cree land skills in the schools of the James Bay Territory of northwestern Quebec.

This study is finally brought to a conclusion with a description of a the strategy this researcher has developed for formal education for Northern Algonquian hunters.

DEDICATION

Without the influence, advice and example of the late Malcolm Diamond, it is unlikely that this thesis would have ever been written. As his son-in-law, I learned a positive alternative way for viewing the world as well as equally positive strategies for coping. This study is dedicated to him in respect and loving memory.

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I wish to thank my wife Gerti and my children for being supportive and patient while I completed this study.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

A significant number of Canada's indigenous people have maintained not only their traditional subsistence activities but as well, their languages and unique styles of social interaction. This remarkable persistence has compelled social scientists and educators to question the validity of long-accepted characterizations of them. On re-examining the theories generated as well as the data on which the latter have been based, social scientists now realize the vitality and complexity of what were previously thought to be 'simple' and 'archaic' cultures (Asch 1979) (Lewis 1983). Educators, too are gradually relinquishing their view of Indian and Inuit children as 'culturally deprived' and are becoming increasingly aware of the rich cultural resources available among hunter-gatherers (Deines 1984).

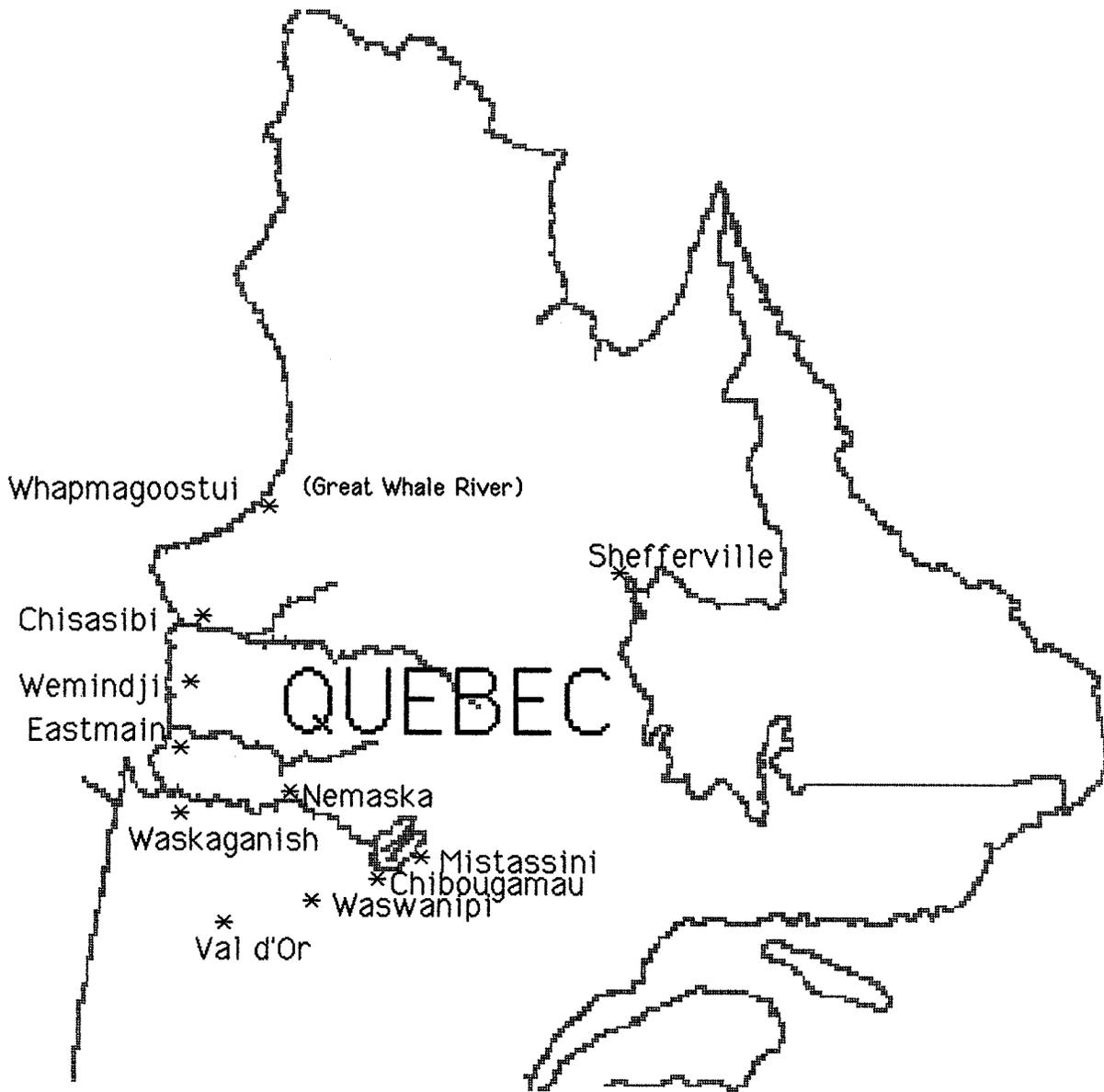
However, there is still the risk of developing another mythical 'savage', this one more noble than the last, if the experience of the last myth is not well used as a corrective example. The presentation of Canadian Aboriginals as lovers of nature, for example, can be readily supported by pointing to the manner in which many have and continue to live. Pervasive features of their world-views are intimately linked to and referenced with natural phenomena. But, as LaRocque (1975:34) points out "romanticizing Native peoples as Nature-lovers is damaging because the image tends to be presented in a very superficial way. The philosophy that

underlies the Indians' closeness with nature is usually circumvented. In motion pictures and popular writing, aboriginal people and other personages of Nature (such as animals, birds, fish) are often blurred together with such interchangeable terms as "young bucks" or, "feathered friends", (Aubry 1972). Often a commonality of behaviour among aboriginal people and animals is insinuated with such phrases as "the little Iroquois...silent as fish in a stream" (Aubry 1972:8) or "happy, they flexed their growing muscles like young animals" (Aubry 1972:63). Similarly, the behaviour of animals is often expressed in a manner associated with that of aboriginal people. In her book, Without Reserve, a description of contemporary Canadian Indian life, Sheila Burnford characterizes a certain dog as being a "part husky, part wolf, part Indian, dog" (Burnford 1969:224). As Frantz Fanon wrote of European writers' attitudes toward blacks (Fanon 1968:167), Canadian Indian and Inuit people are similiarly portrayed by writers as "symbolizing the biological". Implicit in these portraits is the view that Canadian Natives are driven by Nature and are not practising an articulated adaptive culture or cognitive style. In the words of Emma LaRocque, a Native woman from northern Alberta, "It is good and well that in our classrooms Native peoples are credited as the original defenders of ecology, but again, they are more than this. This is especially true today when there are thousands of urbanized Native peoples" (LaRocque 1975:34).

This dissertation develops a better understanding and

characterization of eastern James Bay Cree social and psychological traits. It is based on extended, practical and analytical experience of an ethnographic sort, over seventeen years of residence, family-forming, and work in education in three eastern James Bay Cree communities. The characterizations advanced would then be translated into appropriate premises and strategies for formal education. The research is truly interdisciplinary in that it draws first on the disciplines of social science, particularly anthropology, and must finally be articulated with foundations in formal education.

Many of the habits that will be ascribed or implied for Cree adults and children in the course of this study could easily be related to some Euro-Canadians as well. Nevertheless, formal education is necessarily founded on what is the central tendency (norms or cultural patterns) of the children in the milieu to be served rather than what might be said of only some individuals, or of unusual situations. Room for variance must be made in terms of that central tendency. Accordingly, the frequency and prevalence of social and psychological characteristics are of much greater importance than their surface manifestations. For example, children and adults reluctant to express opinions in a public setting can be found in not only a northern Algonquian milieu but a Euro-Canadian milieu as well. But the degree to which this reluctance is viewed as 'normal' or 'proper' has important implications for the manner in which



**MAP OF QUEBEC AND LABRADOR,
SHOWING THE EASTERN JAMES BAY TERRITORY**

FIGURE 1

educational activities should be structured and carried out, and the attitudes underlying reticence have a positive role to play.

As a way of giving this study practical dimensions and attainable goals, the main focus has been fixed upon the development of an elementary level Cree Culture Program for the community schools of the James Bay Territory of northern Quebec. This program involves the teaching of traditional northern Algonquian skills, usually by older members of each community. In addition to offering practical dimensions, this focus offers the most intracultural setting possible in a formal education context. The instructors, students and program content are virtually all Cree, northern Algonquians. For fundamental reasons, an intracultural setting is critical to this study. A setting where Euro-Canadian educators and knowledge were prominent would probably not produce many new insights. The ambiguities likely to be generated by Euro-Canadian confidence in ethnocentric attitudes and methodology, met by a corresponding northern Algonquian acquiescence would only reiterate the same styles of formal education which have produced so little northern Algonquian academic achievement. Conversely, northern Algonquian teachers engaged with northern Algonquian children in an exploration of northern Algonquian systems of knowledge will likely evoke a more ethnorelative climate, regardless of the historical models that the northern Algonquian teacher or student may have come prepared to imitate. Indeed, it has been this

researcher's experience that whatever problems typically occur in such settings (usually discipline), occur precisely because northern Algonquian students are unwilling to accept Euro-Canadian behaviour from northern Algonquian teachers.

The evolution of the Cree Culture Program also offers an instructive illustration of the evolving role which northern Algonquian competence and systematic knowledge has played in formal education in the James Bay Territory. Teaching traditional Cree skills and lore began as an interesting way of preoccupying students at school. It later became a practical context for a school initiated Leader Corps. With the birth of a legally constituted Cree School Board in 1978, Cree competence and systematic knowledge legitimately became part of the regular school program. Since that point, the Cree Culture Program has become an activity-oriented land skills program and there is a growing notion that a Cree system of knowledge should become the foundations for more academic programs such as mathematics, social studies, language arts, science, etc., as was begun in the Cree Way Project 1974-1977. This evolution of the Cree Culture Program closely parallels the development of a Cree community-level notion of culture and of the viability of a hunting and gathering lifestyle. A doctoral thesis, "A Study of the Cree Culture Course: An Educational Innovation by the James Bay Cree of Quebec", (Deines 1984), though lacking any ethnographic theory or perspective, offers some historical details and is a useful

example of perspectives shared by many Euro-Canadian educators. This researcher wishes to specify the actual social and psychological characteristics of the Cree core, and from a solid but not dogmatic basis in Cree socio-psychological reality, to build education foundations that speak to the children on their own terms, with allowance for individual variation. The proposals for the Cree Culture Program will serve to define education foundations by concrete examples, thereby ensuring that the foundations are truly Cree, not a merely plausible substitute derived from or by non-Cree sources.

Despite the focus on eastern James Bay Crees, there is sufficient cross-cultural comparability, to make this study pertinent to other hunter-gatherer populations in Canada and elsewhere in the world. Certain traits, quite relevant to this study, such as: "a strikingly uniform division of labour", (Murdock 1979:335); remarkably similar child-rearing strategies, (Whiting 1963, 1979:337); and, an "emphasis on individual achievement rather than group responsibility", (Whiting 1979:337) have been cited in support of a hunter-gatherer cultural type. Moreover, this author's field experiences among Inuit (Canada and Greenland), Dene, northern Algonquian, and Aborigine (Australia) hunters has markedly confirmed that comparability. The comparability of James Bay Cree hunter-gatherers and the lifestyles of other hunter-gatherers was clearly demonstrated during a visit by Greenland teacher college students to the Territory in the fall of 1983. As

the chauffeur and guide, the author can readily vouch for the ease with which Greenlanders and Crees interacted, sharing food, lodging and much discussion of mutual educational issues.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Dress-Up Creek is located a few miles from Rupert House, James Bay, Quebec. It was named after a tradition which offers a vivid organizing metaphor for this study. During the days when Rupert House was a European fur trading post, Crees stopped at Dress-Up Creek on their annual trip to the post to trade their furs. At this creek, people removed their 'bush' clothing and 'dressed-up' in European clothes. Once dressed for their arrival, they continued their journey to the post to trade. In those days, this activity was a special event, looked forward to, and enjoyed by those who took part. While a well-dressed Cree might influence a better bargain in trade, the habit of 'dressing-up' was also a social high point in the year. During the summer gatherings at the post, marriages were made, families and friends were re-united, and a great deal of feasting and storytelling took place. The domains of Cree life were relatively clear as were strategies for competence within those contexts. There is historical evidence to demonstrate that northern Algonquians (Crees among them) were capable of differentiating distinct sets of strategies and behaviours, depending on the domain. Jesuit Father Joseph Ignatius

Lafitau remarked of the northern Algonquians that they often manifested devout Christian behaviour at the trading post or mission, but would later be found on their hunting lands, practising their pagan religion as fervently as ever (Fenton & Moore 1977). Morantz and Frances in their study of trading practices in the James Bay Territory have shown how Crees hunting and trapping in kin or socially determined circumstances would regroup in 'trading gangs' especially constituted for visiting the post (Morantz & Frances 1984). These researchers have clearly demonstrated too that this regrouping was a function of Cree economic strategy rather than a function of European power over a Cree economy. Dress-up Creek was for Rupert House Band Crees a point of passage from one domain into another. More than clothes were changed. Strategies and behaviour were adjusted as well.

Today, the trading post as a domain for Cree living is no longer distinct or isolated from the bush. Neither are Cree control in the bush, nor European (now Euro-Canadian) control at the post, as mutually exclusive as they once were. Crees are competing with Euro-Canadians for control over food-animal resources from the bush, while at the same time are being ceded control over economic and sociopolitical affairs at the post. The bush-post distinction has become obscured and the tradition of Dress-Up Creek persists more as an attitude than as a special event. The lack of continuity between this attitude and current reality is very much evident in Cree community schools. In recent years, much attention has been paid to

changing the community school atmosphere toward one of comfort and familiarity. Yet, school staff, Cree parents, and students themselves, continue to act on the premise that the domain of Cree competence (hence control) is the bush. Conversely the belief prevails that Crees have little experience or expertise to offer a Euro-Canadian institution such as formal education. Consequently, success at school for Cree children has required them to assume or 'dress-up' in behaviours and attitudes many of which are not part of Cree competence. It is the researcher's belief that this Cree response to Euro-Canadian conceived education has contributed to the myth that the Cree child arrives at school deprived of many cultural resources that have intrinsic value for formal education. Many teachers (Euro-Canadian or Cree) and parents have tended to act as if the Cree child were 'culturally deprived'. The children have generally been urged by their parents to 'act properly' and to 'try hard', often in fashions not seen as proper or normal at home. The discrepancies between parental expectations on one hand and those embraced by formal education on the other, deepen as the Cree child continues in the system. During a period in their lives when Cree youth increasingly look for plausible explanations of the events in which they are involved (in early to mid secondary levels) the discontinuity between Cree and Euro-Canadian demands becomes increasingly difficult to bear and a majority of students drop-out (Sindell 1968), (Murdoch

1980). In spite of its very high failure rate, Euro-Canadian styles of education are not adequately questioned. Rather, the underlying complex of values and cognitive style is generally regarded as 'human' or universally true for all students. Blame for the majority of failures is usually attributed to the student, or more recently, the Native teachers. Despite the foregoing, culturally distinctive Native peoples have persisted and they have an abysmal record of success in the formal education system.

Simply put, there no longer exists a clear boundary between the traditional 'bush' Cree domain and 'trading post' European domain. Today, a distinct sociocultural boundary is maintained by teachers, students and parents alike, between Cree households and Cree community schools. The maintenance of such a boundary, and a school at variance with community life, confound the inductive role formal education is intended to play.

ORIENTATION OF THIS STUDY IN THE CONTEXT OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Three main issues which permeate the educational and anthropological literature, are relevant to this study: the differences in world views embraced by Crees and Euro-Canadians; the nature of culture change; and, the nature of learning. A description of this study's orientation on these three issues is of fundamental importance.

World View:

Euro-Canadians usually do not perceive or subsequently experience the world in the same fashion as do Cree hunter-gatherers. Euro-Canadians tend to regard the world of nature as being apart from themselves, as being wild, unruly, and requiring control or some domesticating action before its resources can be rendered useful. These perceptions and experiences are part of an industrial form of adaptation or social organization, described accordingly by Cohen (1968:52):

"Industrialism, like other adaptations, is as much a unique social organization as it is a technology man in an industrial society follows the machine; if he can better survive and better support his family by moving to a different machine in a different locality he does so, largely without regard to other people. He holds his position in relation to his source of subsistence through an impersonal system that pays for the use of his labour power, rather than through a group of kinsmen and by inheritance. The intellectualized goal of an industrial society is to run itself like the machines on which it is based. The organization of a factory is supposed to rest entirely on rational considerations of profit, efficiency, and production --not, as with the working unit in a preindustrial society, on considerations of consumption."

For Euro-Canadians, survival and the quality of life are determined by the degree that natural phenomena can be controlled or harnessed (Bobek 1962:246). Crees, on the other hand, regard themselves as coexisting with Nature and regard Nature as a provider (Scott 1982). Survival and the quality of life are therefore determined by the degree to which Man can synchronize his actions with those of Nature. "What a man could learn, and it was all that he could learn

in his lifetime, was a degree of fitness for the things he had to do" (Feit 1982).

These fundamental differences of the situations and perceptions which hunter-gatherer and industrial society members engage their respective worlds lie at the root of many misunderstandings. Dr. Peter Denny, a researcher of Canadian hunter-gatherer cognitive behaviour, like Cohen, characterizes industrial man as typically working outside the context in which [his] work has effect - the mechanic repairs an engine which he will not use. On the other hand, the work situation of hunters is fundamentally different in that he works primarily in the situation in which his work has its direct effects for him. Food produced is consumed by the worker's family. Clothes made by them are worn by them (Denny 1983:156). Denny's discussion of industrial and hunter-gatherer cognitive styles, offers a plausible explanation for Euro-Canadian failure to question the present philosophy and structure of formal education for Cree children:

"For context, or what I usually call inclusiveness, the picture from my own studies is that hunters and agriculturalists are inclusive (contextualizing) in their thinking, whereas industrialists are the opposite, which I usually call selective or isolating (non-contextualizing). Both factors are high among hunters (God's original model), and one or the other is low for agriculturalists and industrialists (the tandem disasters made by man). Under-differentiation among agriculturalists goes to spectacular and, to us, unintelligible lengths - a Bantu noun class may group together 'particulate substances' (e.g., sand), and 'liquids,' with 'daylight,' 'pleasant flavour,' 'whistling,' 'six,' 'provisions,' and 'life' (Denny and Creider, 1976). A Gilbertese noun class has as prominent members, trees, land sections, and fish hooks, leading the

scientist involved to say, with some desperation, that they are all "means of subsistence" (Silverman 1962). At the moment I have no idea why this undifferentiating cognitive style is favoured by agricultural life. Lack of contextual thinking among industrialists is equally spectacular, as shown by captains who carefully hold their course straight into an iceberg or a shoal. However, I have suggested one reason for it in this paper, the isolation of the industrial worker from the context in which his work is used. Another factor, I believe, is the successful control over the environment which industrial society derives from the discovery of powerful individual variables in nature, for example, magnetic north. In navigating we can rely on this single factor to a high degree and usually ignore safely other information." (Denny 1983:160-161)

This is a classic distinction, best known as Durkheim's mechanical vs organic solidarity. Denny and Cohen are late borrowers of the ideas. In a similar fashion Euro-Canadian styled education relies heavily for its direction on factors very much isolated from the context in which the Cree student lives. The events or symptoms which might signal to Euro-Canadian educators that changes in direction are required, often unfold outside the domain of formal education, for instance, in the children's homes. In addition, Cree child behaviour at school which differs with Euro-Canadian norms is far more likely to be interpreted as childish than as a competent Cree alternative. For example, Cree-valued modesty and reserve in public is invariably interpreted by Euro-Canadian educators as 'shyness' (Preston 1975). To be more effective with Cree students, educators will need to stop relying on the factors which have been isolated as critical to Euro-Canadian styled education. Until general Cree patterns are recognized, direction would

better be determined and expressed in the context of Cree childhood and community life. Even after certain factors or constants may be determined, there would still be value in 'contextualizing' (as opposed to isolating principles). The 'contextualizing' style will continue to be the thinking style best understood and preferred by most members of the community.

As with social competence, hunter-gatherer notions of territory are also expressed in contextual or naturalistic terms. Consequently, they are often assumed by Euro-Canadians to be wild, poorly formed or even nonexistent (Scribner & Cole 1974:15). On the other hand, many Indian people have believed in European commitment to land treaties because of such phrases as "as long as the river shall run, as long as the sun shall shine". Unhappily, it has been later discovered that these expressions, though vitally significant to Canadian Aboriginals, are regarded more as poetic than legally binding by Euro-Canadians. Implicit in the words and actions of most Euro-Canadians is the notion that Nature lacks useful patterns for organization and these must therefore be imposed. On the other hand, many Indian people believe that useful patterns for organization are manifested in Nature (Berger 1977). Similarly, while most Euro-Canadians tend to describe a 'Man' as separate from Nature. Indian people find difficulty in viewing 'Man' abstracted outside the context of an all-inclusive 'Nature'. This confusion is well illustrated in a recent film, "I Heard the Owl Call My Name", (Marlin Motion Pictures 1974):

[Mark Brian, an young Anglican priest is aboard a small boat en route to his first parish, an isolated Indian village. In an effort to start up a conversation with his Indian deck-hand Jim Wallace, Mark asks him about his village, their destination.]

[Mark Brian]: How big is Kutkuese, Jim? How big is your village?

[Jim Wallace]: Whitemen always say that. How big is your village. They just don't get it.

[Mark Brian]: Tell me. I'll get it.

[Jim Wallace]: My village is so big that it never gets rained on because the rain is my village too...and the wind....and the sea. Get it?

[Mark Brian trying hard but looking puzzled]

[Jim Wallace]: All the history of my tribe, and all of its legends. That's my village too...and me...I am my village too, and the village is me..... You don't get it.

Without doubt, such perceptions of the world are vivid and clear in the minds of the Indian peoples who verbalize and demonstrate them in many other social contexts (George 1971:2). But because they reflect rather than transcend Nature, they are often regarded as 'mystical', 'proverbial', or 'unscientific' (Aldrich 1931:235-236) (Levy-Bruhl 1923) (Service 1979:65). Once understanding and accepting the Cree world view as a valid alternative to that preferred by Euro-Canadians, then the remarks of a Jim Wallace are plausible indeed. A primary tenet of Cree adult treatment of children is to choose courses of action which are synchronized with the particular 'Nature' of the child and which engage him within an important social context. For example, a parent will ask an adult deeply respected by the child to speak to him/her about a serious matter rather than act alone on a

generalized notion of parental role. In the same vein, threats involving external agents, bribery, and teasing are used much more frequently by Cree adults than the more direct and often corporal styles prescribed by Euro-Canadians (Cazden & John 1979:13).

Nature of Culture Change:

In association with differences in world view are marked differences in how Euro-Canadians and Crees perceive or experience 'culture'. The former distinguish between social and cultural in that "social pertains to relations between persons, whereas cultural pertains to beliefs, standards of behaviour, values, knowledge, and all other aspects of culture" (Theodorson & Theodorson:1969:383). The tendency to separate Man from Nature and the habit of abstracting aspects of the behaviour of both is not shared by Cree hunter-gatherers. The clearest indication of this should be that there is no word in Cree which even approximates 'culture', much to the inconvenience of Cree Culture instructors trying to explain their roles to new arrivals from southern Canada. In fact, such instructors gladly relinquish the task of writing job descriptions and programs to Euro-Canadians. This awkwardness and apparent lack of an equivalent to the concept of 'culture' has bolstered the notion that Indian children are 'culturally deprived'.

The notion of culture used by Euro-Canadian educators is neither time-worn nor clearly focused. Many would not see

fit to include technological items such as machines and factories, as Cohen (1968) and fellow social scientists have done. Thus it should not be surprising that such bottomless expressions as 'having no culture' or being 'culturally deprived' emerge in cross-cultural education and debate.

The sense of culture or humanity used and preferred by this researcher is as expressed by Geertz:

"To be human here is thus not to be Everyman; it is to be a particular kind of man, and of course men differ...The point is that there are different ways; and to shift to the anthropologists perspective now, it is in systematic review and analysis of these --of the Plains Indian's bravura, the Hindu's obsessiveness, the Frenchman's rationalism, the Berber's anarchism, the American's optimism (to list a series of tags I should not like to have to defend as such) --that we find out what it is, or can be, to be a man." (Geertz 1968:29)

As in world view, Cree perceptions and experiences of human behaviour are holistic and in conversation with the natural world in which they occur. A 'social' behaviour is not distinguished from a 'cultural' behaviour. Cree 'cultural' behaviour is highly particularistic. For example, the credibility of a sacred story or legend or even current events, is verified through the experience of known or 'particular' individuals, not through 'general' principles of credibility. If no such person (usually kin) can be found, then the veracity of the story is doubted and the story is not usually retold (Murdoch 1983) (Freston 1975). We arrive once more at the question, 'How big is your culture', or 'What is your culture'. The Indian tendency is to respond with a statement of relationships rather than

'things'. For the Cree child, society and culture together, are the rain... and the wind...and the sea...all the history of his tribe, and all of its legends. He is his society and culture too, and his society and culture is him. But holistic need not be also undifferentiated or 'simple'.

Underlying the Euro-Canadian differentiation of social behaviour from cultural behaviour is the belief that one can be affected or changed separately from the other (Geertz 1957). Unfortunately, this has practical consequences when the distinction is poorly understood and applied. For example, the federal and provincial governments have practised the belief that Indian children can be socially integrated with Euro-Canadian children, thus precipitating cultural disintegration, without causing a corresponding social disintegration. As a direct result of these assimilationist educational policies, many Canadian Indian and Inuit parents and their children no longer speak their aboriginal language. Many are no longer adapted to their traditional socioeconomic environments and adaptations to new circumstances have been frustrated. Typically, the Native families and communities which once provided support for individual personality (or identity) development were displaced or undermined by the manner in which government offered education, health, social and economic services. Today, thousands of Canadian Aboriginal adults and children are struggling to construct culturally distinct identities while living in a large, culturally diverse Canadian society. Their struggle is further frustrated by the poor

grasp of their situation by formal educators. All too often, appearance, actually racism poorly imputed to biology, becomes the basis for identity. Their indignation is deepened by the inferior social position implied by their racially constructed identity. A common Euro-Canadian stereotype (unfortunately shared by many Indians too) involves drinking like an Indian because of a supposed genetically transmitted, metabolic vulnerability to alcohol; possessing dark skin, black hair and high cheek bones; and, having a natural instinct or an affinity with nature not shared by Europeans. Identified in racist terms, Indian people become the prisoners of not only a largely unalterable physique, but the negative meanings attached by an insensitive and dominant society. Here the key word is appearance. Identified in biological terms, one appears or looks like an Indian. A culturally constructed identity involves emulation and practice of behaviours which could include a unique complex of language, world view, values, and problem solving styles. Here the key word is competence. Identified in cultural terms, one acts like an Indian. Racist stereotypes for Indians, largely determined by Euro-Canadians, promote none of the competences or positive solutions for coping with an ever-changing world that identities constructed on cultural criteria might offer.

This dilemma is not peculiar to Canada and its aboriginal people. With a perspective very similar to that of Geertz (1957), Fitzgerald (1977:147-152) writes of New Zealand relations with its first people, the Maori:

"....if the Government persists in its present policy of cultural assimilation, that is, the gradual eradication of the Maori sub-culture, it may well precipitate a racial problem, because biological characteristics then will be enhanced as the basis of an identification and, hence, as the potential basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as 'races'.....Cultural identity is, then, a conservative mechanism for adaptation in face of change. We feel that the distinction between social and cultural identity is important because the source of Maori identity in New Zealand seems to be primarily cultural rather than social; hence, the major cleavage between Maori and Pakeha is cultural rather than social in origin. Therefore, in such a complex heterogeneous society, focus must be on training individuals, not for conformity to a rigid pattern of behaviour but for efficiency within this rich and complex bicultural heritage."

Particularly in northern Quebec, there have recently been significant changes in the manner in which Crees are identified and treated by government officials as well as by the Euro-Canadian populations of the Cree region. Only a decade ago, the more racially constituted term 'Indian' was used by Euro-Canadians and Crees alike. No particular note was made of important cultural differences between, say Mohawks (a tribe traditionally involved in agriculture) and Crees (exclusively hunter-gatherers). Today, Crees are called 'Crees' or a more colloquial 'Arabs of the North' in recognition of the control they have over their own affairs. Notwithstanding the physical features they share with other Canadian Indians, they are called Crees in general recognition that they are adapting to, and even participating in, cultural change.

Crees and Euro-Canadians differ not only in their conceptualization of culture, but as well in the manner in

which they perceive and experience culture change. Consequently their strategies for affecting the process differ as well. The response of Euro-Canadians in the face of culture change, for instance, to language loss usually takes a generalized or organized form. For example, the actions and language policies of the Quebec government in defense of the French language provide illustration of a typical response. The Quebec government, through Bills 22 and 101 has dictated the use of the French language in the commercial and educational activities of its citizens. This approach to language preservation could be termed as general in that it attempts to affect the entire population of the province in a general and uniform fashion. The Cree response in the face of culture change, for example, to language loss usually takes a particular form. A more common Cree response has been to alter the specific context of the particular person losing his language so that the same processes contribute to recovery that once contributed to loss of language. Culture is dealt with in its natural or usual context. A case in point would be the habit of eastern James Bay Crees whose new administrative roles have necessitated their residence in Val d'Or, a Quebec mining town. This town has only a small, mainly transient, Cree population. At times, Cree children (and their parents) appear to be drifting away from the Cree milieu. One symptom of this would be an awkwardness in speaking Cree. In response, Cree parents tend to send their children 'home' for a while. 'Home' is usually the Cree community of origin where most

kin are living. If that arrangement is not convenient or possible, Cree high school students might be taken in to provide a similar linguistic and social climate. These alterations are not always brought about on the initiative of parents. Cree children moved to Val d'Or, away from an affectionate host of grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, and name-sakes, often sense a loss of intimacy. It is not unusual for them to ask and be allowed to live with another part of their extended family. This dichotomous example of Quebecois and Cree approaches to language maintenance was chosen to illustrate an important contrast in the strategies which underlie these respective approaches. The Quebecois approach is designed to 'alter' the context, therefore altering the effect. The Cree approach is designed to move to another, existing context in a manner which influences the maximum number of positive effects.

Government pressure applied to Indian adults to assimilate them to the culture of the majority has produced changes which are short-lived. The early 19th century evangelization of southern Ontario Ojibwa (Algonquian cousins to the Crees) by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries appeared to have been an irreversible change. Once nomadic hunters were seen farming, dressing in European clothes, and practising 'civilized' social behaviours; but the child-rearing styles used by these Ojibwa were not engaged by the missionaries who usually met their flock outside the context of family. Subsequently, the next generation of Ojibwa were

for the most part once again hunters with no noticeable affection for the newly acquired habits of their parents (Graham 1975:31). In contrast, government pressure applied to Indian children to assimilate them to the culture of the majority has proven devastatingly effective in producing changes in behaviour. But, the resulting changes do not constitute a well integrated set of strategies for adequate social and psychological development.

There is now very clear evidence that certain aspects of culture survive long after an Algonquian population has been apparently assimilated. Caudill (1949) compared the greatly acculturated Lac Flambeau Ojibwa with Hallowell's 1930's data for northern Minnesota Ojibwa and found them psychologically very close in spite of gross differences between their contemporary ecological and social circumstances. Black (1967) conducted similar tests among Round Lake Ojibwa, neighbours of Hallowell's Berens River Ojibwa. These tests produced results very consistent with Hallowell's data gathered some decades earlier. During a recent field trip, this researcher noticed a very similar psychological profile among the Australian Aborigines. This appearance is clearly substantiated in studies by Australian researcher Judith Kearins. The latter's studies among Australian Aborigines of the area visited by this researcher revealed findings that:

"Non-traditionally reared children of Australian Aboriginal Desert origin living in European style, having families two or three generations removed from traditional cultural practices, demonstrated consistently superior ability in relation to

performances of European descent children living in a bush town, on the visual spatial memory tasks." (Kearins 1977:150)

This performance of non-traditional Aborigine children was markedly similar to that of Aboriginal children still living in a traditional desert setting. Kearins also noted that the non-traditional Aborigine children maintained their marked psychological similarity with their traditional counterparts, in spite of being subject to considerable acculturative pressure and being for the most part literate. This aspect led her to discount the effects of literacy on either the children or their parents as a determining factor. Kearins, a psychologist rather than ethnographer by training suggests a genetic explanation for this remarkable persistence of cognitive style. However, as this researcher will argue later in this thesis, both current research and field data gathered more widely among hunter-gatherer populations favours cultural explanations over physiological or biological ones. Whatever Kearins explanations are for her findings among Aborigines it is quite clear that her findings parallel very closely those of Caudill, Hallowell and Black and moreover demonstrate the persistence of cognitive style among Aborigine children who now live in an industrial setting. It is the researcher's belief that the persistent hunter-gatherer psychological profile in an industrial setting is due to the persistence of the socioculturally distinct hunter-gatherer group within urban boundaries. Within the confines of that distinct group, hunter-gatherer childrearing habits and the psychological

effects they promote are also persistent. Kearins' may have obtained very different results were she to have tested racially or genetically Aborigine children who no longer lived in association with an Aborigine population. Kearins' study did not include such children and can therefore make no authoritative statement about the psychological profile of an Aborigine race. In short, the researcher of this study holds that the hunter-gatherer psychological profile is largely a culturally not genetically determined effect.

There is a growing literature and research to suggest that literacy and schooling may not have the transforming effect on cognitive style they are commonly believed to have. Scribner & Cole(1974) discovered that the psychological traits of children in Ghana were qualitatively the same, in spite of very divergent styles of schooling in Koranic, state and other schools. There was some variation in the degree of the children's verbal articulation and social habits, but their cognitive styles were remarkably similar. These findings were confirmed in communication with Dr. Jo-anne Bennett(1983) who conducted similar research in Ghana. Therefore, it would appear that literacy and schooling do not transform so much as articulate and promote existing cognitive styles.

Where literacy is seen by many Euro-Canadians as being the 'frozen speech' by which people become more conscious of the quality of their language usage, literacy has not proven to be the conscious-raising vehicle preferred by Canadian

Indian and Inuit. In only a few years, operating often exclusively in the vernacular, the northern radio networks have had a much more noticeable ameliorating effect on Native languages than literacy has had in more than a century. Literacy has not held the same exalted position in hunter gatherer societies that it does in an industrial setting. Perhaps this is so because literacy has not satisfied the same needs in both settings. For example, the learning of important subsistence skills in an industrial society is invariably premised on the students' ability to read and be schooled. In contrast, the learning of subsistence skills in a hunter gatherer society is reliant upon observation and practise in familiar company. For literacy to be as highly regarded in a hunter gatherer society, literate innovations must be well integrated with the full range of societal needs and resources (Kushner 1962). That integration did once exist to a certain degree among a large number of Canadian hunter gatherers as a result of the innovation of a syllabic writing system (Murdoch 1981). This literate form was learned within Indian and Inuit family hunting groups; however, when compulsory government schooling was introduced, the former intraculturally learned skill all but disappeared. This same system is enjoying a renaissance, largely due again to intracultural rather than intercultural efforts (eg. government instituted education). But this renaissance is very pale compared with the main literacy efforts of government supported schools. These efforts have involved a

second language (English or French), and have excluded significant participation by students' families and not surprisingly have been far less successful than earlier intracultural efforts. Gagne (1974) describes an identical sequence of events when intracultural Cherokee Indian literacy training was displaced by American government schools with the same dismal results.

Euro-Canadian portrayal of and practices in culture change tend to be too narrowly defined and lacking in contingency, to be constructively applied in a Cree milieu. For example, Euro-Canadian instituted culture change in the area of language education has typically focused on a certain linguistic precision mainly in literacy, to the virtual exclusion of other sociocultural issues (Murdoch 1981). The discrepancies between Euro-Canadian and Indian notions of culture and its processes cannot be left as a philosophical debate. All over Canada, a system of education, a complex of Euro-Canadian cultural thought and practice, continues to create discontinuities in the lives of Indian children. This researcher takes the position that 'school' or formal education in its current form still largely exists outside the normal activities of most Indian communities. The communities of the James Bay Territory are not exceptions. Because the sociocultural realities of host communities are not reflected in common school organization and processes, these institutions must be treated as attempts at cultural innovation. Once Euro-Canadian

approaches are recognized as only potential innovations (rather than as universal or human institutions), a wealth of research into innovation and culture change can be drawn upon. There exists an extensive literature, researched during and after the Second World War, exploring the compatibility and congruence of innovations with the recipient culture, Kushner et al (1962); Keesing (1958:390,398,406). Much of what has been learned of successful innovators, strategies for innovation, and effective internalization of innovations to be accepted, could readily be applied to the roles, methods and organization of formal education for Crees.

Nature of Learning:

The author and co-author of a series of best-selling books on current North American education foundations, Neil Postman describes the philosophical basis of current approaches:

"....Locke furthered the theory of childhood through his well known idea that at birth the mind is a blank tablet, a tabula rasa. Thus, a heavy responsibility fell to parents and schoolmasters (and then, later, to government) for what is eventually written on the mind.[p.57].....I do not mean to give the impression here, Huck Finn notwithstanding, that the Lockean view began to fall into disrepute, although this was probably the case for its more extreme Calvinist expression, i.e., that children are depraved. The tradition of Locke, after all, speaks for a high degree of caring and nurturing of children, and, above all, for the linguistic education of children. To this day, in America and throughout Europe, the assumptions of Locke are reflected not only in the schools but in most of the institutions concerned with children." (Postman 1982:61)

It is the belief of this researcher that the view of the nature of learning which imbues Euro-Canadian approaches to formal education characterizes the pupil as an empty cup, and that an Indian child is regularly assumed by formal education to be more difficult to fill than most. While a wealth of policy statements, literature and research reflect a concern for the individuality of Canadian students, this concern is not as evident in the practices of schools. Typically, the program or curriculum is organized in terms of the knowledge and skills which the child lacks. Lists of individual students' experiences and the family resource persons available do not usually accompany a child to school. A child is regarded as having potential instead of resources; a potential or a nature that needs to be molded, disciplined, and tamed in order to be productive (Guemple 1979). The initiatives and direction exerted in a Canadian child's education come virtually always from a teacher in a context established in accordance with generalized criteria such as linguistic choices made by state or parents, age, level of academic achievement, and on occasion, the ability to pay for special instruction at a private school. The inherent Euro-Canadian view of Nature (in this instance, the nature of the child) and its prescription for dealing with Nature are very much in evidence in the styles employed by formal education in Canada and in other societies of European origin.

Underlying the conflict between respective educating styles are fundamental differences in child-rearing

practices. Malinowski's observations of Australian Aborigines led him to conclude:

"From the lack of any chastisement we may infer that the education given by the parents to their children was a very insignificant one, for it is impossible to conceive of any serious education without co-ercive treatment, especially at that low stage of culture. But as the children are constantly with their mother and very often with their father, the parental influence must be of great importance in the questions of the arts of life and of all the knowledge necessary in tribal affairs." (Malinowski 1963:256)

Annette Hamilton in more recent fieldwork among Malinowski's subjects, characterizes Aborigine childhood as "a process of gentle continuation based on the child's own development, stretching from birth to about 9 or 11 years". Then, she claims that "there is a sudden change as the child enters the stage of 'wana' and 'ngamanguma', knowing that shortly thereafter they will be claimed by the world of 'wura' (man) and 'gama' (woman)" (Hamilton 1981:18). This description comes very close to another by Jean Briggs used to describe a similar aspect of Canadian Inuit life:

"The Utku [a particular group of Inuit] expect little children to be easily angered (urulu, qiquq, ningaq) and frightened (ighi, kappia) and to cry easily when disturbed (huqu), because they have no ihuma: no mind, thought, reason or understanding. Adults say they are not concerned (huqu, naklik) by a child's irrational fears and rages, because they know there is nothing really wrong; they are concerned only when a child is hungry, cold, ill or in real danger. They may laugh at a child's fear or anger; nevertheless, at least while the child is small, there is affection in the amusement, an affection expressed in caressing words and tones: 'Naaaaklingnaqtuq!' Because children are unreasoned beings, unable to understand that their distress is illusory, people are at pains to reassure them. And similarly, because children cannot understand the exigencies of the real world: shortages of food and

needs of other people, people feel it is hard (ayuqnaq) for them to be deprived of anything they may want.

In the Utku view, growing up is very largely a process of acquiring 'ihuma', since it is primarily the use of 'ihuma' that distinguishes mature, adult behaviour from that of a child, an idiot, a very sick or an insane person. 'Ihuma' has many manifestations. When a child begins to respond to the social world around him: when he begins to recognize people and to remember, to understand words and to talk, when he begins to be shy and self-conscious (kanngu), to learn restraint in self-expression, and to want to participate in socially useful activities, people remark affectionately that the child is acquiring 'Ihuma'. Utku consider, I think, that the growth of 'ihuma' is internal and autonomous to a degree. They believe that 'ihuma' needs to be informed, instructed, in order to develop along proper lines, but that there is no point in trying to teach a child before he shows signs of possessing it. So in many respects the child is permitted to time his own social growth. The belief is that the more 'ihuma' the child acquires, the more he will want to use it". (Briggs 1970:111)

This researcher has quoted Briggs at length because her sensitive description was developed in close proximity with an Inuit family over a period of several months, and because it also very closely approximates eastern Cree attitudes toward childhood and child rearing. Though not as abstracted, the first-hand description of a Blood Indian childhood and child rearing by Beverly Hungry Wolf (1980) echos the same attendant attitudes. As with the view of Nature in general, Euro-Canadian preferences are for altering or molding the Nature perceived; whereas, the hunter gatherer, in this case eastern Cree preference is for synchronizing or influencing the Nature perceived.

A Cree teaching in his or her own relatively small community (rarely exceeding 2,000 people) community, may

never even see a 'child' in the general conceptual sense, abstracted separate from a whole host of contextual criteria. Instead a Cree teacher will more likely see a person expressed in terms of important relations and traits, seeing instead a nephew, niece, brother or sister, son or daughter, or at the very least a young person known intimately well. This situation is roughly comparable to the country and small town schools of fifty years ago in southern Canada. It is difficult and only very rarely possible for such a person to look upon his kin based community and envisage clusters of people grouped in accordance with general criteria of age, intelligence (of a narrowly defined kind), reading level, etc..

The Cree teacher's perception is shaped by the natural and more prominent groupings of family; people who trap in a certain area, families that spend a season together, children who usually play together, etc.. This researcher has found it exceedingly difficult to obtain information about the behaviour of children of an abstract or hypothetical nature from northern Canadian Algonquians (Murdoch 1983). While people of a hunting community may have difficulty verbalizing such abstractions, expressing such insights in actions is in sharp contrast, adroit. The best way to illustrate this important difference is with an example. During a recent trip to an eastern Arctic community, this author was observing in the primary classroom of an Inuit teacher. One of his students was unable to manage one of the mathematical skills in his seatwork. After a variety of

unsuccessful efforts to present the challenge to the student, the Inuit teacher finally decided to seek other help. The teacher visited the boy's parents one evening and in a typical fashion passed some time in other conversation before raising the matter. He asked the boy's parents who they thought was the best teacher in the community. They kindly flattered him by mentioning his name at least once. But after guessing all of the teachers, they at last gave up. The Inuit teacher told them that for their son, they were the best teachers in the community. He drew their attention to the fact that few if any other people knew him as well. To be 'the best teacher' one needed to know the student best. With that settled, he pulled out their son's unfinished work and showed them exactly where the problems were. In much later conversation with this Inuit teacher, I learned the same boy's parents were able to help him with the skill with which he had difficulty; and frequently after, turned that skill into a game or a job in support of the family. At school, the student caught up with his peers very quickly and whenever the need arose, he again returned to (for him at least) the 'best teachers in the community'. When the Inuit teacher was asked where he had learned to deal with his student and their families in such a fashion, he credited his father who had never been to school but who had treated him in a similar fashion as a young person. His father had on occasion sought out an uncle or some other person to whom he was particularly close, for the learning

of important lessons. The Inuit teacher, using this principle of enlisting the particular best teacher had innovated an effective problem solving strategy in the classroom, achieving a balance of competence and intimacy. As well, this innovation encouraged the student to bridge this family life with his school life, thereby establishing important continuity in his intellectual and social growth.

This example is not typical of most Indian and Inuit teachers' classrooms because few have survived Euro-Canadian styled education with enough confidence to apply their own people's strategies, but these styles of relations with children are still very much in evidence in everyday Native community life. By far the greatest need for innovation in Cree formal education lies in developing instrumental techniques which will allow such intimate understanding of children to be used on a larger scale, for example, in teaching methods and curriculum design.

Because of such a hunter-gatherer view of the nature of childhood, child rearing and learning, it is the belief of this researcher that it is easier and more practical, for educators, students and parents to focus on providing attractive developmental opportunities for individual students. This would be as an alternative to current formal education practice of teaching skills on the basis of a generalized curriculum, based on a 'normal' child.

ASSUMPTIONS OF THIS STUDY

This researcher has departed from the tradition of offering a set of hypotheses. This departure is made to avoid pre-empting the more full discussion of social scientific theories offered in subsequent chapters. Instead, this author presents the set of assumptions drawn from the previous discussion which provide a basis for this study. These assumptions have been tested and refined for their theoretical and practical accuracy in the course of the investigations herein reported. This researcher assumed that:

1) Due to fundamental differences in world view, Euro-Canadians and eastern Crees neither view nor experience the world in the same fashion. Typically, Euro-Canadians mental manipulations are in terms of isolates, or 'facts' detached or abstracted from their usual contexts. But, eastern Cree hunter gatherer mental processes engage information in situ or as snapshots of subjects juxtapositioned with the other phenomena to which they are normally (phenomenally) related, described by Geertz (1983) as "local knowledge". This primary difference accounts for many of the misunderstandings and discontinuities between Euro-Canadian and Cree educational efforts.

2) The nature of culture change is viewed differently by eastern Crees than it is by Euro-Canadians because of differing notions of what constitutes 'culture' and of the processes by which culture changes. In conversation with

divergent world views, Euro-Canadian and Cree notions of culture are also dissimilar. Whereas Euro-Canadian educators and researchers can discuss and treat, for example, 'language' problems in isolation from 'social' problems, eastern Crees demonstrate a preference for dealing with the same problems configured with all other aspects related to the central 'language' issue. As a result of this Cree preference for contextual or holistically concrete approaches, Euro-Canadian innovations to James Bay communities succeed in proportion to the degree that they are well integrated with all of the sociocultural behaviours and values the innovations touch. The Euro-Canadian sense of culture change usually underlying educational efforts for eastern Cree assumes that some form of restructuring which alters culture change processes is required for cultural preservation (eg. language). The eastern Cree notion favours an approach which attempts a re-synchronization of behaviours with cultural processes already at work in order to maximize the production of desirable effects. Culture change in terms of re-synchronization is an adjustment in cultural content designed to preserve cultural modality. For example, in order to achieve a satisfying life in a village, different from a traditional bush setting, the Cree preference for cultural change would be to innovate new techniques for social organization based on the same core of values or modal behaviour already adapted to the bush. This approach to maintaining sociocultural stability in the face of assimilative pressures is described by Eaton (1951) in

the case of the Hutterites. Finally, the processes which have historically been significant agents of culture change for Euro-Canadians (eg. literacy, schooling) cannot be uncritically assigned the same prominence or potency in an eastern Cree sociocultural setting. On the other hand, a psychological profile or cognitive style characteristic of hunter gatherers appears to be highly resistant to the assimilative pressures of a dominant industrial society.

3) The nature of learning in Euro-Canadian and Cree milieus is very much dependent on respective views of Man and Nature. The Euro-Canadian views of Man and Nature are to some degree mutually exclusive. Accordingly, Euro-Canadian Man achieves maturity and subsistence competence by learning how to overcome or bypass Nature, beginning with his own 'Nature'. Education and child rearing necessarily becomes an enterprise engaged in molding and controlling. In contrast, Cree perception of the nature of learning assumes that the 'Nature' of the child, like the larger all pervasive 'Nature' must be nurtured and synchronized rather than controlled through structured interventions.

METHODOLOGY USED IN THIS STUDY

The investigations proposed by this study have been carried out using the following methodology:

1. Synthesize a lucid and defensible sociocultural depiction of eastern Cree hunter gatherers. This portrait would provide a theoretical context for the subsequent

refinement into a sociopsychological portrait. Then a synthesis is constructed of characteristic descriptions by social scientists of hunter-gatherer social and psychological behaviour in order to distinguish between those descriptions which enjoy a broad consensus of support from those viewed as less plausible.

2. In correspondence with persons involved in actual field research of hunter-gatherers (in a variety of ecosystems), this researcher has tested the accuracy of respective social and psychological descriptions derived from the literature, as well as this researcher's own assumptions described earlier. This testing would query whether or not and in accordance with what criteria does 'hunter-gatherer' constitute a useful general category for classifying human sociocultural behaviour. Testing has taken the form of field visits to hunter-gatherer communities where such social and psychological descriptions were being defined in their application to practical tasks, including schooling. This included, for example, a visit to a hunter-gatherer community where educational innovations constructed on such descriptions were being attempted. Communities visited sampled a variety of ecosystems, such as the central Australian desert, the Canadian boreal forest, and the Arctic (Canada and Greenland).

3. Particularly during this researcher's own fieldwork, the hunter-gatherers themselves were interviewed for the descriptions and explanations of their own behaviour which

are most widely believed or practised as if true. These intracultural explanations have been compared with those generated by social scientists to determine what interpretations of traits are generally supported in both academic and applied milieus, as well as to determine what behaviours and respective descriptions or explanations are more vulnerable to European ethnocentricity. For example, many researchers' descriptions of northern Algonquian adult/child relations contrast sharply with northern Algonquian persons' own accounts. This would suggest significant differences in respective values and consequent interpretations held by researchers and northern Algonquians themselves.

4. Educational literature and current practices have been examined as they apply generally to Indian people and specifically to northern Algonquian hunter-gatherers. A comparison has been made between this researcher's theoretical assumptions (at this stage, now tested in terms of social science theory) on one hand, and educational literature and current schooling practices on the other. Particular attention has been paid to inconsistencies between current educational and social science perspectives.

5. The descriptions of hunter-gatherers developed earlier has been integrated with the latter critique of current educational perspectives. Combined, these have been used to frame a working strategy for continuing the adaptation of traditional Cree skills to eastern James Bay community schools. This study focuses at this stage on the

development of an official program description and course outline for the Cree Culture (traditional skills) Program of the Cree School Board, for the elementary levels in the James Bay Territory of northwestern Quebec. The marked narrowing of this study's focus at this point is proposed in respect of the following practical constraints:

a) First, application of developed descriptions and a subsequent working strategy over a broad sociocultural spectrum would test this researcher's assumptions in only a very general sense. Such descriptions in a strategy to be applied generally would need to remain general in order to remain contingent of all sociocultural variables. Those conclusions relating to more intimate social and cognitive style would remain untested and largely hypothetical.

b) Second, the negotiations with political, and administrative organizations together with the location of financial resources required, would overshadow and likely displace the research focus of this study to much less generalizable, particular tasks.

c) Third, the interpretation of theory into a particular milieu and the construction of effective curriculum both rely on a degree of familiarity which this researcher already has for the James Bay Territory, but would lack in another milieu. As well, the fieldwork component of this study required that this researcher have an intimate enough relationship with the sociocultural behaviours involved, for example, child rearing, close

adult-child relations, and a family life distinct from a student's school life. As well, unless key subjects and participants know and are known by this researcher, much needed response and co-operation would not have been forthcoming.

6. Concurrent with theoretical and field inquiry, this researcher has been engaged with the actual development of an intracultural Cree Culture (traditional skills) Program. In fact, this author's interest in doctoral research was motivated by the need felt for a formal or theoretical influence not readily available in an eastern Cree community. Accordingly, as theoretical and field inquiries progressed, the resulting realizations have had increasing influence on the manner in which the intracultural Cree Culture Program developed. In addition, concurrent with doctoral research, in the author's usual capacity of education consultant, a series of consultative trips were made to the Cree communities of the James Bay Territory to determine how the role and performance of the Cree Culture Program were perceived by school principals, teachers in general, program instructors, students and parents. The official purpose of these visits was to develop important consensus to support curriculum development efforts. Later when this stage in methodology was reached, this researcher articulated educational and anthropological theory with educational activities. These articulations were organized under the headings of: world view (including the philosophy and purpose of the program); nature of culture change as

implied by the approach being adopted; and, the nature of learning as implied by the methods and curriculum strategies described. A prototype or official program of studies for traditional Cree skills instruction at the elementary level was developed through the following sequence of activities:

a) Workshop discussion among social scientists with research expertise and interests related to the particular area being developed was animated to synthesize a schemata or organizing framework for curriculum development. The agenda for this workshop included a review of the relevant efforts of various participants of the workshops and where possible, intracultural critiques of current Euro-Canadian approaches. These criticisms, particularly wherever they focus on styles of framing of activities, or concepts which pose dissonance with the more common Cree style or concept offered useful direction for the workshop. The dissonance noted was correlated with the need for more Cree appropriate strategies to be used or with the need to present important Euro-Canadian concepts in a manner more intelligible with Cree experience. This type of forum was used to produce a framework or schemata which was intended to achieve the same general educational goals as current Euro-Canadian programs, but through a style and sequence of activities more congruent with Cree thought and semantics.

b) The framework thus synthesized would next be used as an instrumental organizing technique for Cree community based curriculum development efforts directed toward the

elementary level. In addition to this researcher, the participants at this stage would be one or two persons from the previous academic forum, together with Cree Culture instructors of the Cree School Board, James Bay Territory. In the course of this curriculum development stage, care would be taken to assure adherence to the schemata devised by the social scientists, as well as adherence to a socio-pedagogical style and content which is consistent with what is believed to be normal, natural, and effective within a Cree milieu when both teachers and students are Cree. More simply, the resulting curriculum should pose Cree adults with Cree children in a fashion to which they are accustomed to outside school, particularly at home. This reflects one of the fundamental assumptions on which this study is based, that formal education would best be developed to exploit students strengths and resources. This study rejects the common Euro-Canadian evolutionary hypothesis that educational activity must address the apparent Cree lack of development of marketable skills and mental structures. This study investigates whether the cognitive differences between Euro-Canadians and Crees are differences in kind rather than degree.

c) The curriculum developed (ie. program and course outline), in the preceding fashion would be presented to the local school committee, school principal and Cree teachers in those communities where they were intended to be used. Pending their approval and any further revisions suggested, depend on, official editions of the curriculum would be

reproduced and distributed for use.

d) Through visits to classrooms, teacher workshops, meetings with parents and consultation with individual teachers and parents, the effectiveness of the program and outline would be evaluated. Revisions would be made to future editions and even to the strategies and theoretical paradigms on which they were developed if student and teacher response (or lack of it) suggested that further revisions were required. The relative success of this study will be gauged by the degree to which the resulting program is acceptable to instructors, school principals, community school committees, and officials of both the Cree School Board and the Minister of Education for Quebec.

7. This writer will interview Cree teachers, students, and parents for their reaction to the program developed and review the latter program to determine the degree to which this researcher's original assumptions were substantiated in the course of applying them.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS STUDY

In pursuit of the goals outlined, the thesis proposed is organized in the following fashion:

Chapter 1: - Introduction

The problem addressed by this study is introduced with an: explanation of the organizing metaphor, "The Legacy of Dress-Up Creek"; a description of the orientation of this study in the context of relevant anthropological and

educational literature; and, the assumptions on which investigations and discussion were based.

Chapter 2: - The Evolutionists Misunderstanding of the Cree Child

Beginning with a review and critique of the relevant literature and practices which have sustained Euro-Canadian images of hunter-gatherers, a more accurate and instructive portrayal of Cree social behaviour is developed. Attention is paid to those aspects of behaviour which affect Cree adult-child relations because these provide principles of organization for discussion of an intracultural system of formal education in later chapters. This thesis study is organized to establish a description of social context in advance of discussion of individual or psychological behaviour. This movement from general to specific is an important and recurrent theme in a study which attempts to move from new foundations to new practices in formal education for Cree children.

Chapter 3: - The Psychosocial World of the Cree Child

Beginning with a review and critique of the relevant literature and practices which have sustained Euro-Canadian depiction of 'primitive' or hunter-gather cognitive styles, a more accurate and instructive portrayal of Cree psychological behaviour is developed. Special attention is paid to those styles of thought which engage the conceptual organization and content of formal education's usual curriculum, (such as mathematics, social and pure sciences).

Chapter 4: - Foundations for Intracultural Formal
Education for Cree Children

This chapter begins with a critique of educational literature and current practices, examined as they have been applied generally to hunter-gatherers, and to northern Algonquians specifically. Here, the writer compares his own assumptions (at this stage, now tested in terms of social science theory) on one hand, and educational literature and current schooling practices on the other. This chapter is concluded with a statement of the author's refined assumptions, now framed in formal educational terms.

Chapter 5 - A Program and Course Outline for the Formal
Teaching of Traditional Cree Skills

This stage focused on the history and development of an official program description and course outline for the Cree Culture (traditional skills) Program of the Cree School Board, for the elementary levels in the James Bay Territory of northwestern Quebec. Particular attention is paid to the events which have taken place since the spring of 1983 when this researcher first began articulating and applying the working strategy described in Chapter 4. This researcher also attempts to explain the course and results of these events referenced to the assumptions advanced and refined in earlier chapters. Attention is especially paid to describing how these assumptions were substantiated or required alterations as a result of what was learned in their application.

Chapter 6: - Conclusion

This study is brought to a conclusion with a statement of fundamental assumptions or principles for the development of intracultural approaches to formal education for northern Algonquian hunters, refined as a result of research conducted and applied.

Chapter 2

EVOLUTIONIST MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE CREE CHILD

Terms such as primitive, tribal, pre-literate, pre-industrial and more recently, fourth world have been often used in description of the Cree of the eastern James Bay region. However, these adjectives do not describe Crees so much as they do imagined differences between Crees and populations of a European origin. While many of these descriptions have value as portrayals of differences between Crees for example, and urbanized Euro-Canadians, they do not offer a complete or balanced characterization of social life within a Cree milieu. Modifiers such as primitive, tribal, pre-literate, pre-industrial, and fourth world and the manner in which they are customarily used, tend to depict Crees as passive recipients of whatever changes a more pervasive society foists on them. Though it would be naive to hold that the larger Euro-Canadian milieu had no effect on Cree life, it would seem just as naive to discount any active Cree role. This researcher offers substantial proof of such an active role in the course of this discussion, as well as a portrayal of Cree social life with a greater attention to its usual occurrence, rather than its difference with Euro-Canadian standards.

Such discussion and portrayal is usefully initiated with a critique of the literature and practices which have sustained Euro-Canadian images of Cree hunter-gatherers. This will be done in two stages: a review of major

anthropological theoretical orientations, and the descriptions of hunter-gatherers generated by them. Next, an effort is made to generate a more accurate and instructive sketch of a Cree milieu. Special attention will be paid to those aspects of behaviour which affect Cree adult-child relationships. This study is organized to establish a sense of social context in advance of exploring individual or psychological behaviour. Together, the former and the latter will suggest a more appropriate Cree basis for education. This movement from general to specific is an important and recurrent theme in a larger study which will attempt to move from new foundations to new methodology in formal education for Cree children.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS:

Evolutionary Perspectives:

Many anthropological researchers describe universal evolutionary perspectives as a nineteenth century phenomenon. However, the assumptions of this school of thought still permeate the writings, actions, and notions of progress of many educators and other persons who have considerable effect on formal education for Canadian hunter-gatherers. A columnist for a national Canadian magazine, recently prescribed assimilation as a solution to the 'Native' problem, because "the enormous tragedy of Stone Age culture and people finding themselves transported in a time machine to a society thousands of years ahead of them can only be dealt with in two ways" (Amiel 1983:17). One,

preservation of culture, is described as an "abject failure", while the second, assimilation is the "only genuine solution". The real tragedy is, of course, the chronic misplacement and misidentification of the problem by the journalist. The same attitude, though not openly stated underlies the transitional principles of most 'bilingual-bicultural' programs that have arisen during the past decade for the children of hunter-gatherers. Less than ten years ago, children were punished severely for speaking their Native language, but now, they are taught in the same language as an inductive approach supporting the learning of English or French. The Jesuit missionaries used the same methods some three hundred years ago (Thwaites 1959:vol.ix,89-91). Lafitau wrote early in the eighteenth century that:

"Missionaries to the different nations of the East and West Indies who know the languages of the people whom they cultivate are better situated than anyone else to undertake this work."

While formal education for many Canadian Indian and Inuit children might involve some bicultural and bilingual elements, its goals are still the same ----a transition to the language and culture of the Euro-Canadian majority. The proof that this is so is plainly evident in the priorities manifested by school practices. Native people are not considered 'qualified' to teach in these bicultural schools until they have learned and accepted prescribed Euro-Canadian teaching methods. The Native component of the bicultural approach operates with virtually no program (or

as a result, any long term goals) and only meager, usually home-made curriculum materials. Rarely, does the principal of the school speak the vernacular or practise much of the culture. Curriculum materials produced for these purposes are invariably mere translations of Euro-Canadian texts and models. Very little of recent anthropological insight into the semantics of Indian and Inuit languages and social style have found their way into these educational programs.

A persistent universal evolutionary attitude survives not only among educators and in the larger Canadian society but among some anthropologists and other social scientists as well. Terms such as 'fourth world', though more subtle and thus less offensive than 'savage' or 'primitive', still gloss over important differences in styles of cultural adaptation among the populations being classified. It has been this researcher's experience that social scientists, as members of a Euro-Canadian milieu often experience acculturative stress themselves when doing field work in a 'remote' community. The social scientist typically suffers dislocation of his eating, sleeping, and working habits. As well, he or she often feels awkward at not being able to act in a manner judged competent in the milieu into which he or she has arrived. Not all researchers possess the sensitivity or experience to attribute the stress felt to their experience out of culture. Often the stress is translated into a description of 'culture conflict', 'culture pathology', or 'cultural distintegration'. For example,

Cree-competent silence is interpreted as a typical Euro-Canadian reaction of disagreement, disapproval, or frustration.

This researcher treats the universalist evolutionary perspective as not only a phase in the development of anthropological theory but also as a prevailing attitude which permeates even contemporary anthropological thought. For this reason and because evolutionary thought is so important in the development of anthropological theory, this discussion would benefit from a careful examination of its history.

Unilinear or Universal Evolutionary Perspectives

Nineteenth century unilinear or universal evolutionary perspectives differ from more contemporary multilinear perspectives, primarily in their focus. The former focused on material traits as benchmarks of achievement of cultural progress along a single evolutionary scale. More recent variations focus not so much upon material achievements as the habits which govern the treatment of materials. The nineteenth century 'savage' or 'primitive' becomes the twentieth century 'hunter-gatherer', 'pastoralist', or 'agriculturalist'. The former savage and primitive categories were severely depreciated as speculation by evidence from the field work of Franz Boas and his students in the New World and by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski in the Old World.

Functionalism:

In place of a unilinear cultural evolution, which arranged cultures in a hierarchical order of development or progress, Boas and his contemporaries proposed cultural relativism or historical particularism whereby cultures were regarded as different rather than inferior or superior. This change in stance gave rise to a school of thought known as 'functionalism':

"which leads one to think of sociocultural systems as though they were a kind of organism whose parts are not only related to each other but, at the same time, contribute to the maintenance, stability, and the very survival of the organism." (Kaplan & Manners 1972:56)

Thus, the ritual and ceremony of, for instance, an Aborigine community are regarded as institutions which contribute to the functioning of that socio-cultural system, rather than being regarded as traits of inferior or backward cultures. But functionalism too has its limits, met when its use is carried beyond methodology to the point of establishing theories. Attributing functions to particular institutions is too often accomplished after the fact, not always accommodating the original intentions or motives for the institution. For example, during the early 1970's the eastern James Bay Crees agreed to a school calendar which allowed school children to accompany their families on the spring goose hunt as a way of reducing absenteeism. The experience of the first spring family holiday caused many Cree families to realize how much formal education had precluded a family life. This realization brought about

further changes in the manner of formal education to better accommodate family life. The reasons for initially accepting this arrangement are no longer apparent while the reasons for the persistence of this custom are. The original function of the spring break was to maintain schooling effectiveness through this device to reduce absenteeism, a Euro-Canadian goal, while the function to which the tradition owes its persistence is the values found in childrens' participation with their families in traditional pursuits, the maintenance of family solidarity.

Another limitation faced by functionalism is its inadequacy for explaining culture change. Functionalism lends itself to explaining the maintenance of cultural behaviours but does not explain well changes in structure. Robert Merton tried to repair this problem with his introduction of the medical term 'dysfunction', a negative function which precipitates culture change. But as a number of anthropologists point out, notably Firth (1955:245), the characterization of certain cultural behaviours as functional or dysfunctional is an empirical judgment and difficult to frame in scientifically acceptable terms.

Multilinear and General Evolutionism:

Functionalism developed in reaction to nineteenth century attempts to parallel biological science with a science of culture. The reaction to the social Darwinism which resulted was so strong that as late as 1939, Kluckhohn reported that "to suggest something is 'theoretical' is to

suggest that it is slightly indecent" (Kluckhohn 1939:vol.6,333). Nevertheless, by the end of the Second World War, this reaction had subsided enough to tolerate a renewed interest in cultural evolution. Prominent among the neo-evolutionists were Julian Steward and Leslie White. The former being an exponent of multilinear evolution and the latter of general evolution. White characterized culture as "the adaptive device by which man accommodates himself to nature and nature to him" (White 1959). He also proposed a formula ($E \times T = C$) where E is energy, T is the efficiency of the tools or technology, and C is culture. In this manner, though he recognizes the importance of social, political and ideological organization, White focuses on the technological system as playing a primary role in the evolution of culture (Kaplan & Manners 1972:45). It is perhaps because of this focus that his critics accuse him of a mechanical technological determinism.

Julian Steward describes multilinear evolution as assuming "that certain basic types of culture may develop in similar ways under similar conditions but that few concrete aspects of culture will appear among all groups of mankind in a regular sequence" (Steward 1955:4). Central to Steward's position are three related elements (Kaplan & Manners 1972:37): core institutions as opposed to peripheral institutions; the cultural type or a group of cultures bearing strong similarities; and thirdly, the levels of socio-cultural integration, (such as, family, tribe and state). Steward's critics (e.g. White 1959:117-121) point

out his confusion of the processes of history with those of evolution which occur because of his equation of regularities in history as proof or samples of evolution. In his comparison of Algonquian fur trappers of Canada with Mundurucu rubber farmers of Brazil (Steward 1956:75), and his comparison of Plains Indians of North America with those of the pampas in South America, his critics felt Steward was merely proving instances of a similar cause producing a similar effect (White 1959:122), not necessarily an evolutionary process.

More recently, Marshall Sahlins (1972) has restated these two modes or forms of evolution: general evolution (for example, an increase in complexity as higher levels of social organization are reached); and, specific evolution (radiation and adaptation of cultures within specific environments).

Cultural Ecology:

Another methodological approach in close association with evolutionary thought is cultural ecology. The latter, unlike general ecology, is not concerned with the interactions of living entities within an ecosystem, but rather is concerned with "the way in which man, through the instrumentality of culture, manipulates and shapes the ecosystem itself" (Kaplan & Manners 1972:79). Cultural ecologists tend to stress technologies and economies in their depiction of cultural adaptation because there lie the most noticeable differences between cultures and within a

culture over time. In spite of these main attentions, some cultural ecologists have also focused on ideological, psychological and social aspects as well. For example, some recent researchers of hunter-gatherers have drawn attention to the roles of cognitive styles (Berry 1967), (Kearins 1977); sharing practices (Gould 1980); sex roles (Kirsch 1979); political relations (Feit 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1982), La Rusic et al 1979); and marriage choices (Peterson 1980).

Marxian Anthropology:

This discussion would be incomplete without description and discussion of the model which continues to hold a central position in contemporary social scientific thought. Marxism is of primary importance for the considerable intellectual commentary these ideas provoked. Whatever the degree of agreement with this school of thought, it has attracted enough scholarly attention that it cannot be ignored in any thorough sociocultural study. Even those researchers who have chosen a cultural ecological focus often borrow features from a Marxian model. In developing the latter, Marx synthesized certain elements of Hegel's political and philosophical idealism and Feuerbach's materialism. But in the process of this synthesis, he also rejected certain elements of both these thinkers. As an idealist--one who believes that explanations must be in terms of mental causes, Hegel postulated that ideas rather than objects were of greater importance. In other words, thought is reality. Hegel conceived a dialectic whereby a

statement or condition is both produced and opposed by contradiction. That antithesis or conflict then produces a new integration of statement or condition which itself then becomes a synthesis at a higher level. According to Hegel, all change, history, and national developments could be understood in terms of this process. Though Marx was very much persuaded by the dialectic of Hegel, he rejected the latter's idealism. Like Feuerbach, Marx, believed philosophical and social discourse should focus on the activities of Man, rather than thought, mind consciousness or spirit, as proposed by Hegel. Consequently, Marx underscored economic factors or material conditions, as the basis for determining not only individual motivation but the evolution of culture. He also held that ideology serves to rationalize rather than explain economic position.

Unlike Feuerbach, Marx did not see Man as part of Nature but rather as shaping nature, and in turn, being shaped by it. Nature prior to Man's actions provides him with natural wealth in the form of a means of subsistence (fruitful soil, water, fish, etc.) and in the form of potential instruments for his labour (waterfalls, navigatable rivers, wood, etc.). The physical conditions of nature are seen as limiting or circumscribing. If the soil is fertile, the climate is favourable and man's wants are few, then time spent working will be minimal. But if the soil, its products and the climate are differentiated, then in consequence, man's wants and abilities are also

differentiated. Need is the mother of invention in production, as is apparent in the development of terracing and hydraulic agricultural modes of production. Similarly, capitalism, a mode of advanced production, "is based on the dominion of man over Nature" (Sarup 1978). Man's relationship with Nature is dialectical, at best in a state of equilibrium. The parasitic nature of capitalism breached the original equilibrium between man and nature, which undermines a similar unity of manufacture and agriculture. Events altering the dialectic between Man and Nature move from a primitive society into class society, then to capitalism with an ultimate progression to communism when a dialectical unity is at last restored. History, Marx interpreted mainly in terms of a progression of class struggles. While both Hegel and Marx "characterized civil society as a clash of social forces" (Sarup 1978), they differed markedly in their view as to role of the State in the dialectic. Hegel conceived that social conflict would inevitably be transcended by the universality of the State; but Marx held that the State invariably betrayed its claim to represent the interests of all and usually tended toward the interests of a dominating class. Marx considered that during each period of history, a class constituted by virtue of economic power, dominated the greater number of citizens in society. After a time when the inequities between this economically powerful class or group and the majority becomes unbearable, then open strife erupts between the dominant class and a rising class, with the result that the

ruling regime is overthrown. A new dominating class evolves from the victors of this conflict. Marx believed that it was in this fashion that a capitalist class had replaced an earlier feudal aristocracy as dominant in Western Europe. Capitalism is an economic system, normally based upon the accumulation and investment of capital or money by individuals (capitalists). These individuals in time become the owners of the means of production, distribution of goods and services for the majority of members of a society. Rather than a state of perpetual flux, Marx stated that with an increase in industrialization, capitalist societies would be increasingly polarized into two classes: the more powerful capitalist class (or sometimes earlier called bourgeoisie), who own the means of production and the group of persons whose main contribution was their labour (or sometimes earlier called proletariat). He further stated that in time the workers would overthrow the capitalists and develop a classless society. Still further, Marx argued that since class is based on property, for example ownership of the means of production such as arable land or a factory, the disappearance of class distinctions is critically dependent on the disappearance of property as the criteria for determining social status. Combining this idealism with a materialism, Marx synthesized a new theory that by acting on and changing the world around him, Man at the same time precipitates changes to his own nature. Therefore the most important factor in Man's unfolding or evolution is his

labour or work. Contrary to Hegel's view that the State would at last prevail over conflict, Marx was confident the State would eventually disappear and with it, private property. Like most readers of Marxism, this author relied on commentaries of its founder's actual writings. Because of this, Marx's own views on more specific issues are occasionally difficult to distinguish from the views of his commentators. A case in point, much of 'Marxian materialism' was actually written by Engels (1972), whose views often resembled Darwinism.

Many writers of Marx's era focused the problem of social composure in a thinly veiled effort to evade the possibility of change, disorder, and inevitable revolution. Therefore the importance of Marx and his critics lies not in whether or not their specific theories were right or wrong but in the models they provide for theorizing. Early sociologists such as Durkheim, and later ones such as Merton and Parsons were preoccupied with explanation, perhaps rationalization of order and stability. This preoccupation characterized society rather than Man as being the determining force in the definition of reality, also known as 'sociological realism' (Sarup 1978). Those who espoused a sociological realism believed that reality was not a "simple aggregate of individuals but a reality sui generis", (Sarup 1978:109). Defined accordingly, society is composed of delimiting relationships and institutions which shape the members of the society and facts or traits about these relations become 'real'. Man is consequently characterized

as passive, having no choice save submission to the eventual supremacy of society. However, by ignoring Man and his struggles, choosing instead to emphasize society and the ideal on which it is based, these early sociologists have impeded the study of sociocultural change, an issue that has become of central importance to social scientists of this century. Sociological idealism is too static to lend itself to explaining or predicting the socio-economic changes that preoccupy more contemporary thinkers. Marx broke with sociological idealism because of his belief that Man is infinitely perfectable and capable of shaping his environment. Marx denounced the prevalent capitalist system for its corruption and perversion of Man. Under the tyranny of capitalism Marx believed that Man had become increasingly alienated from Nature and his own true nature or potential. He had become a victim of the very social conditions that he himself had created. However, Man need not remain a captive of those circumstances, because under a system of Communism (where ownership of property was no longer available to pose disparities among citizens) Man might begin his reconciliation with his fellow man, society and Nature, thereby achieving his greater humanity.

The notions 'production' and 'mode of production', underlie the usage of Marxian approaches to study the economic behaviour practised within various sociocultural systems, among them eastern James Bay Cree hunter-gatherers. The frequent use of these two ideas warrants an explanation

of them. Theodorsen & Theodorsen (1969) describes production as: "all economic activity involving the creation of goods or services". 'Mode of production' from a Marxist perspective needs a somewhat more detailed explanation and according to Godelier (1977:63) requires a number of scientific steps in its definition, specifically:

"(1) identify the number and nature of the different modes of production combined in a specific way in a specific society and which constitute the economic basis of a particular epoch;

(2) identify the different elements in the social and ideological superstructure which in origin and function correspond to the different modes of production;

(3) determine the exact form and content of the articulation, that is the combination of different modes of production found in a hierarchical relationship (one relation to another) when one of the modes of production dominates the others, obliges them in some way to adapt to the needs and logic of its own functioning system and integrates them more or less into the mechanism of its own reproduction;

(4) determine the proper functions of all elements in both the superstructure and the ideology which in spite of different origins due to different modes of production, are combined in a specific manner according to the way the different modes of production are articulated; whatever their origins, these features of the superstructure are, to some degree, redefined and recharged."

Evolutionary Descriptions of Hunter-gatherers:

It is difficult, if not impossible to deal with evolutionary thought separate from others, such as cultural ecological or Marxian schools of thought. In their regard and discussion of hunter-gatherers, all of these approaches have treated the latter as some primal stage or category. Within multilinear or cultural ecological paradigms, their

social behaviour or food production habits are seen as the origins of more advanced or developed forms. In the Marxian framework, their socioeconomic habits are seen as the naive prelude to the development of capitalism through to communism. In their efforts to demonstrate similarities between 'primitive' peoples, often gross differences in habitat are ignored. Thus the term 'hunter-gatherer' is often used as an archetype rather than as a very general naming of a subsistence strategy. For example, compared to environments of Arizona, or Costa Rica, the eastern Cree habitat, the Canadian boreal forest is much less biologically productive; with 45 species of plants in a 39 square kilometer sampled area of the boreal forest, compared with 100 for a similar area of Arizona, and 163 in Costa Rica (Nelson 1982:215). The lack of a diverse number of species in the boreal forest results in "relatively simple and direct food webs". This difference in habitat is often overlooked when inferences are made that Cree hunter-gatherers will need to resort to maximization of production or some form of agriculture in order to evolve to a more sophisticated and supposedly more satisfying form of social organization.

In fact, the recent influx of technology and cash, arising from the James Bay Agreement, has induced neither maximization of harvesting nor a shift to agriculture (Scott 1982:8). Rather, the result of these two factors has been to allow hunters "to achieve a greater degree of leisure and

family co-habitation". More simply, additional resources and technology have enriched rather than structurally modified the lives of these hunter-gatherers. Similarly, the "economic stability and assurance of future incomes ISF [Income Security Program, a benefit provided to hunters under the terms of the James Bay Agreement] appears to be having an impact on Cree hunters. There are some indications that the stabilization of economic conditions by ISF, after the unpredictable conditions for hunting during the previous two decades, has led some hunters to consider hunting as a way of life as more viable, and to offer greater encouragement to their children to stay in the bush and learn the hunting ways", (Feit 1980b:22). Moreover, since 1978, bush skills have been taught to the children as part of the community school curriculum, and the school calendar is arranged to allow children to accompany their families on the spring goose hunt.

But, because of the simplicity (or more scientifically, low differentiation) in the environment, many social scientists have tended to look at the boreal forest as harsh and limiting:

"Mankind has come a long way. This way led it once --at a very low level of command over nature, but endowed with the precious gift of a unique capacity for adaptation-- to a scattering in small groups over almost all the natural regions of the earth. This was a long period of isolation and terrible decimation of the little groups because of their own ignorance and an often severe nature....the basis of all higher evolution was won by the conversion to food production by plant cultivation and animal husbandry, since a notable increase in the densities of humans was made possible thereby." (Bobek 1962:246)

That "conversion to food production by plant cultivation and animal husbandry" is impractical because of the environment inhabited by many hunter-gatherers seems totally ignored, as does the wisdom of maintaining large social groups without supporting resources. In discussing the mobility of many hunter-gatherers this issue of availability of resources seems similarly forgotten. Beardsley et al (1962:397) developed an elaborate schemata of types for demonstrating the evolutionary significance of mobility. Claiming these types have "functional, evolutionary, and historical validity", "and can be identified with considerable accuracy archaeologically as well as ethnologically", Beardsley and his colleagues list them in ascending order as: "Free Wandering, Restricted Wandering, Semi-permanent Sedentary, Simple Nuclear Centred, and Supra-Nuclear Integrated".

Considerable cultural ecological research has been accomplished during the last decade or so, often in support of hunting or land rights for indigenous people. As a result, the characterization of hunter-gatherers as being at the mercy of their environments, forever starving and preoccupied with survival, has been greatly discredited, (Lee & Devore 1968), (Bichieri 1972), (Lee & Devore 1976), (Yellen 1977). Instead, such field studies have revealed "a rich variety of social forms, complex adjustments to neighbours and resources, and in some cases a life of relative leisure and security", (Moran 1979, 1982:45).

Not only have earlier characterizations of so called 'primitives' and hunter-gatherers been reproached, but the goals of evolutionary thought as well. One important criticism of this school of thought strikes at its most important role of offering explanation for the processes of culture change:

"..there is no thesis comparable to the genetic reproductive hypothesis of evolutionary biology to account for how culture traits are structured and recombined. Without such a thesis, it is of course not possible to assert with any degree of certainty that human societies "behave" like biological populations, except perhaps in the most superficial ways. Nor of course can one develop a model parallel to that found in evolutionary biology to explain the process by which 'adaptation' and 'evolution' take place. Indeed, ultimately all the model can do is describe and classify the apparent results of the presumed operation of an undefined process." (Asch 1979:86)

The same field work which has discredited earlier classifications of "apparent results" of "presumed" culture change in accordance with an evolutionary model has threatened the model itself. A case in point, are the traditions of reciprocity which were presumed to have been severely altered by the effects of the fur trade more than a century ago, (Jenness 1932:124), (Bishop 1978:227-228), (Murdock 1969:17). In the author's home community of Waskaganish (Rupert House), these traditions are still very much in evidence as cash has been incorporated into the system rather than having changed it significantly. Another researcher reports a similar finding in another Cree community, some hundred miles farther north:

"Money is regarded as one in a range of possible elements that can be used to reciprocate. In the

case of closely-related households, it is more common for the cash-rich to help hunting relatives purchase 'skidoos', outboard motors, canoes, air charter transport, and so on. One wage-earning couple told us in 1977 that they spent over \$2,000 on Christmas gifts alone. Another household has paid 80% of the costs of a 1/2-ton truck, though its use is shared equally with several sibling households who hunt intensively and contributed to the remaining costs." (Scott 1982:8)

It should also be noted that through this same system of exchange, the wage-earners derive the fruits of hunting which their very employment would normally prevent. As will be demonstrated later, the "apparent results" of the fur trade are based more on assumptions than on actual historical facts.

The second important criticism that has been leveled in the last decade against evolutionary approaches to explaining culture change is the inadequacy they have for explaining 'shape'. Godelier (1974:46f) offered the example of Montagnais and white trappers. Both use the same technology, in the same Quebec-Labrador environment, in pursuit of the same fur resources. In other words, they share the same techno-environmental adaptation. In spite of all these similarities, each group has developed a unique way of organizing its respective social lives, even those aspects which deal with exploiting the fur bearing animals. Asch (1979:87) deduced from this example as well as from his own field experiences that:

"Clearly, then, the same techno-environmental adaptation had produced different social results and hence the claim that it determines the shape of certain social institutions intimately ties to subsistence is refuted.....One is forced to conclude, therefore that, except in the most

trivial ways, the shape of social institutions and the level of social complexity appears to rise independently of technical aspects of production."

Another outcome of more recent field work among hunter-gatherers has been a revision of the notion that 'primitives' the latter among them, exert no appreciable control over their environments. This belief when incorporated with the developmental policies of the Peoples Republic of China proved to give disastrous results. A number of minorities in China who practised subsistence strategies which were supposedly primitive were forced into industrial agriculture, or their lands were occupied by industrial farmers. It has since become readily apparent that the lands were better suited to the original subsistence strategies practised on them, but not before "salinization of irrigated areas and wind erosion of plowed grasslands [have become] already a serious problem" (Crissman and Ivory 1983:41). Other, Canadian examples can readily be found in the boreal forest. Areas where the beaver are no longer trapped have become overrun with beaver. On Michipicoten Island, and in numerous other areas of northern Ontario, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources has annually deemed it necessary to recruit Cree trappers from as far away as northwestern Quebec.

Lewis (1973, 1977, and 1983) and other North American anthropologists have shown where indigenous hunter-gatherers have "engineered sophisticated environmental manipulations requiring intricate knowledge of successful patterns and ecological interrelationships" (Nelson 1982:226). Firth

(1958:61) an early proponent of a more positive portrayal of non-industrial man, held that "culture rather than environment is paramount". More recently, Moran (1979,1982:137-138) has offered a persuasive argument favouring the supremacy of cultural over ecological factors:

"Human adaptation to arctic conditions, and especially to cold, suggests that regulatory adjustments can successfully insulate a population from the selective forces of the environment. The Inuit manifest no evident developmental or genetic adaptations to arctic conditions. Instead, their physiological adjustments are local in nature (for example, protection of the extremities). The core of Inuit adaptations to northern Alaskan conditions is social and cultural --a remarkable unexpected conclusion. By the same token, such adjustments can be very easily disrupted by adoption of social and cultural lifestyles inappropriate to the area. The arctic today presents a fascinating natural laboratory for studying how flexible the newly imported social and cultural systems might be in coping with polar environments."

Considering the role of culture in the adjustment of northern populations to their environment, the notion that technology (innovated from a different sociocultural position) will automatically improve the quality of life becomes suspect.

Marxian Descriptions of Hunter-gatherers:

Of all the evolutionisms, none has been so influential in the researches and writings of recent investigators of hunter-gatherers as Marxian approaches have been. Moreover, recent critics of Marxism have been most convincing in their arguments that such a theoretical framework is not well suited to the ecological and sociocultural context of hunter-gatherers, particularly in North America. Many

subsidiary features incorporated by Marxian descriptions of hunter-gatherers have already been discussed with those relating to evolutionary approaches. Here, this author proposes to discuss central concepts such as: 'mode of production', 'relations of production', 'infrastructure', and 'superstructure', paying particular attention to the significance these terms have in describing eastern Cree hunter-gatherers. As recent writers have made increasingly apparent, the aspect of social organization poses serious challenges to Marxian descriptions of 'primitives', particularly the more egalitarian hunter-gatherers. If, for example, in attempting to employ a Marxist approach, one focuses on the 'band' level of social organization an immediate problem arises out of the ambiguity of the concept. The 'band' is only visible during certain times of the year, when resources to support an enlarged group are available. This forces the social scientist to "specify the relations of production in terms of the unstable and fluctuating relationships within the band itself", (Keenan 1981:18). Not only is it not possible to explain plausibly the 'reproduction of the economy' and the social circumstances in which it exists, but as well, the relations of production are fused with the actual labour processes involved. Accordingly, the conflicts and alienation between control of production on one hand and labour on the other are non-existent. Unable to demonstrate clearly the validity of the mode of production, by default, primacy is conceded

to the forces of production. The dialectic of Marx's paradigm is compromised and a form of environmental or technological determinism remains. Farb (1968:7), Steward (1955,1975:143-147), Service (1971:50-98), Murdock (1959:135), and others have tried to construct a clearer image of hunting bands and families; but the more elaborate the descriptions have become the more problematic these concepts appear. The eastern Cree term for family is a metaphor, not a concept, 'Payuk oodehno', the Cree term used is not interpreted in practice as a group with distinct or clearly defined boundaries. The term corresponds with 'households' or family hunting groups and is usually comprised of a variety of kin, Godelier (1978:215) shows how family relations within a so called 'primitive' society further obscure an important dynamic in the Marxian model:

"In primitive society kinship relations are simultaneously relations of production, relations of authority, and an ideological model which partially organizes the representation of relations between nature and society. Therefore they are simultaneously infrastructure and superstructure and it is because they unify multiple functions that they play the role of the dominant structure in social life. This poses a double problem for Marxism. How are we to understand the determining role of the economy in social life and the dominant role of kinship relations in primitive societies? Under what conditions do kinship relations cease to play a dominant role in these societies and slip to a secondary position while the new social structures, e.g. the State, develop and occupy the central place left empty?"

A number of contemporary anthropologists and ethnohistorians have tried to ignore the incongruities which result from applying key Marxian concepts and have in consequence fabricated a set of conditions whereby "kinship

relations cease to play a dominant role" in hunter-gatherer society, and "slip to a secondary position", while the new social structures such as the fur trading companies and more recently, government "occupy the central place left empty". It is to those contemporary efforts this discussion now turns.

Notably, Jenness (1932:124), Leacock (1954:v.56,#5,pt.2), Bishop (1978:227-228), and Murdock (1979:17), have all contended that:

"While some authors, notably Speck, have contended that family trapping territories were aboriginal, the weight of evidence is fairly conclusive that they developed in response to the fur trade which created a market for beaver and other pelts and a source of much desired steel axes, pots, traps, guns, and other hardware. As dependence upon the fur trade increased, the former hunting bands became rather permanently fragmented into family groups, each subsisting primarily upon trade goods acquired in exchange for the produce of its trapping area. Among the Montagnais of Labrador, as Leacock's study (1954) shows, each family is now linked to the larger Canadian society through the trader, missionary, and government officials more than to other Montagnais families through native band activities. These Indians now form a subcultural group within a contemporary national level type of sociocultural system." (Steward 1955,1975:144)

These hypotheses are largely based on interpretation of the financial and daily records of the fur trading companies, notably, the Hudson's Bay Company. Recently, a much more thorough research of some of these records has yielded fundamental contradictions with the above position:

"Even Indians who were deemed untrustworthy or idle were made captains if company officers believed they were influential with their fellows. For instance, throughout Richmond Fort's existence, Shewescome, an Indian the postmaster deemed an

'Idle Lazey Fellow", was maintained as a captain because 'he has so Great a Sway Over the Natives here I am Obligated to be very kind to him, for what he says is a Law with them'[B.182/a/1:48d]. For their part, the Indians probably recognized the captain as a spokesman who would represent their interests to the English. It is likely that the captain slipped into this role before the trading period and that for the rest of the year he was simply one of several leading Indians whose leadership was subsistence-oriented." (p.44)... "the gangs were not necessarily organized on the basis of close familial ties. The trading captain's persuasive abilities probably drew people to him, especially for groups of anywhere from ten to twenty canoes or twenty to forty men."....The facts that not all hunters were members of trading gangs and that the social structure does not seem to have been affected once the Hudson's Bay Company terminated the office of trading captain in the 1820's also show that the trading captain system was a task-oriented group which was grafted onto existing and more traditional social system."(p.45).... "The James Bay people used the fur trade to obtain items of particular use to themselves. It would be absurd to claim that the trade had no impact on their material culture, but it would be equally absurd to claim that they became abject dependents on the Hudson's Bay Company stores. As we have noted in other contexts, the Indians had their own attitudes to trade and could not be induced to respect the conventional economic incentives." (Morantz & Francis 1983:44-64)

Bishop, the only researcher who cites historical references for his claims, draws all primary sources from a single localized area, from the same period of about thirty years, and written by only a few persons. The study conducted by Morantz and Francis, in contrast, draws from a thorough scrutiny of all of the main fur trading records for the Quebec-Labrador peninsula, from a period that spans more than two centuries. Speck, who is discounted by Steward, developed his proposition of an aboriginal sense of land tenure after extensive field work among northern

Algonquians. His detailed and numerous maps of the hunting territories may still be found in the American Philosophical Society Library (Speck c1910). Morantz and Francis (1983) shows that a unique northern Algonquian sense of land tenure, consistent with Speck's descriptions, existed often in spite of the Hudson's Bay Company efforts to alter it with a notion more favourable to the company's interests.

In addition to historical refutation, the very nature of the hunter-gather subsistence strategy also undermines the use of a Marxian position with trapping as a mode of production transforming the traditional hunter-gatherer adaptation. The underlying assumption in the presupposed transformation is a competition for time and resources between subsistence hunting on one hand and fur trapping on the other. This competition is taken for granted by Bishop, Leacock, Steward, et al, but it does not exist in fact. All of the main fur bearing animals are as important for their pelts as they are for food (e.g. muskrat, lynx, beaver). At the request of another branch of a Cree family, trapping in northern Ontario, this author made a trip of some several hundred miles to fetch a quantity of frozen beaver carcasses whose pelts had been sold. Where a white trapper may have found a more convenient manner of disposing of them, this Cree family valued the meat highly enough to spend close to the value of the furs transporting them home. In addition, as Feit (1982:10) shows, the seasons of peak trapping activity do not conflict with those seasons when subsistence hunting is the main preoccupation, for example, in the

instance of hunting moose and geese.

Marxism has been given a very full examination in this chapter because of a set of underlying themes which it shares with Euro-Canadian conceived education. Marx and his proponents give the 'progress toward a purpose' fallacy its clear and strong statement, but the fallacy is widely accepted as a premise by many who know little of Marx or of evolutionism and would react quite negatively if branded by these labels. Among those shared are the notions that: changes in mobility or the use of technology automatically provoke increases in societal complexity and sophistication; nature in the world and nature in the child must be controlled and shaped into more 'productive' forms; "growth is orderly, with sequences in which the growth of more simple and localized controls precede other, more complicated skills and controls" (Haimowitz et al 1966:120) and, "as the child grows into adolescence he will become naturally rebellious. This rebellion makes it possible for him to become independent. An independence that is meaningful is one that is fought for" (Ney & Ney 1973:116). These themes contrast sharply with those inherent in Cree childrearing practices. A thorough critique of their use in education can be found in Chapter Four of this study.

CONCLUSION:

In the course of this discussion, it has been demonstrated that evolutionary, cultural ecological, and

Marxian approaches to describing the sociocultural behaviour of hunter-gatherers, especially Cree, have often been obscured by industrial societies views of themselves as universally human. Many of the dynamics and paradigms devised to explain cultural processes lose their validity when applied outside a sedentary, socially stratified, milieu. Most often, the theories failed because they proved too general and lacked the contingency to accommodate the often particularistic behaviours of hunter-gatherers. It is perhaps this aspect which will prove most important in explaining or predicting the processes of Cree adaptation to their part of the boreal forest. Many of the models which in application thus far have produced suspect results may yet prove fruitful if they can be adapted to the particular history of the eastern Cree milieu. For example, if the dialectic which Marx synthesized from early philosophers could be adapted to the history of an egalitarian, particularistic society, more useful hypotheses might be produced.

Chapter 3

THE PSYCHOSOCIAL WORLD OF THE CREE CHILD

A number of fairly recent studies, which would only be drawn together in an interdisciplinary study, evoked results that suggest that early childhood experiences deserve greater attention than has been given thus far by researchers of culture and cognition. This author will present a sampling of these studies, drawn from a variety of disciplines.

The first example is historical, taken from a scrutiny by Elizabeth Graham (1975:31) of primary sources relating to the Indians of southern Ontario from 1784 to 1867. In the course of her investigation she discovered that in the 1830's the behaviour of southern Ojibwa adults was drastically altered by a group of Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries. In a few years, a once nomadic hunting people settled in "well-built little cottages", tended their "highly cultivated gardens", dressed in "comfortable and neat clothing", and were most remarkably absorbed in "their peaceable and truly devotional religious exercises". Were it not for the events that came to pass one generation later, this incident would have been remembered as a most startling event in culture change. By the end of the 1850's, one generation later "reports from the missionaries and chiefs were discouraging, particularly about the generation gap. The young people preferred hunting to farming, and would not accept the authority of the council". Obviously, the

innovations made by the Ojibwa adults of the earlier generation had not been sufficiently internalized by their children to seem as acceptable some twenty years after the evangelization of the community.

The second example is anthropological, taken from the published field work of William Caudill (1949:426) conducted among Wisconsin Ojibwa children. This researcher compared markedly acculturated Wisconsin Ojibwa children with the relatively unacculturated Cree children of northern Manitoba. The test results for the latter had been gathered earlier by A. Irving Hallowell. Using the same batteries of tests and samplings as Hallowell, Caudill found his Wisconsin Ojibwa children "psychologically very close", having in common with the northern Manitoba subjects, "a detailed, practical, noncreative approach to problems". As a result of his study, Caudill concluded that, "there is a strong persistence of Ojibwa personality over a long span of time, despite the effects of western influence on Ojibwa culture". Mary Black (1967), conducted an ethnoscientific restudy, again using Hallowell's sampling and batteries of tests, this time in the same general area as the latter had originally conducted psychological testing, (northwestern Manitoba). As she revealed then, and again nearly a decade later (Black 1975), Hallowell's characterization of Algonquian psychological profile was still prevalent.

The third example, is drawn from an educational investigation conducted among Ute Indian children by John Bailey (1965:39), to determine factors contributing to good

and poor reading abilities. While a surprising number of traditionally believed factors did not correlate, two new ones did:

"In so far as the full blood Ute Indian student is concerned, the number of days absent from school does not appear to relate to reading ability....It is commonly believed that environmental variables have an important affect on the academic ability of children. In so far as the present study is concerned, only the reading ability of full blood Ute Indian mothers distinguished between a group of good readers and a group of poor readers, among full blood Ute Indian children. It appears that such variables as the number of books in the home, educational level of parents, number of people in the home, number of square feet in the home, English speaking ability of parents, age and condition of home, and parents' attitudes toward school are not related to reading ability of full blood Ute Indian children."

It is a pity that there was not any pursuit of this insight, in perhaps investigating the context of the mothers' reading abilities. Was it a factor in early positive experiences with reading, or was it more a case of "crucial cultural transmitters, notably the mother who has the major intimacy with the young child, [being] sufficiently convinced of the rightness of a new tradition" (Keesing 1958:416). Nevertheless, it is still probable that persistent cultural behaviours acquired early in life are at the centre of the main finding of this study.

The fourth example is drawn from psychological research conducted among Aboriginal children of the Australian desert, by Judith Kearins (1977). This researcher conducted a series of memory tests which favoured visual spatial skills, among Aborigine children of the desert, European

children of the same area, children of Aborigine descent more than one generation removed from their traditional setting, and urban European children. The traditional Aborigine, and Aborigine descent groups markedly outperformed the European groups. Most notably ... "although from groups which have been culturally dispossessed and largely 'Europeanized' (albeit in a fringe-dwelling way), these children [the Aborigine descent group] still use the visual world to gain special visual experience in ways unknown to most white children, these ways presumably being taught by parent to child through three or four generations" (Kearins 1977:74). In spite of their long separation from more traditional Aborigines still living in a traditional desert habitat, these urban dwelling, often English speaking, Aborigine children still used the same principles and strategies in mental activity.

In all of these studies, mental activities are regulated by a complex of organizing principles and strategies acquired through early childhood experiences; moreover, this complex appears remarkably resistant to change over generations. It is to this remarkable persistence that this researcher will direct his attentions, beginning with an examination of the context from which these psychological behaviours emerge, namely childhood.

In the field of anthropology, in particular, on the topic of culture change, it has been widely held for some time that "that which was traditionally learned and internalized in infancy and early childhood tends to be most

resistant to change in contrast situations", (Bruner 1956a:194). A more detailed description of what those behaviours are comprised of has been provided by Felix Keesing after exhaustive field work in a great number of cultural contexts. Essentially, Keesing postulates two inventories of cultural behaviour: one, extremely persistent, disturbances to which (voluntary or not) will result in stress; and, a second inventory of behaviours or areas of culture through which persons are more tractable and able to change behaviour with minimal stress.

"[Those]...likely to be particularly stable and persistent, or if they are disturbed voluntarily or by force, to involve the most serious stress and disorganization:

- 1) Essentials of early constitutional conditioning: the fundamental kinds of body training habits such as digesting, evacuating, sleeping, using energy and relaxing; also mental sets such as friendliness, suspicion, curiosity, enjoyment, etc.
- 2) Essentials of organic maintenance: materials, techniques and ideas which people count vital to their physical survival, e.g. staple foods, medicines, some aspects of clothing, transport and housing.
- 3) Essentials of communication: verbal and other techniques, by which people share meanings and so organize and transmit experience.
- 4) Essentials of primary group relations or societal security: the face-to-face social structure of age, generations, sex, child-rearing group, work organization, and closely interdependent kinsmen or other beyond these.
- 5) Essentials for the maintenance of high prestige: status, elements vital to established superior statuses and roles, 'vested interests', entrenched authority.
- 6) Essentials of territorial security: vital interests of living space and resources control,

and associated in-group loyalty and political authority.

7) Essentials of ideological security: basic intellectual and religious assumptions and interpretations as to existence, power, providence, morality, welfare, and attendant emotional tensions. Perhaps most consistently stable have been those beliefs and behaviours which become active at times of extreme crisis or insecurity, as with natural calamity, accident, sickness, death, and disposal of the dead, or the spiritual threat of pollution, as with black magic." (Keesing 1971:355)

"[Those]...cultural behaviours most open to change:

1) Instrumental techniques: means of achieving values and goals, ranging right across the action front of a culture, e.g. tools, 'know-how', etiquette, military tactics, political techniques, magical formulas.

2) Elements of taste and self-expression: behaviour which may be elected if desired, as with luxury items, creative art media, recreation, 'manners'.

3) Secondary group relations: more impersonal and often selective zones of social organization, as remoter kin ties, friendships and interest associations, political and other superstructures, mass movements.

4) Low-status positions: statuses and roles usually of achieved character, connected with subordinates, followerships, service, changes may involve upward rating and mobility with the pre-existing status system or else alternative higher statuses, e.g. as connected with money, or other new sources of power and authority." (Keesing 1971:366)

Even a cursory perusal of the first inventory would suggest that by the time a child arrives at school, he has been indelibly imbued with the most persistent cultural behaviours of his parents, family and siblings. The main context for these internalizations has been the "primary group" or family. The more flexible behaviour described by Keesing as "more open to change" operates outside the realm

of family in the larger milieu of 'society' or 'community'. As long as any semblance of a family unit continues to exist for the school child, the most persistent or stable cultural behaviours described by Keesing will continue to impact on school activity. Often when the 'society' appears to be very much transformed, the actual modality of family life persists little changed, as can be readily seen in the example of the evangelized southern Ojibwa mentioned earlier (Graham 1975:31). But the very practices used by parents in child-rearing are themselves among the most persistent cultural behaviours.

Early Cree childhood experiences continue to be the least affected by changes in Cree lifestyles. From her fieldwork among Cree in the eastern James Bay area, Flannery (1962:478) wrote of the 1930's that:

"In spite of the annual visit by the government doctor, slight material assistance to the aged, and some influence of missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Anglican, more of the old culture had survived at that time than might have been suspected as evidenced by the fact that, for instance, it was possible for the present writer to witness a shaking-tent ceremony in 1938, just before one of the families left the Post for hunting in the fall."

In 1950, Kerr (1950:113-119) described a similar set of early child experiences. The latter were little changed in Preston (1979:85) descriptions. The author of this study has noted no significant changes in Preston's characterization of these early years:

"Infancy was characterized by strong emphasis on indulgence of the child's wants, by such manifestations of parental affection and admiration as kissing, nose rubbing and intimate talking. The

mother was scarcely able to carry and look after more than one child while going about her outdoor work. After weaning, usually at about age 2, and until they were able to look after themselves and keep up with their parents (beginning at about age seven or eight), either the mother or an older person would remain at the camp to look after them. When no adult was remaining at the tent, usually due to work demands, the children were swaddled and left in the tent. Swaddling past infancy served two manifest functions: (1) to keep the child warm, and (2) to control the child's mobility. The parent's realistic fear that the child might come to harm if left unbound is explained in narratives of children left alone in the tent who, in playing near or tending to the fire, have been burned."

Store-bought disposable diapers have replaced moss diapers and the hazards of the bush have been substituted by those of a village. Generally, the current world of the Cree infant or small child has been enhanced by a number of recent developments. The use of technology such as aircraft, trucks, and snowmobiles have allowed a greater leisure for fathers and older relatives to be available to the young child. The Income Security and other similar social support programs have contributed to an economic climate where the smallest children are much less likely to be swaddled or to have their mobility limited. Moreover, the infantile mortality rate and general health of the smallest children have been much improved by health services as well as community infrastructure such as electricity and running water. Gastro intestinitis, impetigo, lice and nits though quite common less than a decade ago are now rare. Much of young Cree children's play continues to be as described by Flannery, Kerr, and Preston, imitative of adults, especially adults with particular significance to the child ---such as

a mother, father, or namesake. The imitation is not exclusive to one adult but rather diffused throughout a group of persons with whom the child has been intimate, indulged and nurtured.

Certainly the greatest changes in the world of the Cree child occur as a result of his arrival at school. The intimate Cree world with which he is already familiar is largely ignored at school. Without intending to, the Cree child has arrived in a Euro-Canadian domain, improperly 'dressed up' in Cree sociocultural behaviour. The modesty and self-control he was encouraged to at home is seen by his Euro-Canadian teachers as inappropriate 'shyness' and as sulking reticence. At home, the Cree child is encouraged toward a very different form of competitiveness than one promoted by his Euro-Canadian teachers. "Instead of competing within a peer group, where competition offers the opportunity to scale oneself against others with some success, the Cree child was relegated to a more modest status in which competitive comparison was rarely gratifying, yet the goal of adult competence remained essential and of primary importance" (Preston 1979:86). The most visible result of recent developments among Cree children is the emergence of a peer group. This relatively new peer group as described by Preston is controlled by neither the Cree child's family nor his teachers:

"The quality of social control imposed by the peer group (and by their school setting) is not focussed on family-responsibility and bush competence. The peer group milieu accommodates individual expressiveness and competitive assertion with

increasing ease and recognizes leadership in these terms. These qualities are reinforced by the values and standards of social relations introduced in school. Today's peer group freedom involves expressions of focussed emotions and self-assertions that would have been repressed by traditional adult sanctions, if such expressions were part of the bush-life situations. But the adult sanctions are not a part of the peer group milieu, and the child learns to enjoy and desire these new freedoms. For example, the older child who traditionally was expected to give way to the younger child, in keeping with a pattern of permissiveness, now may assert himself over the younger and weaker members of his peer group when competition exists between them. In Cree terms the children do not learn to be 'shy'. Instead, they care less for social controls of the adult group. When confronted by adults controls, children may flaunt their freedom to test the limits of the controls. If they are thwarted in this, the response is usually stubborn persistence coupled with the more or less controlled expression of resentful anger. This is the response that traditionally would have been made to unwarranted external interference, such as attempts at discipline by some adult outside the family." (Preston 1979:91-92)

Euro-Canadian teachers are often frustrated or occasionally even antagonized by Cree child peer groups. Particularly during recent years, the relations between teachers and students have generally become distant and later, often characterized by conflict. This author would likely share some of those feelings were it not for perceptions derived from other experiences such as parent, uncle, or cousin. Even the Euro-Canadian teachers' attentions should be aroused by the large proportion of students acting out at school. Generally unaware of their Cree students' behaviour outside school, such teachers see their current behaviour at school as clear symptoms of social pathology among Cree youth. The same Cree students

often are entrusted with the care of younger siblings, regularly cook and wash for a large household and are capable of most of the responsibilities of adults. Still, they are frequently described by their teachers as lazy, poorly motivated and irresponsible. Though there are the usual exceptions, most of these same youths do respond positively to their parents in a much more constructive fashion. It is the firm belief of this author that the frustrations of Euro-Canadian teachers are directly related to the kind of control they attempt to exert and the as well as to the kind of responses provoked from their Cree students.

This view of Cree students is very much supported by the Euro-Canadian fallacy of progress toward a purpose criticized in this chapter. Changes in students' behaviour are seen as related in a linear or progressive change for the worst. This portrayal, fed by feelings of teachers' cultural isolation and frustration lead to a rather bleak view of the state of Cree youth. The serious flaw in this portrayal is that Crees do not see and experience culture change in a progressive or linear sequence of events. This researcher has seen the transformation of Cree children from 'discipline problem' to affectionate, responsible and composed. Typically the transformation takes place after the children in question leave the village in the company of a Cree family and friends group en route to a traditional activity such as hunting and fishing. The peer group evaporates into the pairs and small groups more indigenous

to Cree life. In this researcher's opinion, the Cree students were dressing up in social behaviours of their peers choosing. Preston 1974:9-10) offers a more constructive regard and treatment of this peer group.

"In terms of the methods and goals of education for Northern Algonquian (perhaps I should specify Eastern Cree) Indians, how can alternative adaptations be deliberately built into the structure of the total educational experience that will facilitate a substantially less atomistic adaptation by individual students? The key to this seems to be the peer group, not as a power-wielding 'Red Menace', but as an extension of the several home communities. This does not involve the school personnel seeking to win the allegiance of the peer groups. That makes the mistake of seeing the group as a power bloc. More constructively, the peer group may be viewed as a congenial social setting, beyond the classroom - but even more as a model for the relationships that may be developed in the classroom. Academic success may be realized without the singularizing effect of individual achievement and atomistic acculturation, but rather through cooperative efforts for the intellectual development of people in groups. Education adaptation in this direction would make the return of young educated Cree to the home communities much less difficult. And the communities could accommodate more congenially the new competencies with much less of a sense of their conflicting with established values and competencies."

Expressed in the metaphor of this study, the Cree student peer group largely operates outside the positive influences of either Cree or Euro-Canadian adult worlds. This has occurred largely because of the displacement of a Cree adult presence by Euro-Canadian conceived formal education. Prerequisite to achieving the 'congenial social setting' proposed by Preston is the primacy of Cree goals, structures and methods in formal education. More simply, new boundaries are needed whereby the domain regarded as Cree

must encompass a greater part of Cree children's years.

More than one generation ago, A. J. Kerr studied the child-rearing habits of the eastern Cree of Rupert House, making the following comments:

"The training of children is permissive, and rarely strongly authoritarian. Punishment by slapping or spanking or indeed any physical punishment, is uncommon. The only instance of a child being punished physically which was observed, was a mild slap given a five-year-old boy by his mother at a feast. He had acutely embarrassed her by trying to provoke a fight with some other boy, in front of many people. Children are controlled more often by threats that their undesirable behaviour will incur vague but fearful action from some person or personified agency outside the family group. The threat to the child then, is not the chiding or displeasure of his parents or family, but is from outside the family. For the first few years of his life he can be sure of sympathy and comfort at his mother's knee. Small children are prevented from straying far from their own tent by the favourite threat, 'if you go too far the white man will get you'. Small children would scamper into the tent to the mother when they saw a white man approach, and they would rarely stray far without their mothers." (Kerr 1950:115).

This characterization of child-rearing, though more than thirty years old has not lost its currency at all (Preston 1979). Small children have ceased to be as afraid of white persons but the modality of the threats are maintained with new more fearsome personages. In fact, very similar styles of child-rearing have been noticed by social scientists among most indigenous peoples of North America, for example, among the Inuit (Honigmann & Honigmann 1971:4), (Guemple 1979:50), and among American Indians by Cazden & John (1979:13). The latter researchers offered some explanation for this similarity:

"First, it seems obvious that the chief inhibition

to corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure derives from the fact that pain per se cannot be used as a fear-producing, coercive force in a social milieu which places a premium on the ability to stand pain and suffering without flinching' (Petit 1946:8). Second, there is a universal tendency to refer discipline or authority for it to some individual or agency outside the group, and the tendency to rely most practically on supernatural agencies as the ultimate reference (Petit 1946:14)."

This author would not want to go beyond a general statement that child-rearing practices, this pervasive style among them, tend to be persistent over time. There is a risk in venturing general explanations for this style because, as Keessing points out, child-rearing is internalized with so many cultural behaviours which are not similar. This fact might be easily ignored by some general statement. As a case in point, a typical Cree parental reaction to a child's roughness or rudeness within the bounds of the family camp may to a Euro-Canadian appear tolerant to the point of indifference; however, faced with the same behaviour in a more urgent situation, such as in a canoe in rough weather, the same parent's reaction will be swift and harsh. In different contexts different values prevail. Furthermore, the kind of speculation such a general hypothesis might lend itself to will generate field work that proves rather than discovers cultural behaviours. The published field observations of Nelson Graburn (1975) among northern Quebec Naskapi is a case in point:

"....This emphasizes the more distant and less possessive relationship between Indian parents and their children. Indian children are able to move around easily between households and are less attached to their particular parents. At the most

general level there is an aspect of the tendency to associate with peer groups rather than with the family in Indian life. Indian children are not demonstratively or possessively treated by their parents in their household, so that there is little difference between their treatment in the household of their parents and in the households of their parallel uncles and aunts. (p.64)...There does not seem to be the close and affectionate relationship between grandparents and grandchildren found in Eskimo society, where grandparents make an enormous fuss over their grandchildren. I did not observe any particular difference in behaviour separating father's parents from mother's parents... (p.68). However, affection is rarely displayed after the couple [husband and wife] have had a child or two. The relationship becomes, to the external observer, one of co-operation and relative indifference (p.69)." (Graburn 1975)

In the course of his descriptions of intimate Naskapi family life, Graburn never qualifies the limits he faces or anticipates as a stranger juxtapositioned into the heart of Shefferville Naskapi culture. He offers no context which might suggest that his sample might be biased by the rather small size of the community, or the fact that the members of the community had been very recently uprooted from their traditional lands and arbitrarily relocated to within a few miles of a mining town. No mention is made of the fact that this move precipitated the loss of Naskapi control over most of their children's waking hours to local government education authorities. But, the most serious flaws in Graburn's work lies in his ignoring both the effect of his presence as a relative stranger may have had on his subjects, and his lack of experience at interpreting Naskapi communication of emotion and attitude. Over a period of more than fifteen years, this author has had to deal with frequent misinterpretation by both Crees and Euro-Canadians

when the message given was not interpreted as intended.

Hallowell offers a vivid illustration from the Saulteaux:

"So far as interpersonal relations go, there is a great deal of restraint among the Saulteaux upon the expression in public of all categories of emotion ---joy, irritation, anger, etc.. The most outstanding exception is laughter. In fact, the very positive emphasis upon the expression of amusement, in contrast to the inhibitions imposed upon the expression of other forms of emotion is highly characteristic. (p.145)...Once when I was preparing to photograph an old man, several Indians gathered around. Among them was a very dignified old woman, a Christian and a pillar of the Church, the mother of a large family of grown children. The old man had assumed a position in which it happened that his legs were spread widely apart. Just before I was ready to snap the shutter of my camera, the old lady suddenly reached towards the old man's fly as if to unbutton it. Everyone went into peals of laughter. The old man was her cross-cousin.....And once, when her favourite son returned from boarding school after three years' absence, I saw him step off the boat and walk past his mother with scarcely a greeting, while she stood there impassively. Since I was living with this family, however, I knew about the excited talk that anticipated his homecoming and continued long after we were finally settled in the kitchen. Yet one would have gained no clue to the emotion that seethed beneath the surface from the behaviour observed on the dock. In public, the pattern is always one of severe restraint under such circumstances." (Hallowell 1955:146)

What is too often forgotten in the course of field work in an Algonquian milieu is that in the presence of a stranger (anyone not known intimately), the atmosphere approaches being public and noticeable restraint comes into play (Preston 1975, 1979).

This challenge to field work is not confined to Algonquians alone, as Joan Metge and Patricia Kinloch have observed of similar Maori-European misunderstandings. As in the Cree language, there is no common word for 'please' or

'thank-you' and most gratitudes are expressed "not in words but by action --immediately by a touch, by some caring action (making a cup of tea, running an errand) often somewhat delayed, or by a return in kind, hours or even days later. Pakehas [Europeans] are often offended when not thanked in words: they should learn to look for the reciprocating gesture. For their part Maoris feel that Pakehas too often overdo verbal thanks and make them a substitute for action" (Metge & Kinloch 1978:30).

During field work for the National Museums of Canada, in various Canadian Algonquian communities, this author noticed a marked and prevalent difficulty experienced by Algonquians in making generalizations about 'children' or 'childhood'. Informants had been well prepared to appreciate the need for, hence value of such understandings toward improvements to formal education, but were invariably at a loss to frame their responses in hypothetical or general terms. Instead, informants were able to provide endless examples of particular children's behaviour, leaving the burden of generalization in the hands of this researcher. For example, the author once asked a group of Cree parents and grandparents what was a usual age for Cree children to walk. No one seemed to know. No particular age was suggested. However, for the next fifteen minutes vivid accounts were told of certain, exceptionally young or old children's walking experiences. In the course of the research project it became abundantly clear that informants

were not inclined toward nor interested in generalizations about early childhood experiences, nor could most see an instrumental value in such hypothetical comprehensions. Hypothetical comprehensions, at best would be pale in comparison with most Algonquian adults detailed and intimate knowledge of the children they interacted with. Native teachers and other adults who were forced by circumstance (a role in formal education for example) to deal with their communities' youngest members did so in a style which was still highly particularistic. In spite of the change in scale, these Algonquian adult/child relations still rely on the adult and child's intimate knowledge of one another. Thus the entrance of northern Algonquians into a new social context involving greater scale of interpersonal relations has not made the more hypothetical or generalized styles of Euro-Canadians more acceptable than before (Murdoch 1983a:5-6). Consequently, general descriptions of Cree childhood may be of only very limited use as Crees themselves frame their views in a fashion with only local or particular relevance. This author has tried to demonstrate that for comparable reasons, evolutionary, cultural ecological, Marxian and other anthropological models cannot be used in the same manner as they might apply to Euro-Canadian or Western experience, because Crees experience the world in a particularistic rather than general fashion (Murdoch 1983c). As result of this, many of the institutions such as 'society', 'band', 'religion', etc., on which anthropological discussion focuses are not clearly defined

by the members of the socio-cultural system themselves. Subsequently, the terms are problematic and very difficult to generalize about with any surety. At this point, this researcher will turn to the manner in which the mental processes of so called 'primitives', (Algonquians and Crees among them) have been described by social scientists.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS:

Biological & Sociological Approaches:

Among the first notable theorists was Herbert Spencer who published a number of treatises on the subject of primitive thought during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Like many of his contemporaries, Spencer held an evolutionist bias that "all things in the world, inorganic, organic, and superorganic, change over time in a definite direction. Simple forms that are initially homogeneous become more complex and heterogeneous" (Scribner & Cole 1974:13). Spencer, held that primitive thought processes demonstrate the following 'deficiencies':

"...no conception of general facts, no ability to anticipate future results, limited concepts, absence of abstract ideas, lack of idea of causality." (Scribner & Cole 1974:15)

while on the other hand primitive thought exhibited the following strengths:

"...acute senses and quick perceptions. They are imitative and clever, rapid learners of simple ideas [but] incapable of taking in complex ideas. The primitive intellect develops rapidly and early reaches its limit." (Scribner & Cole 1974:16)

Persons of lower socio-economic classes within industrialized nations were also categorized alongside allegedly 'inferior races' (Scribner & Cole 1974:17). Many missionaries and social scientists carried these speculative theories into the field, bringing back even more proof of their validity. The following example is taken from a Rev. Swindlehurst en route to Moose Factory, James Bay:

"Nor are the Crees and Ojibbways overburdened with intelligence, anything but that. They excel in woodcraft and in feats demanding stoical endurance they are perhaps unsurpassed, but they find reasoning as an intollerable burden. For living in pure filth and not complaining they are without peer, but why should they ever take a bath? 'they only become dirty again' such is your Indian logic....It is not in the nature of Cree or Ojibbway Indian to be at all ambitious. Well do they seem to realize that the white is the dominant race. (p.26)...Incredulous as it may seem the Indian after the most minute examination will tell you whether the animal, which he has not seen, but which has left its tracks is a male or female. It is all written on the page of nature's story book and he is an expert in the interpretation of signs. In the summer time tracks in the mud will hold his attention, 'Look at those old tracks' an Indian will say, 'See cobwebs over them which spiders make at night? No cobwebs over fresh tracks'. He has a reason for everything he says." (Swindlehurst 1897:46)

Swindlehurst appears unaware of the contradictory observations he has made of a people who "find reasoning as an intollerable burden" while at the same time have "a reason for everything". As has often been the case with sociological idealism, many current psychological investigations are imbued with many of these same attitudes and principles. Charles Aldrich postulated a continuum which included the following stages:

"The race tends to progress from unconsciousness

toward consciousness and during this progression three stages may be seen: first, an unconscious bio-morality, in which the primitive members of any social group co-operate instinctively; second, a period of savagery, in which the rise of egotistic tendencies requires that the group shall force the members to conform to a norm of conventional morality; and third, a stage (not yet reached by any society, though many individuals in civilized societies have attained it) in which the members of the group consciously co-operate for the common good, and consciously restrain their egotistic desires in order to do so." (Aldrich 1931:235-236)

The recent rapid changes in sociopolitical relations, both between nations and within nation states have taken place far too quickly to be readily explained in terms of the very slow biological processes such as natural selection (Scribner & Cole 1974:18). As a result, these theories tend to be current more in popular literature, than in serious social inquiry.

The followers of 'sociological idealism' also portrayed the cognitive styles of such people as being markedly different from those of Europeans. Comte, Durkheim, Levy-Bruhl, and others emphasized the importance of social relations and institutions in molding the traits and behaviour of the individual. Levy-Bruhl especially, hypothesized that primitive mental activity is "too little differentiated for it to be possible to consider ideas or images of objects by themselves apart from the emotions which evoke those ideas or are evoked by them" (Levy-Bruhl 1910:23). Though this approach has been widely refuted, elements of it persist in the writings of a least one well-known anthropologist:

"...But we must remember that we worry mostly about

morality in the larger society, outside the sphere of kindred and close friends. Primitive people do not have these worries because they do not conceive of --do not have-- the larger society to adjust to." (Service 1979:65)

Boas throughout the first half of this century, severely questioned the reliability of the ethnographic data which the followers of sociological approaches used in support of their theories. Spencer and Levy-Bruhl had both concluded that the "mind of the savage appears to rock to and fro out of mere weakness" when certain Indians had been noted to grow quickly tired of conversation with them. This would allow the notion that many college students could be similarly deemed incapable of abstract thought because they had fallen asleep in a boring lecture (Scribner & Cole 1974:20). Boas also pointed out that traditional American beliefs and folklore about nature could be used as proof about the mental processes of Americans, with the same plausibility as Levy-Bruhl's remarks on non-industrial people (Scribner & Cole 1974:21). Bunzel (1966:xvi) similarly refuted Levy-Bruhl's descriptions of primitive thought because "any theoretical statement remains only a suggestive hypothesis until the dynamic connections have been documented by controlled research". What field work that was done at all by the sociological proponents was in gathering support for their earlier speculations. Furthermore, Sir Frederick Bartlett suggested that an error had been made in ignoring what was actually 'modern' and 'normal', and he believed that if the ordinary members of both societies (primitive and modern) were compared, their

mental functioning would show much in common (Bartlett 1923:284-285).

A more recent effort of Benjamin Whorf, advancing a sociolinguistic form of the same idealism met with similar refutation, though few would exclude linguistic relativity altogether and Whorf has recently been re-examined with greater interest. The strongest objections have been directed toward the arbitrary nature of the relationships drawn by the sociological approach.

Psychological Approaches:

Heinz Werner and more notably, Jerome Bruner advanced the hypothesis that "some environments 'push' cognitive growth better, earlier and longer than others...[that] less demanding societies --less demanding intellectually --do not produce so much symbol embedding and elaboration of first ways of looking and thinking" (Greenfield and Bruner 1969:654). Within the framework of this approach, school learning assumes particular importance in posing such demands, in fostering abstract modes of thought. But, the results of the testing on which this approach is heavily reliant should be highly suspect of including intracultural preferences (of European origin) rather than solely variables of abstract thought in general:

"Tests of abstract abilities, for example, are considered more diagnostic of 'intelligence' than those dealing with the manipulation of concrete objects or with the perception of spatial relationships. The aptitude for dealing with symbolic materials, especially of a verbal or numerical nature, is regarded as the acme of

intellectual attainment. The 'primitive' man's skill in responding to very slight sensory clues, his talents in the construction of objects, or the powers of sustained attention and muscular control which he may display in his hunting behaviour, are regarded as interesting anthropological curios which have, however, little or no intellectual worth. As a result, such activities have not usually been incorporated in intelligence scales but have been relegated to a relatively minor position in mental testing." (Anastasi 1947:510-511).

The researcher has noted annually, the difficulty which Euro-Canadian teachers have scooping up fish from the Rupert River. Most years, Cree parents and teachers have been taking Euro-Canadian teachers to a camp site along the river where, according to recent archaeological evidence (Denton 1984), Crees have been catching fish for more than a thousand years. To the amusement of Cree children and adults, the Euro-Canadian teachers rarely ever 'see' the fish to catch them. Having mastered the skill, this author feels qualified to offer an explanation. The Euro-Canadian teachers strategy involves rationalizing where the fish should be, then looking for the fish, judging the speed of the fish and finally reacting with the net. By the time this strategy has been carried out, the fish are gone. The Cree strategy involves no rationale but rather a reaction to important visual spatial cues learned as a result of much experience and observation. This Cree skill does involve abstract abilities notwithstanding that they are tied to perception of spatial relationships. For example, the person trapping or netting the fish must anticipate or suppose methods and locations based on a sensitive measurement of

temperature, water speed and level as well as a host of other environmental cues. The study by Kearins (1977), already referred to illustrates Anastasi's point very well. By restructuring an 'intelligence' test to favour visual spatial memory, the Aborigine children outperformed the European children. Criticism of the psychological approach, particularly against the notion that some sociocultural systems are in any general way less demanding is echoed in the more anthropological approaches to characterizing primitive thought.

Anthropological Approaches:

One of the most well known for his school of thought, Levi-Strauss "explicitly repudiates the concept that there are lower and higher levels of mental development. On the contrary, he maintains that there are no fundamental differences in how the mind works from one culture to another or from one historical epoch to another. Primitive and Western scientific thought systems simply represent different strategies by which man makes nature accessible to rational inquiry" (Scribner & Cole 1974:26). The primitive system of classification is usually arranged on perceivable criteria whereas modern science employs criteria based on inferred or generalized relations existing among the objects to be classified. Further, the system of classifying is congruent with the strategies used for solving the kinds of problems typically faced within the sociocultural system be it modern or primitive.

Linguistic Approaches:

More recently, Noam Chomsky developed an approach to account for the learning of grammar, holding that "any human speaker who is competent in any human language...must store and use productive rules in a complex and nonmechanical fashion. Since the cognitive or thought processes of a person can't be less complicated than the rules he needs for using the language, and there are no qualitative differences characteristic of language rules, it is therefore impossible for qualitative differences to exist between the cognitive processes of the speakers of one language compared with another (Scribner & Cole 1974: 27-28). This analysis has been important in disputing the schools of thought which still characterize the cognitive processes of nonliterate peoples as 'deficient'. An example of this view of 'deficient' primitive thought processes can be found in Benjamin Slight's characterization of the Canadian Indians during the nineteenth century:

"The character of their language might perhaps suggest a hint that the Indians have formerly been a far more cultivated people, than the first civilized navigators found them." (Slight 1844:31)

The author of this example is trying to present a deficient Canadian Indian thought process while at the same time accounting for a rather contradictory trait of the same people using a language with a 'sophisticated' grammar.

Piagetian Psychological Approach:

The basis of this approach is that the interaction between a child and his environment gives rise to a series

of structures that regulate thinking processes. The traits of these structures and the sequence in which they arise is held to be universal (Piaget & Inhelder 1969). In his earliest writings, Piaget cast culture in the role of a catalyst, either retarding or accelerating the achievement of this sequence of structures acquired by the thought processes of the growing child. In accordance with this hypothesis, Piaget held that the lag between rural and urban children (in particular, in Iran) could be attributed to the general nature of social interaction or inefficiencies in the manner of education (Piaget 1966). While most still agree with the universality of the earliest stages of Piaget's model, the most contentious has been the final stage of 'concrete operations' and the attainment of formal propositional thinking. In socio-ecological systems where subsistence is obtained through efforts of a small self-sufficient social unit, rather than through the markets and production of a large society or working group, concepts of conservation and measurement might not be as important to the members of such a milieu. On the other hand, some concrete operational forms of measurement have been used over a span of centuries by Crees, for example, wherever they have proven more instrumental than their own, in measuring furs, cloth, or the number of days before the supply ship was expected at the post. Still, measurement in the fabrication of moccasins, snow-shoes, or paddles have remained local because of how these products will be used. A

foot tracing, for example will produce a better fit; a snow-shoe made to the person's height; or a paddle made to his reach will be more convenient. But as was earlier described by Keesing, these forms of measurement were likely adopted as instrumental techniques. As a result, they are internalized with existing values, rather than transforming existing ideological values or essential skills. More simply, the Cree have accepted the products of concrete operational thought without accepting the generalized value of that way of thinking. P. R. Dasen questioned the universality of the third stage in Piaget's paradigm because of an increasing amount of evidence being accumulated "to show that concrete operational thought is not necessarily attained", and because "considerable individual differences have been reported within ethnic groups where the physical and social environments, child-rearing practices, health conditions, etc., seem to be relatively homogeneous" (Dasen 1974:418). In his same study, Dasen continued to assert that:

"The fact however, that some individuals, even of adult age, continue to show a pre-operational type of reasoning, and that some qualitative differences are being reported, indicates that environmental factors may be more important than Piaget seemed to hypothesize in his earlier writing.." (Dasen 1974:421)

Piaget himself re-opened the matter of the fourth stage --the attainment of formal operational thinking, admitting to a more significant impact of culture, because "it is quite possible (and it is the impression given by the known ethnographic literature) that in numerous cultures, adult

thinking does not proceed beyond the level of concrete operations, and does not reach that of propositional operations", (Piaget 1966:13). The researcher of this study has noticed a common practice among Inuit and Indian hunter-gathers whereby the decision as to which stage or level of thinking to be used is judged in context. For example, mechanical problems, use of wrenches, mixing of fuels are of a nature that concrete operations are important. The proper wrench is 14 millimeters, the proper fuel mixture is one litre per twenty litres, etc.. However, in the case of snowshoes, moccasins, and certain clothing, measurement is best performed in a fashion that would be deemed in Piagetian terms as pre-operational. Accordingly, Cree use of pre-operational or concrete operational thought is a reflection more often of a decision than the limits of a subject's intellectual development.

Literacy and Schooling:

A recent study by Scribner and Cole of Vai literacy, conducted in Liberia from 1973 to 1978 makes highly suspect the notion that literacy transforms cognitive processes. The study compared subjects who had learned literate skills informally, with those who had learned literacy in a school setting, and those who were not literate at all. The results of this extensive study were:

"Our results are in direct conflict with persistent claims that 'deep psychological differences' divide literate and nonliterate populations (see Maheu, 1965). On no task --logic, abstraction, memory, communication --did we find all nonliterate

performing at lower levels than literates. Even on tasks closely related to script activities, such as reading or writing with pictures, some nonliterates did as well as those with school or literacy experience. We can and do claim that literacy promotes skills among Vai, but we cannot and do not claim that literacy is a necessary and sufficient condition for any of the skills we assessed (p.251)....Since the nonschooled literacies do not yield the same pattern of performances on experimental tasks as schooling, we might be inclined to conclude that literacy is an unimportant factor in producing school effects (p.255)...The most pervasive effects of schooling were in the ways people handled verbal explanations (p.255)...But the major point is that in school, literate activities are part of other practices, the sum total of which constitutes 'schooling'." (Scribner & Cole 1981:255)

Further proof of the impotence of literacy in transforming cognitive style are the examples of Cree and Maori literacies. The Cree achieved virtually universal literacy during the early 1840's as the result of the innovation of a syllabic writing system by a Wesleyan Methodist missionary (Murdoch 1981). The system used characters which closely resembled key elements of traditional beadwork designs and was easily learned within the family or even alone with the help of a chart. Missionaries were surprised to encounter Indians who had never met a missionary but could read the entire Bible. The system was used mainly for personal communications and religion, particularly in hymn and prayer books. Not only was the system used by the Cree but as well by the Ojibwa or Saulteaux, the Dene and the Inuit. The system is still very much in use and the subject of school instruction among many of those same peoples. Strangely, though in fact they have been literate since 1841, often in greater percentages than

a comparable European milieu, social scientists continue to refer to Inuit, Algonquians, and Dene as preliterate, perhaps because the role of literacy was limited in the Canadian hunting societies into which it was adopted. Its internalization with indigenous values did not replace or cause the transformation of any core cultural behaviours, rather it facilitated existing practices such as communications, and singing in religious ceremonies.

From about 1830, Maori interest and skill in literacy grew at a remarkable rate. Maoris were willing to receive books as wages or purchase them with anything of a marketable nature. "From 1835 to 1840 William Colenso printed about 3,500,000 pages of religious material, and in 1840 produced over 2,000,000 more". By 1845 there was at least one Maori translation of the New Testament for every two Maori people in New Zealand (Jackson 1975:33). But as was the case with Canadian aboriginals, literacy did not transform core Maori structures either:

"Literacy became highly valued and literate Maori became highly respected at a time when the Maori believed that European knowledge (religious and secular) could restore power to them and reinstate them honourably in a bicultural world. As the Maori people realized that literacy was not as efficacious as they had anticipated, they sought in the symbols and values of their past a solution to an essentially political dilemma. At no time in the nineteenth century did literacy eclipse the significance of traditional modes of expression and communication. Literacy displaced rather than replaced traditional forms. One can study in the rituals of Hauhau and the symbolism of Ringatu, modes of expression and communication that affirmed the traditional belief in the power of spoken words. Although the new cult leaders Te Ua Haumene and Te Kooti were literate they emphasized the

'gift of tongues' far more than the gift of reading and writing. Te Kooti (who employed writing for propaganda purposes and initiated a system of education) persisted in stressing the mystical value of records and charters." (Jackson 1975:47-48)

It is the belief of this researcher then, that literacy is at best an instrumental technique adopted and internalized with core cultural behaviours, including mental processes. It does not radically alter those processes, though it may strengthen them. The effect of schooling, on the other hand for Euro-Canadians at least, would seem to be one of fostering and articulating an already verbal mode of thought. What is much less clear, is the effect that current approaches to schooling have on the more visually sensitive mode of thought employed by Cree students. Judging by the abysmal rate of drop out at that stage where cognitive processes, according to a Piagetian model should approach a propositional stage, the effect is one of dissonance and discontinuity with the indigenous mode.

ADJUSTMENT OF SCHOOLING TO CREE REALITY

During the past decade there has been an increasing awareness that the failure of schooling to meet the needs of so called 'primitive' aboriginal students is largely the fault of the institutions failure to accept, understand and incorporate aboriginal notions of reality. Among the earliest to realize these needs has been the Greenlandic School System. In 1974 progressive legislation was passed to carry into action the following recommendations of the

Director of Schools:

"Regardless of the present teacher situation, it is vital to establish that the educational system must develop in a way that strengthens the status of the Greenlandic language.

Such a course of action would not mean that the opportunity for students to learn Danish will be reduced. On the contrary, the development of language and word concepts in the native tongue will improve the ability of the students to acquire a command of Danish. Especially in the case of school beginners, it is of crucial importance that language and word concepts be taught in the native tongue. (The Greenland School Board 1978)" (Gynther 1980:42)

In Canada's eastern Arctic, this attitude has been carried into practice. This researcher visited one such community, Igloolik, during the fall of 1982 and found an impressive number of examples of the better internalization of concepts hoped for, as well the older students spoke a more confident and more correct English than native students' whose schools operated entirely in English. These schools are, for the time being, more progressive than most in Canada, indeed in many places in the world. The "deficiency" paradigms developed since the nineteenth century may need to be further refuted before those on the periphery of social science, such as educators are made aware of more useful paradigms currently available. With a similar attitude after studying the disrupting effect that ethnocentric European schooling has on Rotuman youth, Alan Howard wrote:

"Education based upon deficiency formulations is doomed to fail because it is based on incorrect assumptions. Children are not empty cups. Attempts to erase their background and replace it with ours merely compounds all of the problems associated

with the transmission of knowledge. It will not be until educators recognize that American society is composed of many sub-cultural groups, and that the children produced by these groups are different -- not better or worse, not culturally deprived, nor even unprepared for school --but different, that they will find themselves on the road to providing all American children with an equally valuable education." (Howard 1970:169)

Similar discontinuities and cultural dissonance were noted in the schooling of Mistassini Cree children during the late 1960's. The subject children came to school with better senses of self-esteem than their Euro-Canadian counterparts but were soon frustrated by the lack of congruence between the Cree world left behind and the Euro-Canadian classroom they were now in (Sindell 1968).

An example of how the expectations of Euro-Canadian education pose dissonance with Cree cognitive structure is the issue of fantasy. Composition, and many of the 'creative' elements of traditional curriculum pose the need to fantasize or make up stories. Hallowell describes a common Algonquian attitude to fantasy:

"The imaginative life also shows evidence of repression although this is less repressed than outward emotional reactions. Evidently, unless the individual feels strong enough through acquired magic powers, all fantasy is dangerous, more especially aggressive fantasies of which there is little evidence." (Hallowell 1955:149)

Such a notion of creative writing has been an eternal challenge to most teachers, in the experience of this author. Outside the school, Cree parents do not encourage the fabrication of interesting stories and do not interpret such behaviour as a positive sign. A Euro-Canadian teacher at Red Earth, Saskatchewan, a Cree reservation, innovated a

solution to this problem by instructing her students to ask an older person at home to tell them a story, which they would later write at school. She was astonished at how vividly and at what length the students wrote during class, having without exception been previously unwilling to write 'creative' compositions. In her novel instructions, she had provided her Cree students an appropriate Cree context for writing. Their 'creative' talents were not engaged with fabrications but rather with 'recreation' of events of importance. Unfortunately, such innovations are a rarity and most pose the Cree student with the need to create an artificial world where he conforms to expectations that seldom feel 'right' or natural. Richard King offers a lucid description of this phenomenon, which he noticed at an Indian Residential school in Canada's Yukon Territory:

"Children --at least the older ones --appear to realize the artificiality of the school self that they have to create in order to function. When they are in absolutely secure, nonschool environments, rare moments of seemingly honest insight occur, during which they express surprise at themselves or feel the difference between their behaviours in different environments. Walking along the lake shore late one afternoon, the group straggled in twos and threes as it returned from a long hike. A twelve-year old girl reminisced about her home and earlier years. The teacher walked along, listening and not speaking. The girl spoke randomly of playing with friends and horses, of berry-picking and hunting trips, of the profusion of flowers near her home. She knew the teacher was to leave when school ended that year and she asked, 'Why you go away from here? You no like?' The teacher in a thoroughly patterned response, repeated her question in correct English and then answered that he liked the school and the people all right, but had other work that required him to leave. The girl then said, 'I wish you live some other place with us. Not school. At school we all the time act like

babies. At home not like that. We're not babies at home." (King 1967:79)

There are strong proofs offered that Cree children who do succeed in adjusting, or achieving in a traditional Euro-Canadian classroom do so at the cost of healthy psychological adjustment. In 1977, two psychologists tested school children at Big Trout Lake who attended an all Indian school from home, and Pelican Indian Residence students who were boarded away from home while attending a white school. The psychologists, Netley and Hawke, produced a report on their findings which included the following remarks:

"These data suggest that the P.L.[Pelican Lake] children who are seen as more manageable, less anxious and less disobedient than the B.T.L.[Big Trout Lake] students, nevertheless, are thought to be less well adjusted. These children in their integrated schools are rather submissive and unassertive but do have better educational performance..... The P.L. children are seen as quiet, more manageable and obedient than the B.T.L. students, but a question does arrive as to whether these traits are as essentially adaptive as they are usually considered in other contexts. It is entirely possible that they really represent 'unhealthy' adjustment patterns indicative of excessive timidity or submissiveness, as judged by their teachers. Because the P.L. children are in a minority educational situation and separated from their parents, such a pattern would not be surprising. That a question exists in this area is supported by the P.L. teachers' rating of the children as being less well adjusted than the B.T.L. teachers' ratings of their students." (Netley & Hawke 1977:6-7)

Preston (1974) offers a suggestion as to what transformation the student's cognitive and emotional structure undergoes while 'successfully' adapting to Euro-Canadian conceived schooling:

"Where the means to academic success included an active or passive atomistic adaptation, individuals

withdraw from their Indian peer group (where the pressure to drop out is sometimes very strong) and also maintain their identity separate from the Whitemen group. Their success means that they have taken on the task of fashioning a new place for themselves. While this appears superficially parallel to the personal choice of many non-Indian school students, the separate, atomistic Indian identity is really quite different from the 'collectively alienated' or 'counter-culture' self-perceptions of many Whitemen students.....One of the patterned aspects of atomistic-assimilated Indian individuals is an agreement that the hard part of education is not going out to school or the academic difficulty, or perceptions of Whiteman discrimination. The hard part is going home. One of the meanings of success is when the person returns home, their sense of atomism is greatly intensified. There are much more important personal commitments expected in the community than at school, but the atomistic adaptation to enculturative school-associated experiences is not complementary with the group (family and community) adaptations that are part of one's Cree personal competence." (Preston 1974:92-93)

The consequences that acculturative undermining of emotional structure have for psychological adjustment or security have been illustrated with painful clarity by both Hallowell and Caudill. Their descriptions are drawn from the severely acculturated Ojibwa Community of Lac Flambeau, Wisconsin. The socioeconomic traits of this Algonquian community are far from unique, The same characteristics typify to some degree, most Canadian Indian communities:

"I cannot, of course, go into an extended analysis here of all the various factors that may account for the breakdown of the old personality structure of the Ojibwa under the pressures of acculturation at Flambeau. But I can say that one of the most crucial factors involved seems to be the lack of any positive substitute for that aspect of the aboriginal value system that had its core in religious belief. As I have pointed out (Chap.20) there was once an intimate connection between the content of Ojibwa beliefs, the source of their psychological security and the optimum functioning of inner controls in their psychic economy. While

this inner control is still present at Flambeau it has been modified in a regressive direction so that it easily breaks down. In actual behaviour, evidence of this is to be seen in the tremendous incidence of drunkenness and juvenile delinquency on the reservation and the fact that externally applied controls seem quite ineffective. The behaviour of many Indians is also symptomatic of the terrific inner struggle which many individuals are experiencing in reaction to the present paucity of their inner resources. An apathy is created which they cannot overcome. They are attempting, as best they may, to survive under conditions which, as yet, offer no culturally defined values and goals that have become vitally significant for them and which might serve as the psychological means that would lead to a more positive readjustment." (Hallowell 1955:357)

.....and stated even more clearly by William Caudill, after his study of Lac Flambeau Ojibwa:

"The conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that there is a strong persistence of Ojibwa personality over a long span of time, and despite the effects of western influence on Ojibwa culture. In Flambeau, the main effect of acculturation seems to have been negative: the old social structure has been destroyed, what integration there was is gone, with it the old roles and goals held out to the individual....With the disintegration of the old social structure, and the lack of anything positive to take its place, life at Flambeau provides us with a painful example of the necessity of a well-functioning culture for adequate personality development." (Caudill 1949:425-426)

The challenges faced by North American aboriginals for maintaining the necessary cultural resources for "adequate personality development", are not unique. A similar struggle in progress in the South Pacific was very easily noticed by this author during a trip there, in May of 1983. Indeed, the Maori, for example have suffered much greater losses to such core cultural behaviours as language. Fitzgerald (1977:152), in his study of education and identity among New Zealand Maori graduates, offers a useful contrast of 'socially'

determined identities with 'culturally' generated identities. The identities produced by social circumstances "produce changes in the individual", whereas the identities produced by cultural circumstances "most often acts to stabilize behaviour". Fitzgerald views a cultural identity as "a conservative mechanism for adaptation in the face of change", hence schooling should be concerned with "training individuals, not for conformity to a rigid pattern of behaviour but for efficiency within this rich and complex bicultural heritage". In the event of greatly diminished cultural resources for identity or 'adequate personality development' biological or racial characteristics will be greatly enhanced as the basis of identification (Fitzgerald 1977:147). Unfortunately, the values attached to racial criteria are largely determined by the dominant racial group, leaving the members of the minority few positive positions or strategies for adaptation in a world where changes are usually foisted upon them.

Hallpike (1983:4) offers a paradigm which might add clarity to these discussions. In his exploration of basic principles of social evolution he characterizes the "accommodation to the world" and the "accommodation of the world" which are necessary processes of social life (Hallpike 1983:5). Under the terms of his paradigm for social evolution he characterizes social stability in the following fashion:

"Social order, and cognitive order in general, under such circumstances, is attained by successive

'simplifications' of social relations and collective representations. This process of simplification involves, specifically, the abstraction of particular relationships and their specialization, as the basis for higher level elaboration and synthesis. This process of simplification necessarily involves an increased differentiation and specialization of relations and principles of order. Not all of these can co-exist, and some must be selected as against others. The result is that societies are distinguished by the possession of certain 'core principles' of a general nature whose content varies from one cultural area to the next, and which have some degree of mutual consistency internally. These core principles tend to be highly persistent, by comparison with the flexible and potentially rapidly changing lower levels of social interaction." (Hallpike 1983:4)

At this point, it would be instructive to examine the strategies of a small sociocultural system that does survive with its adaptive system or 'core principles' intact. Such an example can be found among the Hutterites, as reported by Joseph Eaton. Eaton describes the remarkable ability of this North American minority to develop institutionalized techniques "to deal with pressure for change in an organized fashion". He claims that "Hutterites tend to accept cultural innovations before the pressure for them becomes so great as to threaten the basic cohesiveness of the social system" (Eaton 1951:334). Particularly apparent in the maintaining distinctive clothing styles of the Hutterites:

"When the pressure for change becomes too strong and the rules are violated widely enough to threaten respect for law and order, the Hutterite leaders push for formal change of the written law before it makes too many lawbreakers. By bending with the wind Hutterites have kept themselves from breaking....This process of change might be designated as 'controlled acculturation'. It is the process by which one culture accepts a practice from another, but integrates the new practice into its own existing value system. It does not

surrender its autonomy of separate identity, although the change may involve a modification of the degree of autonomy." (Eaton 1951:338)

By means of this strategy of 'controlled acculturation, the Hutterites have maintained those 'core principles', or "culturally defined values and goals that have become vitally significant for them and which might serve as the psychological means that would lead to a more positive readjustment" as described by Hallowell (1955:357), or the "well-functioning culture for adequate personality development", described by Caudill (1949:425-426). Unlike many indigenous or immigrant minority groups, whose rapid assimilation without much in-group support has precipitated their social disorganization:

"No such pronounced tendency of individual demoralization was observed among the Hutterites. Hutterites are generally self-confident about their group membership. There are few signs of self-hatred and the sense of deep personal inferiority commonly found among assimilationist Jews, who feel ambivalent about their relationship to the Jewish group. The Factors responsible for this phenomenon are no doubt numerous and are beyond the scope of this paper, but controlled acculturation is one of them. This controlled process of adjustment to social change gives group support to the Hutterite individual who must adjust his way of life within the conflict of his own 16th century Anabaptist peasant traditions and the twentieth century American values of his environment. Hutterites are making the adjustment both as a total culture and as individuals while maintaining a considerable measure of functional adequacy and self-respect." (Eaton 1951:340)

In summary then, the positive psychological adjustment of individuals is fundamentally reliant upon maintenance of well-functioning social structure or 'core principles' while adaptations to a changing socioecological environment are

made at the 'lower levels of social interaction'. Using the model offered by Keesing (1971:366), described earlier in this study, these areas would include:

- "1) Instrumental techniques: means of achieving values and goals, ranging right across the action front of a culture, e.g. tools, 'know-how', etiquette, military tactics, political techniques, magical formulas.
- 2) Elements of taste and self-expression: behaviour which may be elected if desired, as with luxury items, creative art media, recreation, 'manners'.
- 3) Secondary group relations: more impersonal and often selective zones of social organization, as remoter kin ties, friendships and interest associations, political and other superstructures, mass movements.
- 4) Low-status positions: statuses and roles usually of achieved character, connected with subordinates, followerships, service, changes may involve upward rating and mobility with the pre-existing status system or else alternative higher statuses, e.g. as connected with money, or other new sources of power and authority." (Keesing 1971:366)

Similarly, the core principles which must be maintained in adopting the controlled acculturation strategy of the Hutterites would include the seven more persistent areas of cultural behaviour identified by Keesing (1971:366) and cited on page 86.

COMING TO TERMS WITH CREE COGNITION

Once accepting the importance of a Cree psychological structure or a set of core ideological principles by which the world is both understood and made understandable, the important task of identifying the salient characteristics of these processes emerges. Indeed, many social scientists and

educators will have difficulty fully accepting the validity of these processes if they cannot be plausibly identified.

During recent efforts to prove Cree land use, scientific research was required to support the Cree position in both court and negotiations for an out-of-court settlement. With very little previous research on the anticipated effect of changing water levels on beaver populations, the biologists that were hired consulted with various Cree elders. Having been educated to the common portrayal of Indians as 'primitive' and inarticulate, the biologists were quite surprised to receive a wealth of data, all of which was 'scientifically' proven valid over subsequent years. This author's father-in-law expounded on his predictions of the beavers' likely behaviour in the event of flooding and fluctuating water levels for more than two and a half hours without being redundant.

This type of experience between the 'science' of industrial society and the 'proverbial knowledge' of hunter-gatherers is not peculiar to Cree-Euro-Canadian experience. A recent expedition to the Amazon by a team of biologists encountered similar experiences, recorded by Dr. Adrian Forsyth:

"These people [Brazilian Indians] possess sophisticated and useful knowledge of the flora and fauna, as has been well demonstrated by Robert Carniero of the American Museum of Natural History. He studied the botanical expertise of the Kuikuru Indians, a remnant tribe of about 170 individuals who survive in Brazil's Xingu Park. He found that not only could they identify all of the 187 rain-forest tree species he asked them about (a task that only a handful of professional botanists could

accomplish) but they were also able to give specific products derived from at least 75 of them, including soaps, rubber resins, drugs, poisons, salts, caulking, lumber, food, fibres, and abrasives. They provided information about which seeds were eaten by tapirs and which roots provided fare for a specific grasshopper species --the sort of esoteric knowledge ecologists might devote entire field expeditions to acquire. And the Kuikuru are not isolated in their knowledge. Carneiro documented similar expertise among the Yanomamo people of northern Brazil." (Forsyth 1982:75)

Firth (1958:61), was among the earliest of social scientists to recognize that "in a primitive society we are not dealing with the mind of a child, or an unintelligent being" but rather with "the mind of a man with definite system of knowledge and technique, adaptable, willing to learn and capable of profiting by the lessons of experience". Though this point of view has gained a much wider acceptance during more recent years, less progress has been made in describing the set of core ideological principles by which the world is both understood and made understandable. The hunter gatherer visual-perceptual, as opposed to a Euro-Canadian verbal-conceptual has surfaced many times in the literature. Preston (1975:270) and (Murdoch 1983) have remarked on the Cree use of metaphors to achieve the same level of abstraction as do Euro-Canadians' use of concepts. The advantage for Cree in using metaphor is the figure of speech's maintenance of close ties to the context being described. For example, in English the concept 'family' is based on general, biological, and legal definitions. The Cree term 'payuk oodehno', is based on imagery of typical experiences for its meaning. The vivid

but contingent nature of the Cree abstraction is well suited to a life involving the need for psychological security on one hand but the flexibility required by hunting and gathering on the other. Even the briefest investigation of Cree nomenclature will reveal a profusion of metaphors to identify often complicated relationships. While Indian usage of language often seems flowery and romantic (and somehow not practical), Euro-Canadian usage often seems flat and vague (and somehow without meaning):

"Was it only yesterday that men sailed around the moon...And is it tomorrow they will stand up on its barren surface? You and I marvel that man should travel so far and so fast....Yet, if they have traveled far then I have traveled farther...and if they have traveled fast, then I faster....for I was born a thousand years ago...born in a culture of bows and arrows. But within the span of half a lifetime I was flung across the ages to the culture of the atom bomb...from bows and arrows to atom bombs is a distance far beyond a flight to the moon.

I was born in an age that loved the things of nature and gave them beautiful names like Tes-wall-u-wit instead of dried up names like Stanley Park.

I was born when people loved all nature and spoke to it as though it has a soul...I can remember going up Indian River with my father when I was very young....I can remember him watching the sun light fires on Mount Pay-nay-nay as it rose above its peak. I can remember him singing his thanks to it as he often did....singing the Indian word 'thanks'..." (from Chief Dan George's talk to teachers 1971:2)

The differences between Cree and Euro-Canadian cognitive processes are not merely different on a visual-verbal continuum. There is a growing literature to support the notion that cognitive abilities (hence the processes they support) are related to occupational tasks (Guilmet

1975:78-79). Price-Williams (1969:769) revealed Mexican children from families occupied by pottery-making performed better on tests for conservation of substance using clay, than children from other families of comparable socioeconomic status whose families were involved in other trades. Gladwin (1970) found similar contrasts with the navigation and sailing skills of nonliterate peoples of the South Pacific, and Dasen (1973) with the mapping abilities of the Aborigine of central Australia.

Another of the core principles by which this author believes that ideological behavior is ordered has often been mistaken for pre-operational thought. That is the tendency for Cree and other so called 'primitives' to view time as topologically ordered. That is time is seen as visually calibrated on a continuum of images associated with chronologically ordered events. Earlier in this study it was pointed out that Cree and other Native classroom teachers most effectively maintained their 'particularistic' social style with Cree students, in spite of the general demands made on them by the scale of teaching children in a large group. For obvious practical reasons it is easier and more effective for these teachers to use rich resources of information to construct a differentiated rapport with students, than to act in a manner which would not only prove less attuned to students' needs but would not feel natural or genuine to the Cree teacher or his or her students. The effect of this localized approach is to achieve a kind of

human topography in the classroom whereby the individual personalities of the children are juxtapositioned by their usual relations with one another to form a human geography to be negotiated by the teacher. This aspect becomes even more pronounced when appreciating the egalitarian nature of Cree social relations whereby Cree teachers accept the majority of the peculiarities of their students. Hence, it is this researcher's contention that a topographical cognitive or perceptual style is one of the core principles by which Crees understand the world and make it understood.

This topological view of ideology held by many aboriginal peoples becomes even more apparent when the concrete topography, the homeland, is spoken of.:

"To native people, the land is more than just a source of food or cash. It is the permanent source of their security and of their sense of well-being. It is the basis of what they are as people. The land, and the birds, fish, and animals it supports, have sustained them and their ancestors since time immemorial. Properly cared for, it can always do so. Native people know how to take care of the land, and know why that must be done.....Jobs then, are a temporary resource to be exploited toward specific ends. By comparison, the land and its resources are permanent....Most people would rather be themselves than somebody else. Native people know that in order to be themselves, the land and the animals must be part of their life. In that sense, the land sustains them and their communities. Without the land and everything it means, native people would lose that which makes them special in their own eyes. They would have to become hollow imitations of white people." (Usher 1976:6)

or, from the Maori experience of land in the South Pacific:

"In Maori consciousness, land was a part of themselves, in the same way that a hand or an eye was part of them. Land was their mother and land

was their ancestor. Land was viewed as an integral part of their personal and group identity; at the same time it was the prime economic resource. In their subsistence economy the land, the rivers and the lakes, and the seashore represented the source from which both labour and capital were derived. Throughout New Zealand, the word for land, whenua, was also the word for placenta, and after the birth of a child, the placenta was buried in the land of his/her ancestors. When the child grew, he/she was shown, or told, where the whenua lay, and its relationship to those of other kinfolk." (Douglas 1983:1)

That these are actual ways of framing understandings of the world, should not be lost in romantic sensations resultant of comparing them with industrial society's less picturesque approaches. It is the belief of this researcher that any further productive investigations of non-industrial cognitive processes will need to operate on the premise that these are alternatives to Western processes, qualitatively rather than quantitatively different. This conviction is now supported by more than theory and intuition as this author had need of such an alternative style by which to have Cree Language and Culture program instructors organize stages of a curriculum for their students. Many previous efforts that used a verbal or conceptual approach (such as most Euro-Canadian educational institutions' curriculums or course outlines) still lie on the shelves in the instructors' respective schools. On this occasion, however, a map was constructed, showing a river with six sets of rapids, each set of rapids denoting a level of difficulty, (Grades 1 to 6). The land drained by the river illustrated the content to be used in teaching the vocabulary, concepts and skills. The vocabulary, concepts and skills were illustrated in the

space between each set of rapids. The instructors, many of whom had little or no previous schooling, grasped the requirements of curriculum instantly and in the three days assembled a remarkable amount of the program now being followed. This topological presentation of the principles of curriculum continues as the framework for curriculum development. All of this took place at a workshop held for the instructors during the fall of 1982. This approach has proven instrumental many times since the first occasion of its use.

No doubt the realities of dealing with a Euro-Canadian majority and State will make the learning of certain verbal-conceptual styles important; however, these needs can be met as easily as literacy was acquired by Cree. The instrumentality of such innovations must be obvious to the Cree and be presented in such a format as to be easily internalized with core Cree values.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Cree mental processes can be described as being persistent to the degree that efforts by institutions to replace them would be superficially damaging and fundamentally ineffectual. Not only would such efforts be futile, they would also undermine the development of a positive and a well adjusted personality capable of seeking a satisfying and meaningful life. The best strategy which formal education could adopt would be one of incorporating,

and supporting the core principles by which the Cree child both understands the world and makes it understood. Whatever skills clearly needed, but not readily available in his world, can be introduced first with proof of their instrumentality and in a style that will facilitate their integration with the most persistent elements of his culture. The Cree child's grasp of relationships tend to be metaphorical rather than conceptual and they are often juxtapositioned in a vivid topology. These traits do not comprise a 'primitive' type but rather a viable alternative to an industrial society's cognitive processes. The tradition of dressing up before arriving at the post was part of a strategy which once helped Crees maintain a sense of Cree-appropriate behaviour on one hand, while on the other hand adjusting to, even enjoying European sociocultural behaviour. Today, the dressing up is an unconscious, mainly psychological Cree response to a larger Euro-Canadian presence in Cree community life. This researcher believes that this once positive tradition could be restored to its earlier adaptive health through the resolution of clearer Cree sense of cultural domains. For example, when the community school is seen as an integral part of the Cree community, then 'dressing-up' will be done for such occasions as going to university, negotiating funding or political agreements with extra-community organizations.

Chapter 4
FOUNDATIONS FOR INTRACULTURAL FORMAL
EDUCATION FOR CREE CHILDREN

Since the earliest efforts of the Jesuit missionaries during the seventeenth century, formal education for Canadian hunter-gatherers has embraced a mandate of instituting profound cultural change. Father LeJeune, more than three centuries ago wrote of his attempts at the education of Algonquian tribes of eastern Canada:

"Now I must state in passing that there are four great works bound together by a single tie ----- the settlement of the savages, the Hospital, the seminary for little savage boys and the seminary for little savage girls. The last three dependent on the first (Thwaites 1959:89-91).....Let these barbarians remain always nomads, then their sick will die in the woods and their children will never enter the Seminary. Render them sedentary and you will find these three institutions which all need to be vigorously aided (Thwaites 1959:193)."

A primary focus on changing the nomadic lifestyle of Canadian hunter-gatherers has continued into this century (Dowker 1923), (Graham 1975), (Murdoch 1981) and its legitimacy is still largely unchallenged. Until the establishment of the Cree School Board in the summer of 1978, the term 'Nomad Homes Program' was the official name for an Indian and Northern Affairs educational activity. This program provided boarding homes in the village to Cree children attending school while their parents hunted in the surrounding territory.

Few Canadian Aborigines have taken the extreme position of rejecting all cultural change in favour of a traditional

conservatism, rather, the majority expect change but want some measure of control or influence over its conduct:

"Change, growth and development are characteristics of any living society and, beyond question, the Northwest Territories is now experiencing an extraordinary surge in these natural processes. We cannot refuse the challenges they pose, but we can say something about the direction in which they may take us. Central to any society's efforts to influence the direction of change is its people's ability to participate in planning processes. And, beyond question, learning is the major factor in a people's ability to participate in such planning. We argue, therefore, that learning is the key to our future." (GNWT Special Committee on Education 1982:11)

Similarly, education and Cree control over it occupy an entire section of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, now the Cree Act. To be fair, it must also be noted that not many Euro-Canadian educators or administrators today would wish to be credited with either agreement or responsibility for the paternalistic approach to culture change openly professed only a decade or two ago.

Since the early 1970's, beginning with recommendations of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and followed by the National Indian Brotherhood's 'Indian Control of Indian Education', government policy has evolved to support the now uncontested notion that Canada's first peoples should manage their own education systems. The improvements in the qualifications and general motivations of teachers and in the material support of Canadian Native education are easily noticed. Increasing numbers of Aboriginal people are taking part in the education system as teachers, school principals, parent committee members, etc.. John ("Jack") Deines, once a

co-ordinator of teacher training for the James Bay Territory's Cree School Board, wrote enthusiastically:

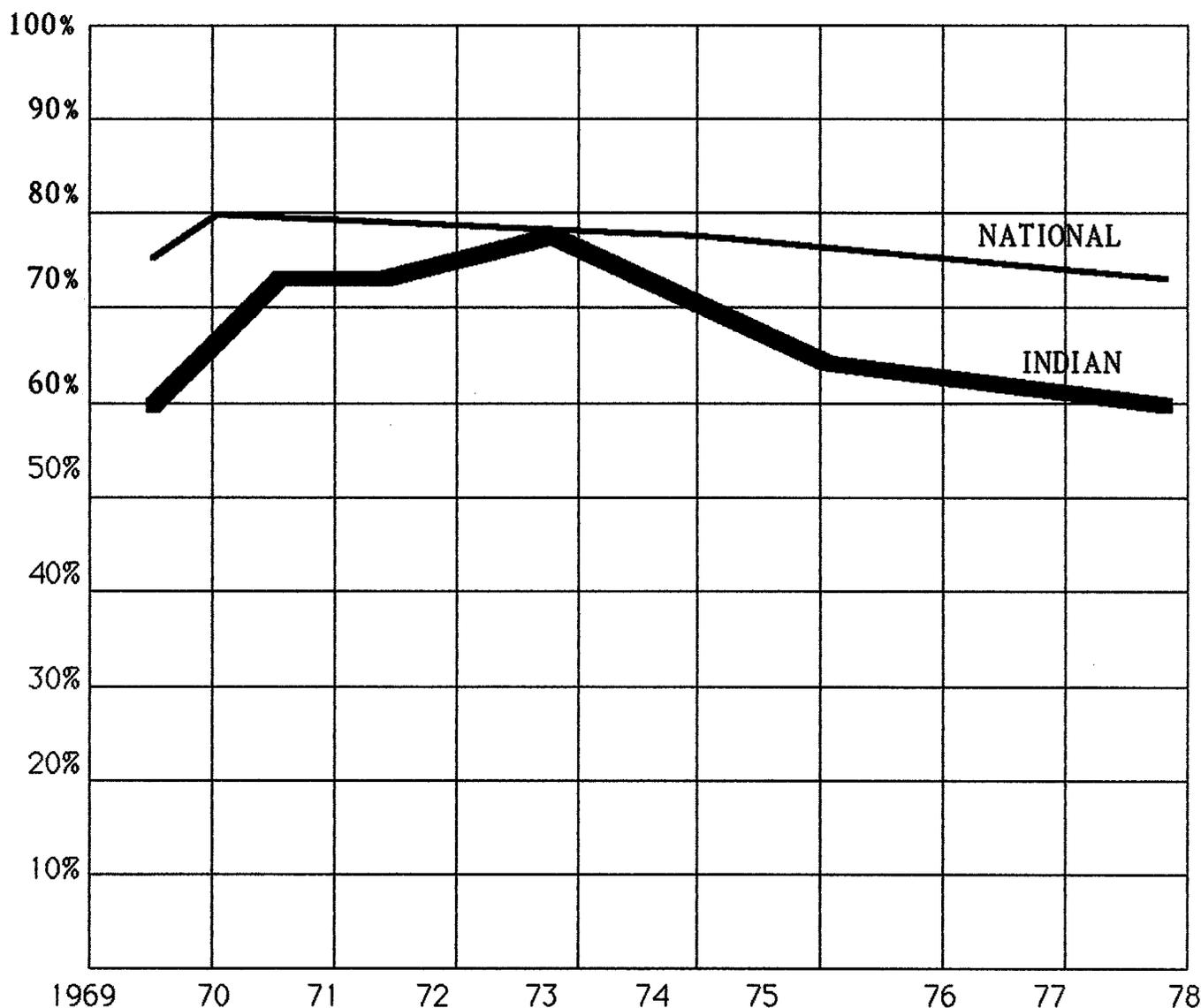
"The formation of the Cree School Board and the election of the Council of Commissioners were significant events for the James Bay people. They marked the end of an era when education was controlled by outsiders and the beginning of the assumption of responsibility for the control and quality of education by the Cree themselves."
(Deines 1984:50)

But, in spite of such a dramatic departure from earlier stances on Native education, such indicators as the number of highschool graduates, noticeable and sustained community participation, or new economic opportunities being exploited, are still disappointing. There is a strong intuition among Native adults generally, that the education system which operated before such recent improvements were attempted was actually much more effective than the system now in operation. In the James Bay Territory, for example, all but a few of the total number of highschool graduates were educated in the 1960's in southern Canadian schools. In fact, this intuition is clearly supported in the 1980 report by Indian and Northern Affairs entitled, Indian Conditions: A Survey. In spite of increasing expenditures and populations, Native student participation in secondary school, pre-vocational, vocational and adult education are all in steady and marked decline since the early 1970's (Knox 1980:49-55).

In addition, the imagery of former approaches was clear and offered Native people at least the impression of

SECONDARY SCHOOL PARTICIPATION

% 14-18 Year Age Group Enrolled in School



source:

Nominal Roll, Finance and Management Branch, DIAND, 1979

While total secondary education enrollment has more than doubled since 1965, the proportion of children enrolled has been steadily declining since a peak in 1972-73.

[graph and text from INDIAN CONDITIONS: A SURVEY, 1980 p.49]

FIGURE 2

intelligibility. The 'boss' of education had a face and could be dealt with, referred to and understood in a somewhat personal fashion. In those communities where the 'boss' has been replaced by a locally recognizable person, the perception of 'boss' has become blurred with a host of unseen and impersonal forces. For example, the community school program, curriculum materials, working conditions, qualifications of staff and even matters as trivial as the purchase of cleaning supplies are governed by a confusing host of external, faceless authorities. Accordingly, it could be argued that the Native communities made responsible for education have actually lost power. Such communities once had some influence over a 'boss' who identified with, understood and had some control over these external forces. Now these communities are served by a 'boss' who like everyone else does not feel fully at ease or able to influence a world populated by unions, boards, committees and governments.

In an earlier study (Murdoch 1981), this researcher has argued that when Euro-Canadian conceived formal education has been 'Amerindianized' (Gagne 1974), transferred to band control, or is decentralized to an Aboriginal authority, it remains a Euro-Canadian formal education system, albeit managed by Native people. Typically, none of the unique psychological and sociocultural behaviours discussed at length in the earlier chapters of this study are actually accommodated in the new community controlled systems. Adaptive efforts have long been directed at content but

rarely if ever at the very purpose, structure or methodology of formal education. 'Culture' and 'cultural adaptation' are seen as related to the content, not the reasons for or the very processes of formal education:

- "--Arts and Crafts activities (carving, sewing, macrame, quill work, moose-hair stuffing, tool-making, etc.)
- Social activities, traditional games, story-telling, changing lifestyles, modern living, dances, songs, musical instrument making and playing, etc.)
- Survival programs
- The changing roles of the aged in modern society (understanding contemporary problems, assist in use of leisure time; use the knowledge and services available to the aged, etc.
- Spiritual" (GNWT Dept.Ed. 1978:26)

Deines (1984:36-37), describes in positive terms, curriculum development efforts in which he was involved for the eastern James Bay Cree:

"Curriculum development is a long and difficult process but by 1979, teachers had been provided with a handbook detailing the aims and objectives of the Board in this regard. This handbook contained suggestions about how to develop themes for teaching that would integrate Cree cultural concepts into the daily activities of the classroom. Illustrative examples were provided."

Euro-Canadian and even Native faith in the legitimacy of Euro-Canadian conceived "daily activities of the classroom" continues to be undeservedly awesome. The persistent and disappointing results of formal education for Canadian Native children are attributed to student deficiencies, financial deficiencies, community deficiencies, but rarely if ever to the "daily activities of the classroom". In previous chapters of this study this researcher has written at length to demonstrate the

significant differences which exist between the thought and behaviour of eastern Cree hunter-gatherers, and those of industrial societies of European origin. The legitimacy of those "daily activities of the classroom" is rooted in Euro-Canadian thought and behaviour and in the history of their uncritical use with Native children. Even the most cursory comparison between "daily activities of the classroom" and those of an eastern Cree family would reveal the profound discontinuities experienced by Cree children at school.

When a Cree community achieves officially recognized control of education, the Euro-Canadian values woven into the fabric of such formal education are also accepted. With this acceptance comes the inevitable conflict between Euro-Canadian values and the Cree values of the community. The following anecdote serves as an illustration:

"The oldest son of the chief of one of the more northerly Cree bands was frequently absent from only one of his highschool classes. The school principal called the chief to the school in order to resolve the matter of his sons absence. In a short conversation in Cree, the chief learned that his son did not get on well with the teacher who was responsible for the class in question. When asked why he skipped this class so often, the son replied that he doubted that either the teacher or himself would likely change their respective feelings toward one another. Since he [the son] was not paid to be there while the teacher was, and since he [the son] would be the least missed, he had decided to stay away. The chief was anxious that his son set a good example at school but his son had by his actions set a good example in the community of avoiding conflict. Accordingly, the chief was at a loss to choose for his son a different course of action than the one he had taken. The belligerent behaviour of the teacher in question seemed only to emphasize the wisdom of the proper Cree solutionthat of remaining absent." (Murdoch 1979)

Yet, as often shown in earlier chapters and as proclaimed in current government policy, Canadian Native values, thought and behaviour are expected to persist. Furthermore, the socioeconomic disadvantage of a visible population of Natives living in Canadian cities stands as proof that acceptance of a dominant culture's values is not synonymous with integration or socioeconomic success (Stymeist 1975), (Frideres 1983), (Krotz 1980). Many thousands of Natives living in Canadian cities have achieved socioeconomic success through integration. A smaller number have not entirely integrated but still enjoy socioeconomic success. Unfortunately, the largest percentage neither integrate with city life nor achieve socioeconomic success. A detailed study of similar relations among Maoris and non-Maori New Zealanders of European origin offers an illustrative example of the widely held fallacy that Native people would do better to assume the values of a larger more powerful society:

"It is possible that no amount of intervention in the minority culture will produce the desired effects, unless the members of the dominant culture are prepared to change their attitudes and ways of behaving. One idea that is constantly used in discussion about Maori and Pakeha [non-Maori New Zealander] is that the values of the two groups differ. This is then frequently given as an explanation for Maori children's comparative lack of success at school and for the relative rareness of informal association between Maori and Pakeha. The implication behind any statement about conflict of values is that if each group held the same values many of the inequalities would disappear. It is worth examining this idea further. To begin with, overseas reports indicate that similarity in values does not necessarily bring acceptance of minority group by dominant group. Far more

important in acceptance is the matter of appearance; visible minorities encounter greater difficulties of social acceptance and access to power than do minorities whose appearance is similar to that of the dominant culture.

Furthermore, studies of minority groups have shown, certainly as far as educational and occupational aspirations are concerned, that the attitudes that they hold on these issues are in fact much the same as those of the dominant culture. Thus, there is direct evidence that holding similar attitudes to education is possibly irrelevant to the education of minority groups. Suggestions for the advancement of the Maori people based on alteration of values are most always directed towards the alteration of Maori motivation, attitudes and values. Incidentally, such suggestions are usually somewhat vague as to the precise values that are either a help or a hindrance in a particular circumstance. But, more seriously, the people who make these suggestions disregard the fact that, if it is values that have to change, it has to be the dominant culture's negative stereotyping of Maoris. Because, as this study indicates all too clearly, these stereotypes are resented. They contribute to the feeling of 'whakama'. They hinder Maori efforts to join Pakeha groups, and worst of all, they ultimately become accepted by many Maoris as the true picture of themselves." (McDonald 1973:174-175)

In summary then, neither marked changes in the cultural content of Euro-Canadian conceived formal education nor structural changes in Aboriginal thought and behaviour, have improved or are ever likely to improve the disappointing results experienced thus far of Euro-Canadian conceived formal education. Except for an absurd notion that a larger Euro-Canadian society change its norms of thought and behaviour in order to accommodate a minority eastern Cree society, there remains only one plausible direction for improvements ---adapting the goals, structure and methodology of formal education for eastern Cree children.

The goals, structures and methodologies of current

education for Cree children are based on Euro-Canadian psychological and sociocultural norms. In earlier chapters, this author has offered evidence that these norms are not universal but differ in many important ways from those practised by Canada's hunter-gatherers. Accordingly, attention should now be directed at the structures and methodologies of current schooling practices.

This view of where attention would best be applied can also be derived from analysis of eastern James Bay experience with formal education. Until about twenty years ago, Euro-Canadian conceived formal education for Cree children was a given. It was accepted by educators, parents and students alike. The validity of its structure, inherent goals or supporting methodology were not questioned. The traditional lifestyle of hunting and gathering was generally agreed by all to be fading out, to be replaced by a more viable Euro-Canadian alternative. Cree parents had no real first hand experience on which to base criticism or even raise doubts for the goals and manner of this formal education system. Conversely, the material poverty, political powerlessness and scientific naivety perceived as characteristic of the Cree population by Euro-Canadian educators, bolstered confidence in the education system of the time.

While intimately involved in various educator and family capacities during the period that followed, this researcher witnessed the loss of confidence in this system. The end began when Cree students became parents, even

teachers. In these new roles, with the experience their parents lacked, former Cree students began effecting changes. These changes were motivated by parental affection for children as well as a belief in formal education. These two motives, in spite of increasing frustration, continue undaunted. But the source of decay in confidence and subsequent undermining of the education system of the 1960's lay in the cultural fabric of the system itself. The roles of 'good educator', 'good student', and 'good parent' were culturally determined by that which was conceived as 'good' within a southern Euro-Canadian society. To the degree to which these definitions were respected, the education system succeeded with its goals. For example, as long as Cree students were encouraged toward Euro-Canadian behaviour in response to (indeed, in support of) the appropriate Euro-Canadian behaviour of a teacher; and, as long as Cree parents did not participate in the system, then the school was capable of fulfilling its mandate of educating Cree children toward a southern Euro-Canadian future. The success of this system was very much helped by Cree hunter-gatherer psychological behaviour described in the previous chapters. This behaviour allowed Cree children to contextualize or compartmentalize their school activities separate from their Cree family activities. This trait, though it may not now be deemed healthy, prevented the discontinuities experienced by students from becoming school problems. Unfortunately for many, these discontinuities caused them considerable grief

after their student lives were over and their lives as Cree adults had begun (Honigman 1975) (Preston 1974).

By the early 1970's, a significant number of former Cree students had become parents and even teachers. At first, the Cree communities were reluctant to accept Cree adults as teachers because they were too well known, too intimate with the children and not fluent enough in Euro-Canadian cultural behaviour to fit the stereotype of 'teacher'. However, in a very short time, the advantages of local teachers were appreciated. Competent Cree teachers enjoyed then and now significant community support. The advantages included: a more affectionate, less painful climate for Cree students; accessibility for Cree parents and students; and, another income which because of Cree sharing habits benefitted a number of families in the community.

Impersonal strictness with Cree students, once expected of Euro-Canadian teachers, began to give way to the kind of control of which a competent Cree parent was capable. Euro-Canadian teachers who had never experienced discipline problems before soon found themselves faced with Cree children who were no longer 'scared' or docile. Cree children began to entertain the idea and then expect that their Euro-Canadian teachers should treat them in the same fashion as their parents did. Teachers either modified their classroom management styles to those of the 'competent' Cree teachers or, as in most cases, left at the end of their term of duty.

During the early 1970's, the political will of the Crees of the eastern James Bay area became much more focused and articulated. The Quebec government and its many newly formed development corporations moved suddenly and on a massive scale into the James Bay Territory. There were no treaties or laws in place to protect the rights of the Territory's Cree inhabitants, nor was there much concern for this problem in government and corporate circles. In order to justify land tenure and their very existence as bands or communities, the Crees had to prove land occupancy and land use. Perhaps even more important for this study, the Crees were compelled to prove their lifestyle was not only valid but still viable as well. These defensive efforts and the new autonomous Cree institutions created by the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement accelerated the decline of the once-successful Euro-Canadian model for formal education. The southern industrial goals of the latter now stood in more visible conflict with a lifestyle and future successfully defended as legitimate and viable.

In theory and in practice, this author has argued that with ever increasing Cree participation, the original wholeness or integrity of a Euro-Canadian conceived education system has been seriously undermined. Remedial efforts thus far have been applied largely to content or participation, generally to make them more Cree. The incongruities between Cree content and the Euro-Canadian sociocultural structure for formal education have only

hastened the disintegration. The inclusion of Cree content and participation has skewed and confounded the normal functioning of the Euro-Canadian educational model. On the other hand, the latter has not been able to support adequately the development of Cree social competence and personality. Perhaps most unacceptable has been the failure of Euro-Canadian formal education to provide the stimuli and context for the innovations required by hunter-gatherers adjusting to more decisive roles in a bicultural, even multicultural world. Yet, the transition from current Euro-Canadian styles of formal education toward Cree ones would best not, indeed, could not be abrupt. As noted before, Cree experience of and continuing respect for earlier practices remains quite strong. This author proposes instead a gradual development toward a more Cree structured model, instituting remedial changes first in those structures nearest Cree children, for example in curricula and curriculum materials. The staffing and administration of the education system are less pivotal as the last several years have proven. Under the terms of community control of education, a stable community population quite naturally improves its acumen in the selection of teachers and the development of effective policies. Moreover, the selection of teachers and development of effective policies are more readily improved when the program (and its supporting material), and the reasons for learning are more clearly articulated and understood. If any new model is to enjoy a different fate than its Euro-Canadian antecedent, it must instead derive

strength and sustained renewal from Cree participation. Therefore this author has taken the approach of adjusting current official curricula to conform with, support and feel natural in the normal interaction of Cree adults and children. In this manner, one could reasonably expect that the next generation of Cree adults, this generation of Cree students, will contribute to the further growth and articulation of such a model rather than to its obsolescence. For mainly pragmatic reasons, this researcher proposes using current official curricula. In addition to a convenient starting point, its use provides for constructive relations with the authorities or interests who will have some later impact on the resulting curricula's acceptance and support. As well, Cree parental opinion tends wisely to be conservative in that the 'old' is preferred to the untried 'new'. New programs must be seen clearly as improvements to the old ones. Only in a very few situations are there likely to be conflicts between Cree sociocultural behaviour and the very general statement of goals which most official curricula are. In those rare situations, changes to official curricula can be made, supported by well developed arguments and the references to supporting provisions of the Education Section of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement.

What is needed now is a critique of formal education as currently administered to Cree children in the James Bay Territory of northern Quebec. This critique will begin first with sociocultural dimensions such as the goals, and

subsequent structures and methodologies of the education system. Second, this researcher will study Cree children's cognitive style and psychological development and their correspondence with those promoted by current Euro-Canadian education. Finally, this researcher will propose basic principles of curriculum development derived from the preceding discussions. These principles will be compared in the next chapter with those arising from the experience gained with the development of the Cree Land Skills Program.

Goals of Current Formal Education:

The disarray into which educational direction has fallen generally in Native communities, and particularly in the James Bay Territory is very much in evidence with respect to the goals attributed to Cree education. For example, there is the officially expressed goal, as well as the legal and financial means for a school system to support Cree language and adaptive culture. Nevertheless, these resources are largely controlled in fact by Euro-Canadian administrators, educators and clerical staff. Typically the agenda for Cree educational development is determined by Euro-Canadians and then presented for Cree reaction. Deines, whose study has been referred to earlier, conducted a survey of 63 persons including 30 Cree and Euro-Canadian adults together with 33 Cree students. His question #7, "What type of employment possibilities (jobs) do you think graduates of the Cree School Board can look forward to?" drew conflicting responses from Cree adults and Cree students. Adult

respondents favoured wage employment whereas student respondents clearly favoured more traditional Cree occupations. In Deines' own words:

"[according to Cree adults surveyed].....although Cree cultural concerns are undoubtedly important, the school is primarily expected to prepare children for wage-paying employment." (Deines 1984:100)

"[according to Cree students surveyed]...While students showed some interest in wage-paying occupations, they were less convinced than the adults that such occupations represented the most likely future for them." (Deines 1984:102)

Despite the clear divergence between Cree parental and student opinion, Deines insists that, "responses seem to indicate that the respondents accept the school as it is currently organized, around classroom instruction" (Deines 1984:105). Deines' experience in the James Bay Territory amounted to little more than a year. Moreover, his administrative role as Co-ordinator of Teacher Training, largely insulated him from the feelings of powerlessness shared by parents and students. As well, his research was conducted during the very early and tumultuous years of the Cree School Board. A similar study conducted today would reveal very marked evidence of Cree rejection of school as it was and still is organized, (Murdoch 1986).

Ironically, 1984 (the year of Deines' thesis was completed), saw an emergency meeting of the Grand Council of the Crees and the Cree Regional Authority forced by the Cree membership at large. During this emergency meeting a resolution was proposed, and passed unanimously, to fuse the two organizations together as one. Such rejection of the

organizational structures developed for Crees by Euro-Canadian consultants and lawyers has since increased. The trend has clearly been to reverse the flow of political power making the community, not some central bureaucratic body, the authority. Another case in point, the central curriculum development team referred to by Deines (1984) was disbanded during 1981, the year after he left the James Bay Territory. Efforts to revive or establish a central curriculum development centre have been repeatedly rejected in favour of community based efforts. In spite of a persistent refusal to accept generalized or central authorities, Cree communities have been often willing to coordinate with one another toward a common goal. Coordinative ties have long been promoted by intercommunity marriages and school chum relationships. Most of the people now serving as chiefs or directors attended residential school together. It is also important to note that the most enduring presence, influence or leadership has been Cree. The Cree School Board since 1978 has had two directors-general and four directors of instructional services. Even more frequent changes have been made in the directions of the various services such as teacher training, teaching services, student services, etc. As a result, the attitudes, preferences and agenda likely to prevail have been those of the Cree communities. This researcher believes that a more accurate interpretation of Cree responses received by Deines would be that he had not proposed any alternatives nor could

his respondents think of any; therefore, they accepted what was available at the moment.

Margaret Mead (1973:103) offers a plausible explanation for Deines and many other Euro-Canadians' failure to be much impressed by divergent Cree parent-student views about future occupations.

"Modern education includes a heavy emphasis upon the function of education to create discontinuities --- to turn the child of the peasant into a clerk, of the farmer into a lawyer, of the Italian immigrant into an American, of the illiterate into the literate.....Another common factor in these modern trends of education is the increasing emphasis upon change rather than growth, upon what is done to people rather than upon what people do."

As discussed at length in earlier chapters, hunter-gatherer attention typically focuses on maintaining continuity. This sentiment was eloquently expressed by an Athapaskan woman, Angela Sidney, aged 82, "Well, I've tried to live my life right, just like a story" (Cruikshank 1984:9). Amongst Cree, the past is spoken of in terms of grandparents, the future in terms of children, all moments bound together by blood and affection.

Cree sociocultural style has consistently thwarted any changes which Euro-Canadian styled education might have achieved. Cree children have for generations lived a strange sort of existence whereby they must behave as one person in the classroom and as another person everywhere else. The classroom person is not quite real whereas the other person, the real person is implicated in lifetime relations with relatives, friends and fellow community members. This phenomenon has been reported often during the last twenty

years (Preston 1974), (King 1967), (Sindell 1968), (Sealey 1973). Unfortunately for the current Euro-Canadian goals of education, Cree response tends to anomalize school experience apart from a more real or meaningful life outside the school. This effectively has discouraged application of school learned skills, in the larger community. This researcher encountered similar occurrences recently while investigating business management training for Native Canadians in the eastern Arctic. Trainees performed well during lectures but seldom applied the content of lectures once back at the job for which they were being trained.

It is the opinion of this researcher that the discontinuities between the school and the family-community lives of Cree children are not only detrimental to the success of any educational system but are also harmful to their social and intellectual growth. The studies of Caudill (1949) at Lac Flambeau, Sindell (1968) at Mistassini, Preston (1974) in the James Bay Territory and Netley and Hawke (1977) at Big Trout Lake, discussed at length in chapter three, provide irrefutable support for this opinion. Consequently, this author sees the most effective goals for Cree formal education being those which promote continuity and growth. It should be remembered that Cree student motivation for school will be directly related to school's relevance to student interests and career possibilities in his community. Similar findings have been reported by Sealey & Riffel (1986) in their review of education in a southern

Manitoba Indian community.

Hamilton (1981:147) has stated a similar view in her critique of Euro-Australian education of Aborigine children:

"The best education and preparatory experience for everyone, Aboriginal or European, would seem to be one which stresses, not the acquisition of particular intellectual technological skills, but the ability to live with change and instability at the same time as caring for oneself and one's dependents. Neither a traditional Aboriginal education nor a modern European education would seem to have much to recommend them on these criteria."

Instead of introducing a new sociocultural style, to be useful only at school, educators should accept the sociocultural style of the community. In fairness to many teachers, Native and non-Native who are willing to accept. Their problem is that they don't know or understand the sociocultural style of the community. Where new social or intellectual skills are required for new situations, for example, in dealing with Euro-Canadians, those new skills should be introduced as instrumental techniques for certain situations not as 'normal' ways to act generally.

Structure of Formal Education:

Based on industrial society goals, the structure of formal education for Cree children has been conceived on the basis of Euro-Canadian norms of social behaviour. The maintenance of the structure depends on hierarchically arranged authorities. Formal education includes Euro-Canadian norms of fairness as to the number of children in an educational group; the level of difficulty involved by activities or, the length of time a child should be engaged.

Some dimensions of Euro-Canadian educational structure are now even more historical than practical in origin. For example, summer holidays are based on an archaic southern Canadian need for children to help with the harvest of the first hay crop and other farm chores. This scheduling of the school year was important during a period when the majority of southern Canadians were engaged in agriculture. This researcher finds constructive criticism of current structures and methodologies difficult to develop because the inherent world view of current educational structure is quite different than that which underlies life in a Cree family or community. But, the more apparent dimensions of educational structure such as staffing, calendars, school buildings and classrooms or daily routines have been ritualized in Cree communities. These rituals have no important meaning outside the confines of 'school'. A truly Cree structure would reflect the patterning of Cree family and community life. Authority or primacy would need to be given to significant Cree family ties. Such a similar contrast between European and Aborigine educational strategies already cited from Malinowski (1963:256), lacking any chastisement and involving a continual parental presence.

Still, it is unlikely that Cree communities will part easily or quickly with their experiences of Euro-Canadian formal education. Instead, it would seem more likely that as a result of increased and more decisive Cree participation

the current structure will evolve to one which is more reflective of Cree communitiy social patterning. Those elements or styles which are instrumental or supportive of Cree values will no doubt survive. Those which pose a difficulty or do not seem useful will not.

The aspect of educational structure where the greatest harm is currently done and conversely the most significant improvements might be made is the program of studies. The delivery of an ethnocentric program precludes any likelihood of a Cree child correlating school experiences with those of his community. For example, a science lesson about beaver as: a 'wild' animal; a member of the rodent family; bearing an average of three young annually; and, inhabiting the wooded areas of most of Canada, might well be poorly remembered by a Cree student who has trapped, eaten and worn beaver. These 'facts' however plausible in southern Canadian classrooms are not part of the Cree experience of beaver. The term 'wild' (versus domestic) involves a view of nature and man's interaction not shared by the Cree. The terms rodent, average, and annual all involve an abstraction based on isolation of generalized criteria not significant in Cree experience. Usually, the school program is ordered by and imbued with Euro-Canadian experience of the world, to the exclusion of the Cree experience most familiar and readily available to the student.

Continuing in the previous example of a science lesson, Cree children are schooled about beaver by 'qualified' teachers who possibly have never seen a live beaver. The

Cree children's parents or relatives could, and still do provide them with a wealth of information about the world they live in, without the social dislocation and often puzzling intellectual styles of school. It is the custom of Euro-Canadian education to present information and skills out of the context where they have practical value. This practice carried out in a Cree community seriously undermines any lasting contribution by formal education. As discussed at length in earlier chapters, to Cree hunter-gatherers, context is all. Credibility, comprehension and application for Cree, all require presenting information and skills in the context where they have greatest pertinence. On occasion, effective Euro-Canadian teachers intuitively recognize that reality and seek 'concrete examples' which will support instruction. Unfortunately, as even the quickest examination would reveal, the Cree School Board's use of financial and human resources places a low priority on such curriculum development or pedagogical innovation. Although the Board's total budget exceeds twenty-six million dollars per year, less than one million is spent on activities that might be called innovative or directly related to curriculum development. The relatively few curriculum materials that are produced by the Board are never reproduced later. As a result, there is not an accumulative effect of continuous curriculum development efforts.

During field work amongst hunter-gatherers in

Greenland, the eastern Arctic, the Canadian boreal forest and Central Australia, this researcher's attention was drawn to a common trait of hunter-gatherer social style, one which proved to be an essential element of effective teaching methodology. Experiences in the classrooms of Nuuk, Greenland were the most vivid and offer the best illustrations of this point.

"I was sitting in the back of the junior highschool classroom of a native Greenlandic teacher. She was teaching her class of approximately twenty students, in Greenlandic. The researcher was generally ignored due to the students' preoccupation with their very vibrant teacher. When speaking to a student she spoke with the same warmth and respect as she might have to a friend. From conversations later it became apparent how much of her relations with each student were customized to suit that particular one. As a way of keeping communications open, this teacher had breakfast with those students whose family lives were affected by their parents' social problems. In the course of the lesson, she advised each student which respective family member or relative could help them further on the work topic. Her teaching used examples from these same sources. She knew well the world of her students. The hour was punctuated with a wide range of emotions from seriousness to humour. The students behaved in a very calm, yet animated manner and time passed quickly. I moved with the same students to their next class also taught by a Greenlandic in Greenlandic. In spite of this next teacher's warmth and obvious preparation for the class, I was surprised to notice the students seemed to have lost their earlier calm and attention. There was little semblance of meaningful educational activity and I felt rather embarrassed for the teacher. (Murdoch 1983)

What was most startling about this experience was the marked change the researcher saw in student behaviour within a period of two hours, from one teacher to another. Moreover, many of the traits of the competent Greenlandic teacher had been previously been witnessed of Cree, Inuit,

and Aborigines. Even the behaviour patterns of the less competent Greenland teacher were familiar.

The competent teachers, the researcher realized, had been adapting the particularistic style of the community to the classroom. This particularism, practiced in school, essentially involves a teacher framing methodology on the basis of esoteric knowledge of the particular student rather than on the basis of general or average expectations for a student of the same age or grade level. In the example cited earlier from Greenland, the competent teacher referred a student to his older sister who worked in the bank for help with a mathematical problem while inviting to breakfast another student whose family suffered acute social problems. Breakfast was the better context for achieving the undivided yet relaxed atmosphere needed for the same mathematical skill teaching. The referral to the sister working at the bank was made in the presence of other students whereas the breakfast invitation was made discreetly while the subject student and teacher were alone after school. When treated this way by their teachers, the Greenlanders, Inuit, Aborigine and Cree students responded in a similarly competent manner. On the other hand, those teachers who imitated the behaviour of European or Euro-Canadian teachers, without exception, provoked disruptive behaviour on the part of their students. The researcher became increasingly confident of these conclusions as each of the competent Native teachers observed offered his or her

explanations of how methods were devised or chosen. Invariably the sources were personal experience and very often based on remembrances of parents or respected relatives. Hamilton (1981:160-161), as a result of her participation in and study of Aborigine childrearing, offers an eloquent description of the foundations underlying hunter-gatherer pedagogical methods, particularly on the belief in the innate sociability of children:

"I believe that underlying such an observation and underlying the many practices already discussed can be located a theory of child development which is different to any of those discussed in the textbook, and which fails to suppose that the child is innately greedy and wicked, out to get whatever he/she can, nor yet infinitely malleable. Instead it supposes that the child is born with a set of needs which can only be supplied through social interactions, that the child indicates these needs to others, and the duty of others is to respond; that there is no difference for a small child between want and need, and that these things remain hard to differentiate throughout life; that the older and stronger must be responsible for the younger and the weaker; that dependency behaviour is perfectly right and proper; that the child is naturally sociable and wishes from its innermost being to do the same things that others do provided the others treat it with fairness and equality; that reward is not necessary to produce acceptable behaviour providing everyone behaves well. In short, it is a combination of a social modelling theory with an 'innate sociability' theory. It denies that the baby is born a tyrant or that the adult's role is to control its tyrannical wishes. It denies that indulgence will produce selfishness and lack of sociability and asserts instead that indulgence is the right of everyone when a child, and indulging is the duty of everyone when adult."

Quite likely, there are actually few differences in the techniques applied by competent Euro-Canadian and Native teachers. Nevertheless, very few of the teachers who have been hired from outside the Cree communities of the

Territory have stayed long enough or have participated in their Cree students' lives outside school enough to achieve empathy with particular students. Without that empathy, the Euro-Canadian teachers lack the esoteric knowledge to practice an effective particularistic application of techniques.

There is another aspect of current Euro-Canadian teaching methodology or posture which has profound implications for teacher-student relations. Essentially, Euro-Canadian social security is based on some degree of physically defined privacy or insulation from others. For decades, teachers have been advised not to get too involved with their students, to not get involved in local affairs, etc.. In an urban setting, where there are fewer enduring mutual ties or obligations amongst citizens, intimacy on a grand scale could well prove traumatic and unnerving. Imagine the chaos and calamity if all one thousand residents of an apartment building suddenly became involved in one another's daily lives! Accordingly, a Euro-Canadian teacher's sense of security is mainly derived from a more insular sense of privacy.

Within the context of a Cree family or community such a degree of this genre of privacy would be highly impractical and likely impossible. While on the land, in a tent or wooden camp, Cree people of all ages, male and female must spend many hours together. They must eat, sleep, and share the most intimate moments without a shred of partitioning or privacy in the Euro-Canadian sense. Even in a village,

houses are typically occupied by more than one family and the composition of a household is rarely the same from one month, or one year to the next. Cree privacy is based on non-interference and one person synchronizing his behaviour with that of another. This important difference is always felt but very rarely understood by Euro-Canadians who suddenly arrive into a Cree social context. Invariably the encounter is disorienting and strikes at the heart of the arrival's sense of security.

This researcher's own field experiences benefitted greatly by a first hand appreciation of hunter-gatherer notions of privacy and sense of social security. Practising the same strategies which the researcher had learned amongst Cree, an important degree of ease and intimacy with Inuit, Greenlanders and Aborigines was achieved. Only a brief correspondence with two Euro-Australians working with Aborigine people in Alice Springs, in the Northern Territory had been possible before arrival there in the spring of 1983. Using a James Bay Territory appropriate strategy, the researcher reserved a four-wheel drive in Alice Springs for the week. Within the hour of arrival in Alice Springs, the researcher had a passenger needing a ride to Yuendumu. The researcher's passenger was a Euro-Australian doing linguistic research in Yuendumu, a Walpiri Aborigine village some 250 miles into the desert northwest of Alice Springs. The week was passed moving Aborigine people back and forth from the village and their camps out on the land. The researcher carried a small book of photographs showing his



AUSTRALIA

FIGURE 3

home, wife, children, relatives and all that would provide important (to hunter-gatherers) contextual details as to who the researcher was. The practice of Cree etiquette among Aborigines proved quite effective, for example, when eating around a fire with an Aborigine family in camp, or during the constant meeting of new people. Indeed, during the three weeks away from the James Bay Territory, the researcher felt most secure in those situations involving Aborigines and Maoris. The researcher was fairly confident of what would happen next and of a competent natural-feeling response. Comparable experiences in Greenland and a large portion of northern Canada during the last several years have convinced this researcher of a common hunter-gatherer pattern of behaviour promoting and maintaining a sense of social security and fluency.

For almost two decades the researcher has hosted or has been acquainted with Euro-Canadian or Euro-American visitors to hunter-gatherer communities. As a result of these relations, the researcher is quite familiar with the problems commonly faced. The sudden arrival into such intimate and vibrant circumstances leaves most visitors with a sense of shock which they rarely have the experience to interpret in a positive or objective manner. The multitude of studies which characterize Crees and other hunting populations as immersed in trauma were likely influenced by this shock. Conversely, Cree students leaving their communities to attend university, experience the opposite

effect of isolation and sudden loss of intimacy.

Euro-Canadian teachers typically have not learned the close-quarter skills required to behave in a competent manner in a Cree social setting. Indeed, few have even recognized the difference between Cree and southern Canadian notions of social security. The majority of such teachers instead see their Cree students behaviour as being early, immature stages of more correct Euro-Canadian norms. A respect for hunter-gatherer notions of social security and fluency is a fundamental trait of the effective teachers this researcher has been fortunate to observe. Only through intimate experience with a Cree community is a teacher likely to have the knowledge to innovate effective teaching methodology.

Cognitive Style and Psychological Development:

There is a feeling common among Euro-Canadian educators of Cree children that the inclusion of Cree content or deference to Cree values is done in support of a sense of self-esteem or self-worth. It has been my experience, as well as that of a number of other researchers, Berry (1967), Sindell (1968) and Wintrob (1968), that Cree children arrive at school with a better sense of self-esteem than their Euro-Canadian counterparts. A more plausible justification for cultural inclusions might be in maintaining continuity between the Cree child's intellectual experiences within his family and those at school, so that education may truly be an inductive and enlightening process. In chapter three,

this author has developed and supported the hypothesis that the cognitive style of the Cree child is already irreversibly determined before his arrival at school and that his cognitive style is premised on the adaptive strategy of his hunter-gatherer family and people. This researcher hopes to show how this hypothesis relates to current literature on the development of cognitive style within the field of cross-cultural psychology.

Two concepts key to this discussion are 'field dependence' and 'field independence', described by Witkin (1967:103):

"...a field dependent mode of perception, the organization of the field as a whole dominates perception of its parts; an item within a field is experienced as fused with organized ground. In a field independent mode of perception, the person is able to perceive items as discrete from the organized field of which they are part. The field-dependence/independence dimension is a continuous one, most persons falling between two extremes."

In the measurement of degree of field-dependence or field-independence, a variety of tests or indicators are used (Witkin 1974:103). One such method is the **Rod-and-Frame Test**, whereby the subject is seated in a darkened room and adjusts a luminous rod contained within a luminous square frame to a position he believes to be upright, while the frame is tilted. A field-dependent subject will reconcile the uprightness of the rod against the tilted frame; whereas, a field-independent subject will adjust the rod independent of the frame, reconciling the uprightness of the rod to his own body position.

A second test of field-dependence or field-independence

is the **Embedded-Figures Test**, which involves the subject locating some previously seen simple geometric figure within a complex figure designed to embed it. Field-dependent subjects take much more time to identify or locate the embedded figure than do field-independent subjects.

The **Body-Adjustment Test**, involves the subject being seated in a room where the scenery or appearance of the surrounding room is tilted about 35 degrees from normal. The field-independent subject adjusts his body to an upright position, independent of the surrounding room. Conversely, the field-dependent subject reconciles his upright position against the axis of the surrounding room.

The **Block-Design Test** is a method used extensively in cross-cultural situations. Kohs Blocks are such a test involving blocks, with coloured shapes on each of the six faces of each block. The blocks are assembled by the subject to reproduce a composite design illustrated on a test card.

The **Figure Drawing Test** involves the subject drawing a picture of a body or person. The greater the degree of articulation and differentiation manifested in the results, the greater the degree of field-independence shown by the subject. The opposite is true of field-dependent subjects.

There are a number of Wechsler subtests which have also been used to test for field-dependence or independence. The attention-concentration cluster (Digit Span, Arithmetic and Coding) and the verbal-comprehension cluster (Vocabulary Information and Comprehension) show only a low level of

correlation with either dimension. However, a triumvirate of Wechsler intelligence scale subtests (Block Design, Object Assembly and Picture Completion) correlate very closely to other measures of field-independence (Witkin 1974:104).

During investigations of family experiences in a large urban centre, New York City, Witkin et al (1962) and Dyk & Witkin (1965:21-55) revealed certain indicators that field-dependent behaviour would likely occur in children's relations with their parents, in particular, their mothers. They are described by Witkin (1967) as follows:

- "1) Indicators concerned with separation from the mother. Included here are five indicators which, stated in terms of hampering of separation, were: a) mother's physical care is not appropriate to the child's age; b) mother limits child's activity and his movements into the community because of her own fears and anxieties for the child or ties to him; c) mother regards her child as delicate, in need of special attention or protection, or as irresponsible; d) mother does not accept a masculine role for her child; e) mother limits the child's curiosity and stresses conformity.
- 2) Indicators concerned with nature of control over aggressive, assertive behaviour in the child. This indicator was: mother's control is not the direction of the child's achieving mature goals and becoming responsible, or is consistently directed against the child asserting himself. Specific patterns illustrative of this mode of control are: administration of threats to control aggression; submissive, indulgent maternal behaviour; wavering by the mother between indulgent and coercive behaviour. The child's development of controls is likely to be hampered when mother is unable to set limits for her child or to help him identify and internalize a set of values and standards.
- 3) Indicators concerned with personal characteristics of the mother which may influence her role in the separation process. The two indicators were: a) mother does not have assurance in herself in raising her child. Lack

of self-assurance hampers a mother's ability to define her role as a mother, and, accordingly, her ability to help her child identify himself as a separate person. It is also likely to make it difficult for the mother to set and maintain limits, thereby interfering with the child's achievement of self-regulation in her own life. A mother who lacks a sense of self-realization is less able to allow her child to separate from her and to develop as an individual in his own right. Ratings made of mother-child interactions, guided by these indicators, showed a picture of significant correlations with measures of differentiation for the children."

Field-dependent or field-independent cognitive styles have also been functionally linked to certain cultural patterns associated with child-rearing, by Nedd & Gruenfeld (1976:38):

"As Triandis(1972) has pointed out, the Field-dependent cognitive style facilitates the maintenance of smooth and harmonious relationships in a tradition oriented society; it is thus expected to be characteristic of traditional, relatively simple, preindustrial societies. The field-independent cognitive style, as Triandis (1972) has also pointed out, is well suited to a culture whose way of life seeks to achieve physical, materialistic objectives in impersonal ways. Societies comprised of individuals manifesting these characteristics are relatively more complex, modern and industrial.....it can now be asserted that the field dependent cognitive style is functionally related to cultural patterns which emphasize the maintenance of a traditional order, preference for in-group oriented, particularistic relationships; extended kinship and family structures; and socialization practices emphasizing conformity, obedience and respect for authority."

The following comparison of relevant cultural patterns associated with child-rearing, demonstrate the relative positions of the Temne and Mende of Sierra Leone, Scots, Canadian Inuit and Cree, on a field-dependence-independence continuum. The position of the Inuit(Eskimo) and Cree seems

to contradict Nedd & Gruenfeld (1976) which held that a field-dependent cognitive style could be expected to be "characteristic of traditional, relatively simple, preindustrial societies". But, even the latter researchers, in the same study suggest that, "degree of urbanization was found to be a relatively weak predictor of field-dependence-independence", Nedd & Gruenfeld (1962:37). Consequently, the preferred styles of child-rearing in urban or industrial societies cannot be viewed as the sole means of producing field-independent children. In fact, some researchers have found that the children of preindustrial communities achieve superior differentiation (or, field-independence) in psychomotor development, much earlier than do Euro-Canadian (Western) children:

"...There was a distinct acceleration of psychomotor development among samples of infants reared in traditional, preindustrial communities.....Samples of 'Westernized', upper-middle class urban infants from the same ethnic groups in Africa who were breast-fed less frequently and for a shorter duration, and who were not as accelerated as traditionally reared, rural infants but were still superior to Western infants in their psychomotor development during the first year of life." (Werner 1972:129)

This phenomenon is generally attributed to a pervasive set of experiences of most preindustrial communities:

"In spite of a great deal of cultural and geographical diversity, all of the infants drawn from preindustrial communities shared certain common experiences during the first year: membership in an extended family system with many caretakers; breast-feeding on demand, day and night; constant tactile stimulation by the body of the adult caretaker who carried the infant on her back or side and slept with it; participation in all adult activities with frequent sensory motor stimulation; lack of set routines for feeding,

sleeping and toileting; and lack of restrictive clothing in a semi-tropical climate." (Werner 1972:128)

It seems more reasonable to this researcher that the critical factor in determining field-dependence or field-independence lies in the type of social stimulation received by the growing child. We can see that preindustrial children share many experiences which contribute to early psychomotor development but these children differ in the manner in which they are controlled or enculturated by adults. This aspect of control or enculturation is germane to the indicators previously described for Western, urban children and might also explain the stark difference between the cognitive styles of the Temne on one hand and the Mende, Inuit and Cree on the other. The Temne and Mende, it should be noted, inhabit the same country and live in a similar climate:

"The marked field-independence of the Eskimo and their apparently generally high overall level of psychological differentiation, provide further impressive evidence that so-called 'primitive' groups are not uniformly less developed. Equally impressive is the finding that the Eskimo were no less field-independent than the comparison Scottish group, despite the vastly greater educational and material opportunities available to Scots. That the traditional Eskimo are also very field-independent and relatively differentiated is particularly attention-getting since they receive so little education (a total of 0.4 years, on the average) and in current usage of the term may be considered 'culturally deprived'." (Witkin 1962:116-117)

But educational researchers have long made comparisons of 'Indian' children to Euro-Canadian, urban, or industrial children with no distinctions made between 'hunter-gatherer Indians', 'pastoral Indians' or 'agricultural Indians'. Yet, each of these socio-ecological modifiers has critical

implications for the types of socio-cultural adaptations involved. Hunter-gatherer Indians must be independent, self-reliant, and mobile. Pastoral Indians, while needing to be mobile, must also develop a degree of group dependence because of their commitment to a herd of animals, grazing lands and the larger scale working group implied. Agricultural Indians must be considerably more tradition oriented or group dependent because of a commitment to crops and a sedentary lifestyle. Each of these systems of ecological adaptation is supported by a distinct style of enculturation or control over children which in turn produces the degree of field-dependence or field-independence required for a harmonious existence. Hunter-gatherers, like industrial society members, require and regard positively, the trait of field-independence. The same trait could be seen as maladaptive to life in Temne society where harmony depends on conformity. Western child-rearing styles might be regarded through ethnocentric Temne eyes as being vague, apathetic, selfish, as easily as Temne styles may seem oppressive, cruel, and arbitrary through ethnocentric Western eyes. Lowie (1920:13) offers a probable explanation for Euro-Canadian' reluctance to regard field-dependence as positively as it does field-independence:

"All of us are born into a set of traditional institutions and social conventions that are accepted not only as natural but as the only conceivable response to social needs. Departure from our standard in foreigners bear in our biased view the stamp of inferiority."

Though hunter-gatherer Crees and Inuit might agree with

industrial Euro-Canadians on the value of field-independence, they are far apart on the processes which should be applied. As noted by Berry (1966a, 1966b) and Werner (1972), hunter-gatherer children actually exceed urban children in the development of spatial and psychomotor skills, but in the development of concrete operational thought, noted by Dasen (1974:416), do much less well:

"In Eskimo and Canadian Indians (Vernon 1966, 1969), all subgroups were weak relative to English norms on conservation of Q, L, and A, as well as on time concepts, but only slightly inferior on logical conclusions. Eskimos were similar to whites on tasks involving spatial concepts. Indians were poorer on these tests, but were better on a test of mental imagery. Exactly what these differential patterns mean, and how they are related to cultural characteristics, is not clear at first glance; one partial interpretation has been made by Goodnow (1969a), who has tentatively identified the vulnerable tasks as those involving 'imaged transformations' or 'mental shuffling'."

It should be noted here that cross-cultural cognitive testing is far from an exact science. Shannon (1976:117-122) found that "conceptualizations of time may be related to achievement in one culture and not in another. They further suggest that some of the school related difficulties of Native and Mexican-Americans could result from cultural differences in time concepts." Ramirez and Price-Williams (1974:212-219) noted that "members of certain cultural groups may have appeared to exhibit little achievement motivation as interpreted by that [Hispanic and Mexican-American] cultural group and or because the particular methodology used did not tap achievement motivation as interpreted by that cultural group and or because the

achievement motivation expressed was not recognized as such due to the narrow definition of achievement used".

Dasen (1972) also noted that where testing for cognitive style involved spatial dimensions, important to a hunting-gathering lifestyle, the hunter-gatherer subjects did well; but as Dasen (1972) noted, when tests involved Euro-Canadian "imaged transformations" or "mental shuffling", hunter-gatherers did much less well. Other similar biases may have entered the testing situation.

As described in chapter three, even Piaget (1969:13) concluded that neither 'norms of conservation' nor Piaget's own stage of 'propositional operations' were universal aspects of cognitive development. Moreover, Kearins (1977) found that when European mental tests favouring verbal-conceptual skills are altered to favour visual-spatial skills, Aborigine hunter-gatherers performed better than Europeans.

During discussion of cognitive research conducted by Berry (1966a, 1966b) among Cree and other Canadian hunter-gatherers, Witkin (1967:117) commented:

"The possibility arises from these findings that cultural stimulation, as commonly provided by schools and other social media, may work most of all on behalf of development of verbal-comprehension and social-communication skills. On the other hand, development of the cluster of characteristics which includes an articulated cognitive style, as well as an articulated body concept and a developed sense of separate identity (together signifying self-differentiation) is more under the influence of the quality of relations with critical persons (as in the family) early in life. Given the necessary interpersonal relations, these important attributes of an autonomous person

may apparently develop even under conditions of so-called cultural deprivation. The observation in our studies and in studies by others (see, for example, Cropley 1964) that socioeconomic status does not relate to level of verbal-comprehension abilities, is consistent with these views."

What is needed now is a closer examination of Cree childrearing practices, or as Witkin describes, 'the quality of relations with critical persons (as in the family) early in life'. The development of interest and participation in fantasy is widely believed to be the early stages of development of a symbolic mode of thought (verbal-conceptual). It is here that this author will begin his discussions.

In the course of the past seventeen years, this researcher has been increasingly impressed by the degree to which fantasy or unrestrained imagination is absent from the expressions and behaviour of Cree children, adolescents and adults. The only traditions of Cree narration that have survived are those held to be true, that is reconstructed, not created by the narrator. Nowhere is there provision for stories, within the Cree milieu, that were imagined or created from fantasy. (Preston 1971).

The most widely held view of the differences between Cree hunter-gatherer and Euro-Canadian cognitive styles is that the former do not easily abstract or manipulate symbolic expressions such as concepts or theories. Hallowell (1967:54) wrote that:

"There was nothing in the aboriginal culture to stimulate abstract thinking and the very elementary schooling some individuals have received is not directed toward this end. Furthermore, there is

nothing in the culture to call forth any imaginative powers of a highly creative sort. Myths and tales are recounted not invented, and the same situation holds true for most of their music. The only art that seems to call out any inventiveness is beadwork. It is not strange to find, then, that the results of the Rorschach technique indicate that the intelligence of the Sauteaux functions at a concrete, practical, common sense level and that their characteristic intellectual approach to things is very cautious and precise. Many of them add to this a capacity for observing acutely fine details that might escape other observers, but they show little interest in organizing such details into wholes with a significant meaning."

The intention of the following discussion is to explore fantasy: its functions; its motivations; and its implications for the development of a symbolic mode of thought.

Theodorson and Theodorson (1970:151) describe 'fantasy' and its functions as:

"A sequence of imagined events, usually pleasant and satisfying experiences. Fantasy is frequently a psychological defense mechanism resulting from frustration. When the satisfaction of an individual's wants are blocked in the world of reality, he may escape into a world created by his own imagination. The use of fantasy to relieve frustration may be deliberate and conscious or may occur without full conscious realization by the individual of what he is doing."

Implied, is a distinct relationship or dichotomy between "the world of reality" and a "world created by his own imagination". Similarly, Euro-Canadians typically refer to a relationship between worlds of 'physical beings' and 'spiritual beings', or 'real' and 'unreal'. This relationship is not as distinct or polarized for Crees. In fact, it has been noted by Preston (1971:144) that the Cree notion of truth is more a range than a dichotomy between 'true' and 'not true', where the "confidence level may taper

gradually, with the directness of one's perceptual information, until it reaches a state where one is not sure of the truth of something, and diminish finally into doubt and disbelief."

Without the special category created for fantasy by the Euro-Canadian dichotomy, 'reality vs fantasy', the Cree observer or audience might ignore or judge negatively, the process or product of 'fantasy', in terms of his speech, where fantasized or imagined story content is ignored, or teased, by children and adults alike. Neither is deliberate or conscious fantasy given support nor encouraged in childrearing practices. Most parents would treat children's early fantasies or 'made-up stories' with affectionate humour and teasing, but little or no encouragement is offered to a child's further efforts to fantasize. For example, the author's oldest son, born without three fingers to his left hand, made-up a story explaining that a dog bit them off. This story invariably drew the same reactions from family and community adults ---an "aaahh" of disbelief, and some accompanying expression of affection or warmth, such as a kiss, hug, kind of laughter, or smile. At no time did the author hear of or see him encouraged to enlarge the story he made up, nor to clarify it. Moreover, when one day he began to explain that he was born that way, the affection remained but the teasing was dropped from the Cree adult reactions. In place of the teasing was some tribute or acknowledgement of his having recognized and recounted a true story, eg. 'He knows!' or, an 'Oh' spoken as when accepting a credible

explanation. Generally, the 'made-up' stories of Cree children arouse humour and affection, but little serious consideration of their worth. On the other hand, the children's efforts at competent narration of events are usually rewarded by genuine Cree adult interest and attention.

There is one aspect of Cree childrearing practices that, at first glance, could be seen as embodying fantasies; however, closer observation reveals a different phenomenon, more closely related to explaining 'reality'. For example, small Cree children are controlled to some extent by their parents' threats involving monsters such as the 'atoosh' (a kind of cannibal), or the 'bawt' (approximately, white trappers). Viewed from outside the Cree milieu, these monsters would be considered as fantastic. But from the context of Cree historical experience and the recounting of it, these monsters are quite 'real'. There are people living who had relatives eaten by atoosh; another woman was raped twice by the bawt, (the incident was considered real enough for the involvement of the police). Unlike the 'boogie man' threats of some Euro-Canadian parents, these Cree threats involve 'real' monsters. In addition, it is significant that Cree threats are usually expressed as possibilities, not actual events fantasized to have taken or about to take place. As Cree children develop a greater interest in reasons, or causal relationships, the threats are altered to probabilities from their original position of possibility.

For example, 'If you keep playing near the river, you'll fall in and drown. Everyone would really feel bad, and your little brother would have no one to play with.'

It might be said then, that Cree parents' threats of small children with monsters was the expression of a real, though perhaps remote possibility directed toward small children's tendency to personify the agents of their world, (eg. sun, wind, etc.,) rather than towards a yet undeveloped interest or ability to appreciate reasoning. This could also be considered as a unique use of metaphor where the primary image (danger) is implied, and the secondary image (the monster) is quite explicit in the child's mind's eye, (Preston 1972), (Murdoch 1976). This differs from Euro-Canadian use of metaphor, however it would be difficult, undesirable, if not impossible to provide the primary image explicitly, in the earlier example, 'danger'. Moreover, such use of metaphor manages to convey an accurate perception (of danger or consequences unknown) to a child, too limited by experience to understand reason, without compromising Cree ethics of narrating events. Similarly, the adoption of Santa Claus and giving of gifts has been done in a fashion that renders Santa Claus as a metaphorical representation of charity to small children, as 'the Christmas spirit', generosity, etc.. Great pains are taken to protect the image of Santa Claus in the minds of small Cree children. Not until the child asks to 'see' him or become persistently curious as to his identity is the child shown who Santa Claus actually is. When the children 'see' Santa Claus, they

are permitted to remain up on Christmas Eve, when all the gift wrapping is done by those who have already 'seen' Santa. Most Cree children are around ten to twelve years of age before they take interest in seeing who Santa is, and the decision to stay up and see who Santa is usually is the child's own. During quite a number of Christmases at Wemindji (Paint Hills) and Waskaganish (Rupert House), The author has watched this 'seeing' take place. Without exception, the child is never told that there is no such person as Santa Claus, but rather, shown who the person really is. Here again, a person has been used to personify or imply as a metaphor an idea, offering an explanation which will later be modified, not discarded, when the child is more interested and susceptible to analytic or rationalized explanations. The age of readiness, around eleven years of age, corresponds closely with Euro-Canadian psychology of education's 'age of reason'.

Considering Cree ethics of narration, expression, and childrearing, little encouragement of talents for creating fantasy, and fiction, is likely to develop while those Cree ethics enjoy the prevalence they now do, in the eastern James Bay area. In fact, this author has never yet seen a Cree pupil ever produce an effort of fiction in its Euro-Canadian terms, until he has gone far into the secondary levels of formal education, and then, almost invariably at the request of a teacher or some such person. In the elementary levels, pupils' response to a teacher's request

that the children 'make-up' stories usually amounts to either: ignoring the criteria that the story be 'made-up', and offering instead a true account; or, partially or completely 'making-up' an account that could not be distinguished from true accounts. The author has never seen the unrestrained imagination that is most often associated with fantasy. Among adults, the interest in and ability of a person to fantasize, usually accompanies a marked degree of enculturation to Euro-Canadian oriented intellectual and social habits. In the James Bay Territory such instances of enculturation are quite rare.

Thus far, only deliberate or conscious efforts at fantasy or 'altering reality' have been discussed. What remains is the most important aspect of this discussion ---- unconscious fantasy, as it occurs in dreams, rumours, expressions, and behaviour. For this aspect of discussion, a clearer notion of the nature and functions of unconscious and conscious fantasy is needed. In all references seen by this researcher, the function of unconscious fantasy was viewed as a reaction or response, usually of compensation to negative stimuli to the ego's sense of self-esteem, and well being. Sandler and Nagers (1963:159) describe that function as follows:

"A year or two ago, a number of analysts and child psychotherapists working on the Hampstead Index were faced with the need to create a workable classification of observed clinical material relating to the superego concept as it was developed by Freud and in subsequent psychoanalytical writings. This led to a formation of the superego (Sandler 1960), (Sandler et al 1962) which stressed among other things, its function as

a source of well-being and self-esteem and its general role in the regulation of narcissistic supplies. On the basis of these formulations and their interaction with actual clinical observations, recorded in the Index, it became clear that one of the main mechanisms used by certain children to deal with lowered narcissistic cathexis of the self was creation of daydreams in which the child could restore his diminished self-esteem through the creation of ideal and satisfying situations in which he played a central and often heroic role. (This applies of course to adults as well (A. Reich 1960). The mechanism was provisionally called 'compensation in fantasy'."

and further from Sandler and Nagera (1963:177):

"This leads us to the conclusion, implicit in Freud's writings on unconscious fantasy, that the unconscious fantasy is fundamentally an elaborated and unsatisfied unconscious wish."

This notion that fantasy functions to compensate, defend or appease a person's self-esteem and sense of well-being is prevalent throughout the psychoanalytic readings surveyed:

"In an investigation which extended over a period of five years, Griffiths (1935) made an attempt at studying the fantasy of children. In this study, imagery tests, ink blots, dreams and drawings of fifty normal children were utilized. On the basis of the results it was concluded that fantasy was one of the ways in which children dealt with their problems. It was suggested that fantasy did not merely imply withdrawal from reality, but it was a means for adjustment." (Kureshi 1975:14)

"Dreams are the voice of nature, informing the individual of important neglected or unconscious facts and feelings about himself and his social relationships, and redressing the balance of defensive one-sidedness. Dreams thus potentially provide the dreamer with crucially important information which he needs in order to formulate his major personal decisions adaptively.... Dreams, like play and fantasy are fractionated, unsystematic approaches that work over the dreamer's real concerns, and in the process sometimes yield solutions by generating new combinations of pre-established schemata." (Klinger 1971:83)

This function of fantasy has been detected in more conscious behaviours as well:

"The principal reason why rumour circulates can be briefly stated. It circulates because it serves the twin function of explaining, and relieving emotional tensions felt by individuals." (Allport and Postman n.d.:46)

"Analytic theorists commonly attribute the internal impetus to create fantasy (whether expressed overtly or covertly) to the person's efforts in this way to alter intolerable limitations and frustrations in his reality situation or to defend himself against anxieties aroused by aggressive and sexual impulse-conflicts. Murphy and her associates (1962) ascribe the impetus to fantasy as the children's experience of a threat to their self-esteem or to their physical self." (Gould 1972:26)

At this point, this researcher is not altogether satisfied with the validity of the distinct categories maintained by these views of unconscious fantasy, dreams, rumour, as, for example, it might be very difficult or nearly impossible to decide what part of a child's fantasy tale is conscious and what part is unconscious, if it exists in parts at all. Nor is the author altogether satisfied with the limits placed on for instance, dreaming, where no provisions are made for the spiritual interventions of human dreams. The Crees as noted by Preston (1975) allow for such a contingency in their definition of 'dreams':

"Aspects of narratives that we find highly symbolic or fantastic and necessarily existing only in the surreal world may be viewed by the Cree as much more real and complexly involved in real events. While the effective involvement of 'symbols' may obscure, the results may be powerful and of great personal significance. In the following (translated and slightly edited) narrative, I repeat a man's firsthand account of the events leading up to the death of his wife involving a complex and obscure interaction of dream events, hunting events, and a

personal tragedy."

Still, it would be reasonably safe to assume on the basis of psychoanalytic theory, underlying both conscious and more unconscious forms of fantasy lies a dissatisfaction with one's perceived relationship with 'reality' seconded by a desire to alter that 'reality'. Piaget (1962) holds that these fantasies involve unconscious, hence secondary symbols from three general areas of the child's world: the child's own body; elementary family feelings, such as love, jealousy, aggression; and, anxieties centred on the birth of babies, (siblings and in general). His observations revealed children compensating for injury done to self-esteem and sense of well-being while they (the children) were engaged or pre-occupied with the three latter areas. Because fantasy is seen to be motivated and impelled by a dissatisfaction, children who are frustrated or limited could be expected to carry fantasy to its greatest extreme. Earlier, use of fantasy was defined by Theodorsen and Theodorsen, as relief of frustration with reality; moreover, it was noted that in extreme cases, fantasy could be associated with schizophrenia, or a "loss of contact with the world of reality". On the other hand, more positive and moderate uses of fantasy were noted, where "fantasy is common in normal individuals and may lead to creative innovation". Therefore, dissatisfaction, frustration, and limitations provide the spark and fuel for the operations of fantasy, encouraging the development of a symbolic mode of thought. As Gould (1972:263) notes:

"Furthermore, one may surmise that, whatever developmental interpersonal experiences stimulate a child's proclivities for fantasy formulations, its engagement in fantasy expression is likely to facilitate the evolution of symbolic modes of thought."

We are to assume then, that a child with his dissatisfaction, frustration, or limitation by his particular reality, unconsciously or otherwise, seeks to alter that reality by creating one which is not only more comfortable and satisfying, but also compensates for whatever injury was already done. In departing from the realm of accommodating and perceiving reality, the child learns to create personal symbols and mental images which he is empowered to arrange and manipulate in his internalized world. Certainly, the sense of power, satisfaction, and freedom that could result from fantasy, would not only compensate for the discomforts of reality, but likely encourage even more formulation of fantasy, and a tendency to use a symbolic mode of thought.

It is likely that the potential for formulating of fantasy is roughly the same for new-born Cree or Euro-Canadian babies. As well, at such an early stage it also seems likely that the subsequent tendencies toward symbolic thought modes, which might result from the formulation of fantasy are approximately of the same potential for both Cree and Euro-Canadian newborn babies. However, because of some important differences in Cree and Euro-Canadian sociocultural systems, that potential changes from the moment of birth. Those important differences, probably lie

in the realm of motivations provided for fantasy and subsequent symbolic thought development. For the sake of this discussion, the author will consider the frustrations or motivations for fantasy's ludic symbols as viewed by Piaget: the child's own body; elementary family feelings, (love, jealousy, aggression); and, anxieties. In order to provide the 'unsatisfied wish' for fantasy to work upon, those frustrations must play uncomfortably upon the child's self-esteem, or feelings of well-being.

Let us consider first the child's relation to his own body. A Euro-Canadian child's early fascination with his body, its functions, and excrement or intake, usually meet discouragement and a certain negative reaction. A Cree child's similar fascinations though not encouraged, are not discouraged, but rather accepted as typical of the age. Nor are there traditions of negative associations with a child's intake or excrement. For example, some children, particularly in earlier times, were breast fed to ages as late as five and six years of age. It could be fairly stated then, that Cree children suffer much less injury (and motivation for fantasy formulation) to self-esteem and sense of well-being, than their Euro-Canadian counterparts do in relating to their bodies. Moreover, Cree children's exploration of bodies and sexual differences are provided for rather than discouraged. Accordingly, there is nothing unusual about young children (of either sex) bathing together, removing their clothing together, or exploring

parents' or siblings' bodies in affectionate contexts. 'Soft core' pornography is viewed with more humour than disgust by Cree adults, who will tolerate any child's inspection of magazines such as Playboy, or Penthouse, and find the comments of the child amusing and humorous. This attitude toward the human anatomy and sexuality contrasts rather sharply with that which is prevalent in the Euro-Canadian child's milieu. In addition, the Cree child could accommodate the reality of his world, in all probability with very little frustration or dissatisfaction, leaving much less impetus for formulation of fantasy or evolution of symbolic thought.

Perhaps it is the current environments of respective Euro-Canadian and Cree families that pose the greatest potential differences for respective societies child development. Piaget's work, Play, Dreams, and Imitation In Childhood, was translated into English in 1951, over thirty years ago. The children of whom Piaget wrote were living in very different circumstances than most children today living in societies of European origin. For the most part the families of Piaget's subjects were stable and not subject to the challenges now faced. Nor was the family of Piaget's earlier writings as much affected by the actions of government, school and a host of other institutions. Then, the majority of the world's industrial populations lived in largely rural settings. The family unit was much more inclusive of extended family. The family as a socialization context for infants and very young children has changed much

more during the last three decades, for Euro-Canadians than it has for Crees. Typically those changes have involved greater isolation from extended family and increasingly a greater reliance on a single parent. As well, the degree to which the Euro-Canadian and Cree children's behaviour must be controlled or 'limited' (or frustrated) differs markedly. Because of a host of physical hazards or limitations (traffic, strangers, deviants, private property, school attendance, getting lost, etc.) in the usual southern Canadian environment, the Euro-Canadian child must be controlled to a greater degree. In addition, the style of control is aggressive and direct, that is, involving force or command of a parent and quite likely to involve some degree of affront to a child's sense of self-esteem or well-being. Conversely, the physical hazards of the Cree environment are reduced by the ability of the child's ability to reach them. For example, the river could not normally be considered as a usual hazard in the life of a one-year old as the likelihood of unsupervised or unaccompanied exposure would be minute. What controls of Cree child behaviour that are necessary, are posed in a relatively passive manner --- threats that do not involve the family. As Preston (1972:5) observed of Cree childrearing habits:

"In infancy, the only control that I am aware of is through swaddling. Otherwise, the infant is treated indulgently and shown affection and admiration".

Prolonged jealousy, in Cree siblings is markedly

absent, probably because of the alteration of a Cree parent's recognition and relationship to a child displaced as the 'baby of the family'. When a new baby is born, the former baby is provided plenty of access and encouragement to take part in the loving of, caring for, and identifying with, the new baby. Cree children, are allowed to assume far more responsibility for their younger siblings and kin, at a much earlier age than their Euro-Canadian counterparts. Cree children's efforts to assist in the caring for babies are given particular attention by adults, thereby offering a substitute for the 'baby love and attention' lost, the substitute being of even greater value as to self-esteem because it is more 'grown-up'. Again, the Cree sociocultural system provides much less motivation for fantasy formulations, and again less encouragement of symbolic thought development than does the Western sociocultural system. There is of course the risk here of describing ideal Cree parents while overlooking the full range of actual Cree parenting competences. As in any world, there are a few very good parents and a few very poor parents with the majority of parents falling between. However there are features of Cree social life that prevents marked differences in the experiences of both children and parents. First, the intimacy of Cree social life prevents parents from privately abusing their children. Child abuse is one of the few forms of deviant behaviour which invariably draws a swift and decisive intervention by other relatives. Even mild instances of neglect would result in another relative

inviting or agreeing to have the child live with them. Second, even a child who has experienced dissatisfaction as a child is likely to contextuallize that dissatisfaction to his own family because he will have grown up all the while aware of more affectionate alternatives being practiced in other parts of the family or community. This awareness is often bolstered by other adults' extra gestures of kindness and affection, heightened by the knowledge of the child's plight. Third, the natural mother and father of a child are only two of a veritable host of parents who will typically care for a Cree child. A very large part of parenting is performed by siblings and other relatives, therefore the quality of parenting is much less dependent on the skills of two adults. Of course the author's latter comments are restricted to the Cree communities of the James Bay Territory of northern Quebec. The author is aware that these experiences vary widely in other Cree or Aboriginal communities in other parts of Canada.

Not only is the eastern James Bay Cree child protected from aggressive behaviour within the context of his family, he is also taught how to protect himself from the aggressiveness of persons outside the family, or even outside his community. By early control through the use of threats of harm at the hands of strange persons, or monsters, and his response to those threats by curtailing or altering his behaviour, the Cree child is conditioned to respond to threatening situations with social and emotional

control. For example, Cree children in the presence of strangers, especially Euro-Canadian, become usually quite reticent and quiet in their behaviour. The effect of this response to the possibility of harm or discomfort, is to reduce the possibility by diminishing the child's involvement with the stranger to the point where he might not even be noticed. As Preston (1972:5) notes:

"A strange teacher who speaks with negative emotion, in order to show his authority and thereby keep students quiet and co-operative may convey much more of a negative, even punitive and discouraging message to the children than he imagines. Tension or frustration is sensed from small cues, even by small children, and their response is likely to be one quiet and minimal participation in the teacher-pupil relationship until the teacher shows a more relaxed and socially competent (be Cree standards) manner....I think the reticence acts as a sort of preventative maintenance in social relationships, by avoiding emotional or information acts that might be misunderstood or otherwise not congenial, a way of preventing escalation of a potentially disagreeable state of affairs."

Accordingly, the Cree child, adolescent and adult participate in a sociocultural system that poses comparatively less possibility for dissatisfaction, frustration or limitation for a person's sense of self-esteem and well-being. As well, they have been conditioned through childrearing practices to protect themselves from and avoid aggressive, uncongenial or negative behaviour. This author believes that as a result of the total effect the motivation available for formulation of fantasy or encouragement of symbolic modes of thought are not nearly as strong or prevalent for the Cree as it may be for Euro-Canadian persons. Furthermore, as the Cree child matures to

adulthood, symbolic representations of important information and relationships are not as practical or effective as are the very significant resources of particular experiences and the persons willing to share them with him. For example, learning to perform a new skill in an affectionate climate from a relative with demonstrated competence is far more appealing than to seek instruction from books or from impersonal 'qualified' teachers who are not always well understood. Nevertheless, this researcher does believe Cree children do fantasize in a more restrained fashion. Cree children can often be seen pretending to be one of his relatives or other persons known, for example, driving a snowmobile, teaching, or parenting. However, this type of play would be most often imitation rather than fantasy.

BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR INTRACULTURAL EDUCATION

Goals:

Cree adults and children have compartmentalized life at school apart from life generally because the values by which school life have been and still are determined are often incongruous with Cree sociocultural norms. In the interest of maintaining a sense of security and social composure in the larger Cree community, an agreement is implicitly made amongst Cree children and adults alike. That agreement is to regard the more intimately known Cree world as real and to regard the world of school to be much less so. Accordingly, the incongruous goals, structure and behaviour of school are not treated as being relevant (or thereby threatening)

outside school. Clearly, Euro-Canadians and Crees alike intend for school to be much more. The following general principles are intended to influence formal education as it is now, toward a role and performance more supportive of Cree sociocultural behaviour and aspirations for the future. Posed in such a new relationship with Cree community, hopefully, school would "stress the ability to live with change and instability at the same time as caring for oneself and one's dependents" (Hamilton 1981). Expressed in terms of this study's organizing metaphor, these principles should help Crees incorporate village and school life more within a Cree domain in order that educational activities contribute to and benefit from Cree sociocultural composure. Dressing up should again be reserved for occasions when conscious, short-term adaptations to other sociocultural contexts are necessary.

Structure:

In respect of maintaining continuity between home and school but also in respect of Cree social and intellectual style, the structure of school must be expressed in terms particular to the community served. The sensibility of features of organization such as school calendars, reporting, and programming must be expressed in terms valued generally within the Cree community. Operation of high school on a course by semester system, for example, would allow greater opportunity for Cree students to participate in both the education of school and the education available

out on the land. Perhaps most critical, program and curriculum development must proceed on the premise that Cree parents (and the larger family) have a contribution to make and have a part to play in the program's eventual delivery. A case in point is the issue of school-taught literacy. Without the involvement of a student's family, it is likely that school will convey only 'technical literacy', including the technical skills and little else. On the other hand as Bailey (1965) and others have discovered, with the student's family involved a more full 'cultural literacy' is achieved. This latter type of literacy is much more likely to be generalized by the student to serve practical purpose in other aspects of his life. The former 'technical literacy' usually is not so practised and is later forgotten or seldom used. Furthermore, the potential motivation of many Cree students to perform at school pivots on the potential of a future career in his community or region. Teachers and other staff required by a more intracultural school must have a strong faith in a Cree future as well as a continuing interest in each student's particular nature. Finally, the structure of school must allow the individual Cree student the freedom to progress regardless of what normal expectations there may be for his age or grade level. Promotion of this freedom at school is tied closely to support of an egalitarian Cree community's own promotion of self-reliance.

Cognitive Style:

Rather than replacing Cree children's cognitive style with another more verbally and conceptually oriented, the school and its animators should come to terms with the children's visual-spatial mode of thought. No doubt there will be practical need for teaching verbal conceptual skills. These latter skills should, however, be introduced as instrumental techniques capable of helping the Cree student "live with change and instability at the same time as caring for oneself and one's dependents" (Hamilton 1981). Accordingly, a teacher would provide Cree students with multiple experiences (drawing from Cree community examples) where the subject skills were important. Once a pattern of need for new skills was appreciated, the subject would be introduced as capable of satisfying the subject needs. The effect of this approach would be to provide Cree students with important visual and spatial clues with which to interpret and assimilate the new skills introduced. Again, it is important to note that the teacher likely to be most effective in this approach will have fluency in Cree experience as well as Euro-Canadian techniques. It follows then that the knowledge and competences of both Euro-Canadian and Cree societies will be important in the development of a more intracultural system of formal education.

CONCLUSION

Until only a decade or so ago, the primary goal of formal education was the acculturation of Native Canadians to the values and behaviour of the Euro-Canadian majority. Now, the same institutions which once promoted acculturation have been officially redirected to support the cultures of Native Canadians. The discontinuity which once existed between Euro-Canadian conceived formal education and Cree communities, now exists between current formal education's Cree supportive goals and its Euro-Canadian structure. This more recent discontinuity is mounting as Cree participation in and control of formal education grow. Resolution lies in the adaptation of the structure of Cree family and community to the goals of formal education.

A good number of the conceptual and ethical differences between Euro-Canadian and Cree children could be traced through the different perceptions of the world and different coping styles they are encouraged to adopt by their respective parents, families, and communities. Though Cree children may face a less materially satisfying or privileged life, accommodation of their particular reality is less painfully accomplished, with considerably less suffering by self-esteem and sense of well-being. As a result, the Cree child may need, and use much less, compensation in fantasy, or a symbolic mode of thought.

Here in the interest of continuity, I will repeat the conclusion reached as a result of discussions in chapter

three:

In conclusion, Cree mental processes can be described as being persistent to the degree that efforts to replace them would be futile. Not only would such efforts be futile, they would also undermine the development of a positive and a well adjusted personality capable of seeking a satisfying and meaningful life. The best strategy which formal education could adopt would be one of incorporating, and supporting the core principles by which the Cree child both understands the world and makes it understood. Whatever skills clearly needed, but not readily available in his world, can be introduced first with proof of their instrumentality and in a style that will facilitate their integration with the most persistent elements of his culture. The Cree child's grasp of relationships tend to be metaphorical rather than conceptual and they are often juxtapositioned in a vivid topology. These traits do not comprise a 'primitive' type but rather a viable alternative to an industrial society's cognitive processes.

The author has examined at length the efforts the proponents of 'field-dependence' and 'field-independence' partly because of the current educational interest in this approach to psychosocial description and measurement. But the primary reason for this examination was to show that little difference exists between Euro-Canadian and Cree children when they are compared in accordance with these criteria.

To this must be added the conclusions reached in this chapter as well. Cree children compare very closely with Euro-Canadian children in measures of field independence of perceptions. But most current testing instruments for comparing other characteristics are too biased in favour of the cognitive style normal in southern Canada to be useful in drawing further conclusions. Furthermore, the visual-spatial nature of Cree cognitive style is irreversibly

determined through relations with critical persons early in life, usually within the context of family. Perhaps the most significant implications these important differences between Cree and Euro-Canadian cognitive styles have for formal education will be felt in language arts or other school subjects where language plays an important part. Much of the creative language activity currently offered are based on Euro-Canadian motives and preferences for creativity of a fantastic nature. The assumption is of course that such preferences and the nurture they offer for a symbolic mode of thought are universal to all cultures. Furthermore, the organization of teaching activities provides for a general rather than a particular teaching style. For example, teachers qualified by their scholarship and southern experiences are engaged with an impersonally determined curriculum of information and skills. This author has come to believe that the teachers most effective amongst Cree children are those who know and in turn are well known by the children. These particular teachers through use of esoteric knowledge convey information and skills to Cree children in a very lucid and relevant fashion.

Chapter 5

A PROGRAM AND COURSE OUTLINE FOR THE FORMAL TEACHING OF TRADITIONAL CREE SKILLS

This chapter is a narrative of the events leading up to the development of a formal program for teaching traditional Cree skills. In previous chapters, this author was able to explain his views and reference his objectivity to other researchers' relevant work. Occasionally, at this stage, that may still be possible. However, most of this chapter will be too sharply focused on educational activities in the James Bay Territory to permit any notable degree of such referencing. This makes scientific objectivity a challenge, but not one that is new to other social scientists as well:

"The anthropologist faces the problems of observer distortion in particularly drastic form, since he or she must try to communicate and understand across wide cultural gulfs. But facing these problems enables the anthropologist to see vividly how many of the devices used by colleagues in other social science disciplines to objectify the encounter between observer and observed depend on humans sharing the same implicit conceptual scheme. It allows the anthropologist to see that these devices often produce 'data' that is spuriously objective and misleadingly precise. Being 'scientific' (and hence impersonal, objective, experimental, and number-minded) can in cultural terms be seen as a special and peculiar preoccupation of ours, a modern substitute for the mystical powers of magic." (Keesing 1976:8)

Neither would a strictly ethnorelative Cree objectivity be useful to this study as noted in the final words of the previous chapter:

Again, it is important to note that the teacher likely to be most effective in this approach will have fluency in Cree experience as well as Euro-

Canadian techniques. It follows then that the knowledge and competences of both Euro-Canadian and Cree societies will be important in the development of a more intracultural system of formal education.

Therefore, this researcher believes that the principles of Kaplan and Manners (1972) for 'proper anthropological research' would be the most relevant to this part of his study.

"Thus it appears we may confirm an ancient ethnographic virtue --namely, that proper anthropological research involves not only the attempt to discover the native's point of view, the way he perceives and orders his universe, his ideal and subjective observations of the social world in which he lives, but the way all of these relate to the less context-bound constructs, understandings, and theories of the anthropologist. For, as Malinowski points out, even the most intelligent native may be unaware of the way in which system and structure impinge upon his day-to-day behaviour."

Finally, an important degree of objectivity or accuracy is achieved as a result of this researcher's responsible involvement in Cree education in general and the Cree Culture program in particular. Long term involvement is pertinent in achieving an objectivity described by Theodorsen and Theodorsen (1969:279) as "the quality that is expressed in the effort to eliminate distortions in perception or explanation due to the relatively temporary social or psychological biases of a group or individual". Such participation can also produce 'grounded theories', a notion advanced by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Spradley (1980), in his **Participant Observation**, a guide to ethnographic fieldwork, offers the following description:

"Much social science research has been directed toward the task of testing formal theories. One

alternative to such theories, and a strategy that reduces ethnocentrism, is the development of theories grounded in empirical data of cultural description, what Glaser and Strauss (1967) have called 'grounded theory'. Ethnography offers an excellent strategy for discovering grounded theory. For example, an ethnography of successful school children from minority cultures in the United States could develop grounded theories about school performance. One such study revealed that, rather than being culturally deprived, such children are culturally overwhelmed, that success in school performance required the capacity to become bicultural. But grounded theory can be developed in any substantive area of human experience."

The hypotheses by which this researcher acted as a responsible educator and the descriptions developed as a researcher, it was expected would be substantiated or tested in the development of the Cree Culture Program.

Early Beginnings of the Cree Culture Program:

Formal education's accommodation of traditional Cree skills was actually practised two and three decades ago. Boys attending residential school at Moose Factory and Fort George as early as thirty years ago were shown how to trap. At Moose Factory's Indian Residential School, for example, Cree staff members took boys out to Doctor's Creek during weekends or holidays. There, a Moose Band member had allowed the students to operate a small trapline. What has changed during the last decade are the motives associated with formal education's involvement in traditional Cree activities. The excursions to Doctor's Creek and other similar efforts at Fort George were merely sparetime activities used to occupy Cree students as a way of reducing homesickness and restlessness at school. There may also have

been the realization that later, many Cree students would not find permanent wage employment. Anglican Bishop Robinson for the James Bay area, wrote in his 1959 article, entitled "The Problem of the North":

"But by far the greatest problem from the standpoint of education is what to do with the teen-age Indians, both treaty and non-treaty, who are now graduating by the hundreds from Public School. The economy of the country simply cannot stand an increase in the number of those who live by hunting and trapping, particularly as the untrod areas are fast opening up. Nor does our course of education exactly prepare them to be better hunters and trappers! On the contrary, their eyes are opened to visions of better ways of living, only to have the curtain rudely drawn over the picture... 'This is not for you'. Highschool facilities are practically nil, but chances for self improvement are slim without it. Take, for example, the four boys, graduates of Public School, who left Moose Factory to work for an expanding telephone company. All four sooner or later returned. Why were they defeated? Not for lack of ability or willingness to learn, but because they did not understand the written code, municipal law, and the thousand things that our average town-dweller learns as a matter of course, and the company had neither the time nor the inclination to teach them.....Already the results of our inaction are evident in the steady increase in the number of boys and girls getting into trouble with the law. Given the benefit of intellectual awakening as it were, in a good grade school, but denied both the privilege of further education and the opportunity of regular employment, and cut off from the age-old way of making a living in the bush, they drift from boredom into drunkenness, lawlessness and eventual loss of all ambition and self-respect. A great effort, and a laudable one, to market the natural products of both Indians and Eskimo has recently been undertaken. It is hoped that the fading arts of embroidery and bead work will be revived as a result. Sturgeon fishing supports some communities. A limited number are employed, seasonally, in lumbering, hydro, railway, and construction jobs. Guiding of tourists is profitable but brief. But good as all these efforts are, they only scratch the surface of the problem." (Robinson 1959:13-14)

When this researcher began his own teaching career at

Moose Factory in 1968, school still prioritized wage earning skills to the virtual exclusion of traditional Cree skills. This was so, in spite of the fact that very few Crees had yet penetrated the permanent job market, either on James Bay or in the south. During sparetime and weekends, this researcher could usually be found in the company of either Cree students or a particular family at their camp up the Moose River. Even at this early stage the dichotomy between Cree student life at school and life at home in the bush was striking. The students seemed to wear scholarship like a poorly fit suit. Every action in school, to be successful, needed to be deliberately thought out before execution. Most students did not seem to anticipate any familiar logic to the daily routines of school. Instead, they seemed to accept them as arbitrarily or mysteriously determined by the teacher. In marked contrast, life on the land with family was fluid and rhythmic. Decisions were easily made and readily altered to suit changing conditions. Very early in his teaching career, the author was impressed with the bias of Euro-Canadian colleagues' view of the bush life and the so called 'hardships' involved. After a very pleasant weekend in the bush with a Cree family, the author would often find himself listening to staffroom conversation which characterized bush life as rough or even gruelling. Hunting grouse, checking nets or snares often did involve rigorous walks on snowshoes, sometimes for more than ten miles. But that aspect of bush life was a pale memory compared with the adventure, the anticipation of finding game, the warmth and

good humour of being with family or friends. There were occasional tensions within the family, particularly when liquor was involved. These incidents did not seem to affect sentiments toward the bush life. Indeed, the use of liquor invariably transpired in the village, never in the bush.

Later as a school principal at Wemindji (Paint Hills) and Waskaganish (Rupert House), this researcher tried to formulate programs which might allow school to tap into the rich life lived outside school, especially in the bush. As well, the author hoped to replace some of the dissonant patterning of school with a more familiar patterning of Cree family life. In 1971, with the help of three Cree highschool students home for the summer, the author cleared an access trail and a site for cabins about ten miles from the community. During the following winter, with money raised from movies, several older men were hired to build three cabins. A second, wooden camp was built across the river from the community. Unfortunately, at Christmas in 1972, the author was transferred to Waskaganish as school principal and was unable to continue with those efforts. In Waskaganish, working with the physical education instructor at Fort George (Chisasibi), visits of the Fort George Leader Corps were arranged. Most of the students who comprised this corps were actually from Waskaganish. The focus of their activities was mainly gymnastics and organized sports; however, during one visit, the Leader Corps took elementary students up the Rupert River to a camp. The month was

February and there were about three dozen elementary students to one dozen highschool student leaders. The latter showed the former camping skills, setting snares, etc.. This expedition was remembered very positively by students, parents and school staff. Similar expeditions involving parents, teachers and students were an annual event until the start of the Cree School Board in 1978.

Recognizing that school was not the easiest context for learning bush skills, the author also considered ways to support the learning of them within the family. There were other reasons as well to provide opportunities for Cree children to be with their families in the bush. Most of the children in school during the early 1970's were there at the cost of a full family life. Those who were not completely separated from the community were in local boarding homes while their parents were away trapping most of the winter. Though the children always had the company of siblings and other relatives, for much of the year, they were receiving little attention from their natural parents. Life in the village or at residential school for most children often meant a diet largely of canned or preserved foods. By spring, most children were suffering a combination of chronic colds, lice, nitts, impetigo and other conditions symptomatic of a lack of fresh foods. Not surprisingly, Cree parents' observance of the school calendar under these circumstances was far from strict. Many students were sporadically absent throughout the year, especially in the spring. During the spring, the weather is relatively mild

and travel to and from camp least hazardous.

As a school principal, this researcher had encouraged parents to leave the children in school during the winter in exchange for a blind eye in the spring. Generally, this arrangement worked well. In the winter of 1972-1973, the author proposed an altered school calendar whereby the students would attend school for the same 180 days as students elsewhere in the province of Quebec; however, holidays would be taken from mid April to the end of May (the period of the spring goose hunt). Because this was a significant change, a door-to-door consultation of all parents was conducted by the author, accompanied by a representative of Waskaganish Band Council. The results of the survey were unanimous. Even those few parents who could not hunt had planned to send their children with other family members who could. Over and over, parents welcomed the opportunity as an occasion for them to do something with their families for the first time in a very long time.

Outside the community, at the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) district office and the office of the teachers' union, the unconventional calendar was viewed as controversial. In spite of the district office's earlier approval, instructions were next being given to return to a more customary calendar, thereby cancelling the 'Spring Goose Hunt Break', now only a month away. The teachers' union, against the wishes of affected teachers took a position against the modified calendar on

the grounds that such a precedent undermined the integrity of statutory holidays, and (the union representatives argued) tended to undermine its bargaining position valued by the union. Though under the threat of disciplinary action, the author refused to change the break and no further effort to do so was made by the district office either. When the start of the first Spring Goose Hunt Break, seventy-one of seventy-five families left the village for spring camps leaving a veritable ghost-town behind. More startling were the events which took place in the other east coastal communities of Eastmain, Wemindji and Chisasibi. Notwithstanding they had not been involved in this experiment, those communities' schools were closed for lack of students. Even Fort George, with an enrollment of over six-hundred was left with less than a tenth of its enrollment after the first week of the hunting season.

Coincident with these events was the negotiation of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. As a direct result of these events, there were added to Section 16 on education, the condition that:

"16.0.9 The Cree School Board shall also have the following special powers, subject only to annual budgetary approval;

...

b) to determine, in conjunction with the Quebec Department of Education, the school year and school calendar limited only by the total number of days per year required by law and regulations;

and....

"16.0.16 The Cree School Board shall establish elementary and high school committees which

shall be consultative and which shall have the functions delegated to them by the said Board. Nevertheless the Cree School Board must consult their committees with respect to the following:

- a) selection of teacher(s) and principal(s);
- b) school calendar and year;
- c) changes in curriculum;

No further opposition was voiced by either the teachers' union or the district office and the Spring Goose Hunt Break became a permanent feature of the school calendar.

In 1974, with support from Dr. Richard Preston of McMaster University and the Donner Canadian Foundation, The author started Cree Way Project. The latter's main function was toward curriculum development in support of traditional school subjects but its use of traditional Cree lore was a prominent part of the project's success. In 1975, the Grand Council of the Crees, together with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development commissioned a study of educational needs in the James Bay Territory. In 1976, a report was of findings and recommendations was released under the title, **A Comprehensive Study of the Educational Needs of the Communities Comprising the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec)**. The principal researchers of this study were Dr. Richard J. Preston and Dr. Marguerite MacKenzie. The effects of the Cree Way Project are described in this study:

"The results have so far been very impressive. Student morale in the school is a dramatic

improvement on the past. They are enthusiastic and interested in the materials, and the general atmosphere in the school is that learning is taking place. This can be contrasted with other schools at present, and with the Rupert House school in the past, where this has not been the case. Some parents now have much more of an idea of what goes on in the school and of the interest their children are taking, and have themselves developed an interest in education through their own contributions to Cree Way curriculum materials. The Band Council has discussed the Cree Way Project on many occasions and strongly supports it." (Preston & MacKenzie 1976:67-68)

Cree Way Project ceased operations in the spring of 1977 when funding ran out. Still, almost ten years later, Cree delegates from the James Bay Territory attending a recent Heritage North conference in Yellowknife were asked by other delegates as to the project's continuing health. Surprisingly, the Cree delegates responded as if the Cree Way Project were still in operation and was the subject of future planning. Though technically the project ended in 1977, its ethic and style are still very current.

Regretfully, the effects of Cree Way Project were limited by the project's lack of a well developed set of long-term goals. As the person mainly responsible for the activities of the project, this researcher was very much aware of his own lack of formal training. Without even a completed undergraduate degree, this researcher had limited skill for articulating a supportive organizational framework or long-term goals. The community location of Cree Way was an important factor in promoting Cree participation but the same feature prevented any significant academic participation. Nor, as reported by Preston and MacKenzie,

was the Waskaganish experience with Cree Way Project typical of other Cree communities of the Territory:

"There is very little in the way of curriculum development or program planning going on in the Eastmain school." (Preston & MacKenzie 1976:13)

"The principal had been unable to spark intellectual discussions about the teaching of Cree children in Fort George and the workshops provided somewhat of an outlet in an intellectually sterile atmosphere." (Preston & MacKenzie 1976:34)

"The teachers [at Great Whale River] are given a day off from teaching and are provided with an interpreter who accompanies them to the parents' homes. Unfortunately, the teachers were given their choice whether to visit this year or to work in their classroom and all the teachers chose not to visit the parents. The parents all expressed a very strong desire to have visits from the teachers and/or more frequent and regular meetings between the parents and the teachers." (Preston & MacKenzie 1976:37)

"Along with the lack of supplies and materials the teachers complained of a lack of curriculum." [p.49]

...As mentioned previously, the parents at Mistassini are particularly anxious that the students learn not only academic skills but also bush skills during the course of a year. The Education Committee is investigating ways to achieve a synthesis of southern education experience with traditional life style and experience of the Mistassini people." [p.53]

"....It was clear that the parents need a great deal more information about and exposure to the academic educational system before they will be able to participate effectively in the planning of education." (Preston & MacKenzie 1976:56)

"In the past Paint Hills has been known as a community which took a very lively interest in the school. Several years ago, there was an active bush camp program. The community, in conjunction with the school, built a camp some miles from the village and arrangements were made for the children to go to camp and stay there for a period of time. This program has since lapsed. As well, on several occasions in the past the community has taken the initiative to request the resignation of a teacher or a principal whom they have found unsatisfactory and have been successful in obtaining the

resignation. This is a fairly unusual action for a Cree community." (Preston & MacKenzie 1976:60)

Waswanipi, Nemaska and Chibougamau Bands did not have day schools at the time of Preston's and MacKenzie's report. Even today, Chibougamau Band children attend school in the Quebecois mining town of the same name.

Recognized in this report, were the beginnings of the schools accommodation of traditional Cree hunting activities; but, the authors cautioned:

"The schools are now being more responsive to traditional Cree skills by scheduling their calendar to accommodate a goose hunt or other activities, but this is just a beginning. To simply allow children out for a goose hunt does not fulfill all of the needs of relationships between the culture and environment of the Crees, and the needs of formal education." (Preston & MacKenzie 1976:83-84)

Preston and MacKenzie went on to suggest ways in which school might offer flexibility even on a family rather than merely community basis:

"We urge that the communities consider the possibility of having school offered on a trimester basis. That is, three semesters, two of them being the present school year and the third one being a summer semester, so that children who are absent with their families in the bush during one of these winter terms can go to school during the summer in order not to fall behind in their education." (Preston & MacKenzie 1976:83-109)

Preston and MacKenzie were evaluating a school system which had been in a steady decline. In 1973, the district office had followed a more progressive path, offering frequent attentions to educational needs. Nevertheless, when the James Bay Cree signed the James Bay Agreement in Principle, there were drastic changes made in the manner and

strength of services operated. Under the terms of the impending final land settlement agreement there would no longer be a DIAND district office. Instead control would pass to a Cree representative school board. Construction and major budgets were markedly reduced to an 'emergency only' basis. DIAND's district office for the James Bay Territory no longer had a future, hence was not involved in planning one either. All curriculum development activities were suspended or scaled down until the Cree School Board took power in July of 1978.

The Cree Culture Program:

Headed by a board of democratically elected Cree representatives, one might expect the Cree School Board to promote valuable continuity of past educational experience into the new regime. Such was not the case. The new Cree School Board administration and professional services did not include a single person who had previously been involved in a related capacity under DIAND. The findings and recommendations of the Preston and MacKenzie report were completely ignored. In fact, Deines (1984) makes no mention of the report. This researcher was employed in various Student Services capacities of the Board and did not become involved in curriculum development till late in 1980.

In fairness though, there were suddenly far greater attention being paid at least to the issues of the latter report during any of the first years of the Cree School Board than there had ever been during a ten year period

under DIAND (Deines 1984:114). As well, largely through the efforts of Deines and his colleagues, the Cree Culture Program and the Cree Language Program were officially established with salaried instructors, professional development staff, and a coordinator for the Territory.

Typically, instructors were hired by the local school committee and included an older woman for the girls and an older man for the boys. Often the instructors were husband and wife. For the first two or three years, the Cree Culture Program operated largely without incident and usually with positive student and parental reactions.

As reported by Deines (1984) and Tanner (1981), the Cree Culture program began well and operated largely without incident.

"The Cree Culture course, initiated by the people of the James Bay Territory, is a popular addition to the Cree schools. It seems to enjoy the support of most School Board personnel, students, and community members." Deines (1984:205-208)

"As was pointed out earlier, I was very impressed by the strong support given by parents to the idea of teaching crafts and bush skills to children. Moreover, of all the Cree content classes, there is the strongest support for the way these courses are being taught. My feeling is that this program is most successful because it makes use of existing teaching practices that are firmly established among the Cree, where boys are taught by their fathers a whole range of bush skills, and the girls are taught by their mothers. For this reason the Cree Culture teachers have, with a minimum of direction from the School Board, adapted this traditional teaching to the classroom, where they have to show 10 to 20 children at one time, and to the bush camp set up by the school." Tanner (1981:40)

Certain problems, however, were becoming apparent by 1981. These were noted by Tanner (1981) in his study

commissioned by the Board:

"....many parents would like enlarged program to teach Cree traditions; this must include such things as training in crafts (as opposed to training in bush skills), and the inclusion of local history and Cree legends into the curriculum. My recommendation would be that the present Cree Culture program remain as far as possible oriented to teaching practical, useful skills for living in the bush. More use could be made in the Cree Culture program of bush camps." (Tanner 1981:48-49)

By the fall of 1983, the lack of a focused program had become pronounced to the degree that another study conducted by the Board was to make the following comments and recommendations:

"Cree culture is drifting away because there is no curriculum and students are doing the same thing year after year.....There is a definite need for new curriculum and learning materials adapted to Cree culture as support material for M.E.Q.[Minister of Education for Quebec] guidelines."[p.8]....Recommendations:..VI. that Cree language and Cree culture classes be discontinued until a suitable instructional program becomes available;"[p.25] (Hossack 1984:8-25)

These problems were not peculiar to Cree oriented programs. Similar criticisms were made of all programs by Tanner, Hossack and a number of other internal evaluations. The difficulties with Cree Programs involved a deeper conflict between the Cree communities' aspirations on one hand and the mandate of the School Board envisaged by its most influential, usually Euro-Canadian staff on the other hand. Deines' writings offer a number of very typical examples. Though he described the Cree Culture Program in very positive terms, there are frequent parenthetical remarks which reveal a very different sentiment.

"....although Cree cultural concerns are undoubtedly important, the school is primarily expected to prepare children for wage-paying employment." (Deines 1984:100)

"To be specific, if Cree children are encouraged to believe that an aspect of their schooling is very important and later discover that it is not, they will experience serious frustration. To be specific, if Cree children are encouraged to believe that the Cree culture course represents significant learnings that might allow them to exercise the skills learned to pursue their livelihood in the future and if this does not turn out to be possible, a grave disservice will have been done them." (Deines 1984:157)

"The sex-stereotyped roles identified by the adults and the students during the interviews were acted out in the Cree Culture classrooms and the bushcamp. The researcher observed that in the classroom the boys worked separately from the girls, and each group was taught sex-specific lessons.....Although these attitudes may be consistent with traditional lifestyles, it is open to question whether the teaching of them is in the best interests of the students. The sex-stereotyped roles described are no longer acceptable in the southern milieu.....The point is made here to draw attention to the fact that more traditional skills are being taught in this course, and that some traditional attitudes may not be acceptable as the Cree society develops alongside the southern society." (Deines 1984:198-199)

"The Cree Culture course has the potential to cause future conflicts in the Cree society. If the instructors are able to convince the students that the traditional skills are viable as future employment skills and this does not turn out to be the case, this may provoke conflict between the graduates and their elders." (Deines 1984:209)

"The learning of traditional skills may not be in the long-term interests of the Cree in a practical sense, but in this case emotional needs take precedence over practical needs. Long-term interests may not be as important to a group threatened with imminent destruction." (Deines 1984:211)

In 1980, shortly after Deines departure from the Cree School Board and the James Bay Territory, a group of

consultants were hired to investigate continuing difficulties between community and Board staff interests. Though most of their comments related to administrative structure and processes, the dichotomy between Cree community and Euro-Canadian staff views was clearly noted:

"Our observations suggest that the general expectation is for the school system to prepare its children for life in the north and also for the possibility of a southern-style life. The latter goal includes such things as preparation in the English and French languages. We have concerns about whether these are realistic expectations for the school system. No school system in our experience hopes to do so much, and most systems have more resources than does the Cree system." (Anderson, OBrien & Rahming 1980:7-8)

A 1979 report by an anthropologist in the Territory contained an observation which now appears prophetic:

"The Nature of Cree Participation:

What is really at issue, however, is the sort of role the new Cree regional staff have in their structure. What is their position vis-a-vis the consultants who have played such an important role in the development of the organization? There is evidence (which shall be presented and developed more completely in the following papers) to suggest that a system has developed wherein Cree are trained in and assume control of the more routine aspects of administration, while the more active or dynamic areas of bureaucracy - the level at which decision and policy-making power resides - remain under the determining influence of consultants in general, and legal advisers in particular. From such a situation, it is not surprising that one already sees some early signs of a potential resentment developing among the Cree concerning the power of consultants and the difficulty of controlling them." (La Rusic et al 1979:50-51)

Many of the developmental and policy decisions of the Cree School Board did and continue to involve political decisions on which Euro-Canadian staff have no mandate to act. The same question on such elemental issues as the

language of instruction, philosophies or goals for programs have been struggled with by a highly transient and sometimes fractious cadre of Euro-Canadian administrators and educators. During the past eight years, the Board has been led by two directors general. Instructional services have been directed by five different directors with even more frequent changes amongst developmental staff. Virtually no progress has been made on policy decisions. A case in point, the language policy required in 1978 was still outstanding in 1980 (Anderson, OBrien & Rahming 1980); in 1981 (Tanner 1981); and in 1984 (Hossack 1984); and even now in 1986.

Cree Language and Cree Culture Programs have both operated without even course outlines. Deines (1984) often refers to 'a program' or 'the course outline' but illustrations, exerpts or a copy are notably absent from his thesis. In fact, there was no program and no course outline. Instead the instructors led the students in a number of handicraft projects, with an occasional outing. A bush camp was constructed by the program instructors near Chisasibi for the highschool students. The timetable changes and other adjustments of school routines required, invoked dissatisfaction amongst the Euro-Canadian staff. The use of the camp was scaled down and finally discontinued.

This researcher's involvement with the Cree Culture Program began quite suddenly in the summer of 1983, soon after coursework at McMaster University and fieldwork in the South Pacific. With summer courses only weeks away, the

author was assigned to organize and deliver training for seventeen Cree Language Program instructors and sixteen Cree Culture Program instructors. There was no prescribed course content and no program of training. It was expected that some form of training useful to their current roles would be organized. The instructors in turn would be given credit under a course title and number from the regular Cree teacher training program. With a general understanding of the language and culture program instructors' problems, the author organized training which focused mainly on planning but included teaching techniques as well. The summer provided me insight into the situations of the Cree Culture Programs of most communities with the exceptions of Nemaska and Great Whale River. After making an inventory of the Cree Culture instructors' own descriptions of their problems, it was obvious that the program was not integrated into the complex of other programs taken for granted in the notion of 'school'. With the exception of Chisasibi, the instructors were not considered technically to be regular teachers with the salaries and security implied. They were considered 'teachers by the lesson'. As such, their teaching load could and was altered frequently without prior consultation. There were no norms or guidelines to determine the amount of time to be spent by any grade level, per period, per week, or per year. The amounts of time allotted varied widely from grade to grade, week to week, and from one community to another. There were no funds identified by the Cree School Board to support the Cree Culture Program. The amounts that were

allotted by individual school principals varied from a more common 'none' to amounts under \$400.00 for as many as 400 students. Many of the instructors had adjusted to these circumstances by eliminating material-dependent activities or by having students create marketable handicrafts which could be sold. Most instructors drew heavily on their own materials, money and sparetime. They were paid only for the hours they were instructing, not for preparation or curriculum development. Very few of the instructors had had any previous training. This was the first course organized for Cree Culture Program instructors during the Board's five year history. In conversation with the instructors it became quite evident that the school principals and pedagogical staff of the Board paid little if any attention to the instructors. This was not entirely the fault of the principals or pedagogical staff as the instructors seldom asked for help. Indeed, one instructor expressed the main obstacle quite clearly to a pedagogical counsellor. The latter had insisted that a particular instructor attend the same training course arranged for regular Cree classroom teachers. The Cree Culture Program instructor's reply was, "If you tell that White person teaching the course to come out into the bush with me, I'll listen to everything he says. But if he's just going to talk about school. What's that got to do with me?"

It was clear to everyone, especially the instructors that they needed certain new skills not part of Cree

traditions in order to work effectively in a school setting. What was not clear was the manner by which these skills would be identified and incorporated with training. Virtually all school principals were reluctant to intervene because of their own lack of experience with Cree traditional skills. This reluctance was accentuated by the further risks of becoming a casualty to the occasional flare-ups between Cree communities and the Cree School Board administration. Still, the Cree Culture Program continued as an anomaly to other school activities. Any community interventions were made unlikely by the manner in which Cree School Board policy and decision-making typically were attempted. Very much in the fashion described earlier by La Rusic, "the more active or dynamic areas of bureaucracy - the level at which decision and policy-making power resides", lay in the hands of the Board's Euro-Canadian staff. The agenda for discussions on the Cree Culture Program were drawn up by Euro-Canadians and submitted for a Cree response. For example, there were frequent surveys conducted involving the simple question, "Do you still want the Cree Culture Program?" The constant affirmative Cree responses did not discourage still more such surveys in subsequent years. At no time prior to 1983, were Cree communities' school committees asked or given opportunity to respond to such a question as "What could be done to improve the Cree Culture Program?"

The Development of a Course Outline:

During the fall and early winter of 1983, this researcher began work on developing a program and course outline for the Cree Culture Program. Aware of previous attempts, notably in Wemindji and Chisasibi, the latter were copied and distributed throughout the Territory's schools. As well, this researcher input the course content offered during the summers training described earlier into a computer database. With all of the details entered by grade level and term, lists were output equivalent to a course outline. A sample for grades one and two, that is, for girls age six and seven respectively is given in Appendix A. The community name beside each entry indicates the origin of each suggestion.

Most evident in these lists were: repetitiveness and a lack of progression, both likely to provoke student boredom and discipline problems; a need for supplies and equipment currently not met; and, an inordinant focus on handicrafts and lecturing (instruction was indoors). Learning how to perform Cree subsistence skills hardly existed at all. The first marked confirmation of these problems occurred in November in Chisasibi, at the largest school of the Cree School Board. A meeting was called to which the author was summoned to deal with complaints about the Cree Culture Program. The main plaintiffs were student services personnel who were responsible for truancy, discipline, transport and cafeteria services. Apparently, a change in the manner of the Cree Culture Program ---without corresponding changes in

others had precipitated this situation:

" The cafeteria staff had at first prepared hot meals for students, only to discover that there were no students to eat them. On a number of occasions, bag lunches which were made by the cafeteria staff were not picked up. The Cree Culture Program instructors were not intended to prepare lunch for students but in fact were doing so.

On at least one occasion, it was reported that the students were brought back to the school before lunch and left unoccupied to wander the halls. Some students were missing the bus, others were walking back from the camp on their own. No back-up arrangements were made for the event that the usual bus was not available. The day of the meeting, the bus was prevented by bad weather from returning to Chisasibi from Val d'Or. The students who did not take part in the outdoor Cree Culture Program because they had missed the bus, poor health, or because they had opted out were not well provided for. The practice of putting these students in a full day Art class seemed to be less than satisfactory to Student Services and apparently the instructor too.

Student Services staff reported student complaints of boredom, and on occasion a certain discomfort between members of inlander and coaster families. It was supposed that the problem of boredom lay partly in the fact that building a lodge was a sedentary activity which involved long periods of time when some students waited for others to complete the stage of construction on which they worked. It was during these periods of waiting that the students became bored. One Cree member of Student Services recalled his own similar experiences when in school, pointing out that the activity in which he took part that he enjoyed most was laying and checking traps and snares because he was always busy or working with a sense of purpose. It was noted that the area where the Cree Culture Program camp was being constructed was particularly short of wild game. The girls, it was commented, were at times bored doing the same activities each year." (Murdoch 1983:1-2)

The meeting began at a very heated pitch with Euro-Canadian student services staff quite vocal and against the Cree Culture Program in any form, but especially its outdoor format. The atmosphere moderated as problems were discussed.

The vice-principal representing the school administration was most supportive of the Cree Culture Program's outdoor experiment. He assumed the position that the problems were essentially administrative and could be solved. Accordingly, the following conditions were agreed to and four days later carried out by Cree Culture Program instructors.

- "1. The students should spend the first hour in school.
2. Attendance should be taken by instructors twice daily.
3. Certain instructors should be delegated responsibility:
 - a) One instructor to advise the cafeteria about any changes in lunch arrangements.
 - b) One instructor to advise the transportation services about changes in travel arrangements
 Once these instructors were delegated, a memo should be sent by the vice-principal for the Secondary level, advising school and student services staff, as to who they are.
4. Luci Salt, Pedagogical Counsellor for Cree Programs at Chisasibi should meet with the instructors to plan the next three months activities. Copies of this plan should be provided to the school administration as well as Student Services so that they might anticipate changes and events to which they will need to respond.
5. Another meeting will be held in mid to late January to review the effect of these measures." (Murdoch 1983:6)

One of the solutions of the above problems was a plan for activities at the bush camp for the full school year.

The following are excerpts from this plan:

"1983-1984 CREE CULTURE SAMUEL BEARSKIN

August, September & October / 1983

How to make summer and winter camp, where is the best place to make three kinds of shelters, the most important camp is the moss cabin for the winter time, its warmer than the other camps. And where is the best place to build one. And the right kind of moss to use for covering of the cabin. Also

how to make a stove.

.....

Day 4 October 16, 1983

How to hunt for beaver in what kind of area to look for beaver. In what direction to come to a lake expecting a beaver in that lake, also you have to keep track of the direction of the wind so that the beaver won't catch a smell of you. You have to watch that too when you're expecting a beaver in that lake you're going to." (Bearskin 1983:2)

Though more deliberate planning was evident, there was still a lack of progression or the isolation of specific skills typical of a formal educational curriculum. Nor would it be practically possible to isolate certain skills in the context of the bush without creating convoluted and artificial activities. The projects of construction and hunting in the bush impose their own organization not always conveniently reduced to age-grade, progressive elements. Rather, the instructors found it more congenial to have some aspects performed by all, some aspects by students according to their particular dexterity or interest. The students who in fact performed certain skills could not be represented in age-grade progressive terms. For example, some of the younger students showed particular skill and interest in certain demanding requirements of the bush camp's construction. They were allowed perform those more advanced skills. On the other hand, other students who lacked similar dexterity or experience were shown more modest work to perform. More simply, the instructors organized their instruction in terms of the specific aptitudes of specific students, rather than in accordance with a generalized

sequence of what an 'average' student should do. Consistently, Cree parents, leaders and educators had difficulty relating or even finding useful, measures or expectations for a generalized or average student.

As 1983 drew to a close, a number of factors combined to focus this researcher's efforts on the development of the Cree Culture Program. The researcher was increasingly more preoccupied with the problems of the program as a result of first, the summer training and after, the meetings called to deal with certain Cree communities programs. As the researcher's involvement grew, so did his realization that many of the developmental requirements of the Cree Culture Program were actually events of innovation and culture change. The author's thesis research needed such a practical example and recent changes in the Board's direction of education services had left him without a clear set of duties. Accordingly, though still still involved in other projects such as Cree language, the majority of the author's time for the next year and a half was to be spent in the development of the Cree Culture Program.

In January of 1984, this researcher wrote and distributed amongst Cree School Board colleagues, a Cree Program development strategy (Murdoch 1984). The preamble and underlying hypotheses were actually a precis of his thesis proposal except that the strategy was expressed more explicitly and briefly. This strategy declared three main principles:

"1) Any programs developed must recognize that some

Cree communities will want more or less instruction in Cree than others. This strategy tries to develop the maximum amount of programming likely to be preferred by any Cree community. In this manner, a community wanting only minimal use of Cree as a language of instruction will have extensive programming to draw on. On the other hand a Cree community wanting to follow the model for bilingual or trilingual education proven successful in other parts of Canada and the world, will have adequate programming to do so. Clearly, the current orientation of Cree Programs is to take the lead from the community. This is seen as a more constructive alternative to trying to establish uniform practices by selling or imposing policies developed outside the communities.

- 2) The content of programs, particularly Cree Culture Programs will need to reflect community differences and choices. Because the content and style of Cree Programs needs to appear authentically Cree to Cree instructors, parents, students and other community members, Cree participation in developing course outlines and curriculum materials is of fundamental importance. That participation can be expected to and should be allowed to alter Cree Programs as greater insights are gained, and as ecological or economic factors change. Cree Programs staff will animate, co-ordinate, and record community participation in hopes instructors of Cree Programs (Cree Language and Cree Culture) will have a sense of a community mandate.
- 3) Unique Cree ideas, styles, and ways of viewing the world must be carefully maintained in the design and curriculum development for Cree Programs." (Murdoch 1984:9-10)

In addition, the strategy declared three main reasons for having explicit curriculum plans for the Cree Culture Program:

- "1) A broad range of student interests, experience and abilities must be planned for.
- 2) Ever changing activities which take advantage of the climate, available resources and community events must be planned in order to maintain student interest and progress.

- 3) Recording teaching activities makes an exchange of ideas with other communities possible."
(Murdoch 1984:11-12)

Finally, the strategy described the methodology which this researcher expected to use in pursuing this explicit curriculum.

- "1) The survey of Cree Culture Program instructors as to what they had been teaching during the previous year will be entered into a computer by this author and sorted according to: i) grade level and, ii) term or season.
- 2) The results of this survey will be circulated among school principals, instructors, school committees, and professional staff.
- 3) School principals, instructors, school committees, professional staff, or any other interested groups will be asked for further suggestions of content for the Cree Culture Program.
- 4) Efforts will be made by this author to make school principals, instructors, school committees, professional staff, or any other interested groups aware of what similar challenges are being met in other parts of Canada and the world.
- 5) School principals, instructors and school committees will be surveyed in order to arrive at an approach for assuring that each Cree community has a well planned and understood Cree Culture Program for each school year." (Murdoch 1984:13)

The strategy was probably written in too verbal-rational a style as to be of interest to Cree instructors and Cree school committee members. To send similar information, a flow chart was drafted (see Appendix B). This flow chart illustrated graphically, the methodology described in the strategy.

In January, the author began a series of visits to the

Cree communities which would total three visits to each of eight communities during the six months till June. During the first visits, Copies of earlier efforts by individual communities were distributed as well as those efforts of the instructors themselves during the previous summer (1983). The author also introduced and left behind copies of a blank form (see Appendix C) for revising or making further suggestions. In the course of each visit, this researcher met particularly with the school principals and the school committees. But, this researcher also met with Band Councils and the full teaching staffs to discuss the same matters with them too.

Foremost in this researcher's thinking was emulating the successful style used by Cree negotiators of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement a decade earlier. No doubt the Cree negotiators would have been able to accurately anticipate the feelings of Cree community members, but they were careful not to do so. Instead, the Cree negotiators stimulated meetings to help discover and develop a consensus of Cree community perceptions and opinions. Next, armed with that consensus, the negotiators met their government and corporate adversaries and bartered with a 'representative' mandate. Within a very short time frame, usually no more than two months, the Cree negotiators returned to their communities to tell the story of what had evolved. The process of stimulation, discussion, and consensus began anew, with the effect of updating or evolving the 'Cree' position further.

Similarly, this researcher was very reluctant to anticipate or preclude in any way the discussion which would give rise to a Cree community or school principal consensus of what the problems or solutions for the Cree Culture Program were. There was distinct conformity in the consensus reached both among Cree community members and school principals. The positions of the latter and the former were not mutually exclusive. Rather they tended to centre on their respective vested interests such as cultural authenticity or administrative composure. As a result of discussion of the Cree Culture Program as practised in a specific community, descriptions of the strengths and weaknesses of particular instructors began to emerge. A few of the instructors, for example, had little talent or aptitude with children. Agreement developed that these few probably took on duties for personal economic reasons rather than the sort of cultural and educational motives only now being appreciated. A few of the instructors had managed to anticipate and innovate solutions for the problems unique to teaching outside the family in the context of a classroom. These persons were accorded a new appreciation as a result of these meetings. Most, it was realized, in each community were trying to do an ill-defined job in not the most appropriate location, without the usual supports afforded to the rest of the school program.

This style of developing both problem and program descriptions proved especially effective. No school

principal, nor school committee member, nor instructor was willing to take on the gordian knot of needs and problems which was drawing increasingly negative attention. However, with this researcher's animation of discussion as an outside yet responsible agent, clear practical agreements were reached. The general effect was to diffuse a highly charged atmosphere and to promote support for an increasingly more clear course of action.

Not all aspects of the strategy which this researcher used were successful. The blank forms, "What Could Be Taught in Cree Culture" and the copies of previous efforts provoked no new efforts. By April, there was unanimous agreement that a progressive and detailed curriculum was needed but no progress was made toward its articulation. In the same manner the Chisasibi instructors did not relate well to conceptualized or verbal-rational presentations of 'student', neither parents nor instructors related well to a similar regard of traditional Cree activities. This researcher realized then that even though a visual-spatial presentation of a development strategy had been managed, the opportunity for Cree participation was still organized and presented in a verbal-rational manner. This researcher was especially convinced of this flaw after showings a video tape of the Chisasibi bush camp (Salt & Diamond 1984) portraying a particular program's experiences. The reaction to the video tape was invariably strong and detailed. School committee members who had never participated in discussions suddenly spoke confidently and at length.

With this renewed appreciation, the researcher began photographing the activities of the various community Cree Culture Programs. In addition, the researcher gathered from instructors and other sources, more of the same. The researcher asked for and was granted responsibility for delivering the summer training for the Cree Culture Program instructors. This researcher intended to use the summer training as a forum for developing a prototype Cree Culture Program which met the following conditions derived from the series of community visits:

- 1) Developmental or increasingly more difficult;
- 2) Reflective of resources as Cree practise culture;
- 3) A community specific, visual spatial presentation; and
- 4) Answer the questions likely to be asked by school principals, Council of Commissioners, Minister of Education, etc.

In July 1984, the large majority of Cree Culture Program instructors arrived in Waskaganish for training. This researcher had also invited Dr. Richard Preston and Bill Simeone, both of McMaster University, as academic resource persons. Their role was twofold: to help formalize or conceptualize the professed or practised agreement of instructors; and, to offer suggestions to instructors (as implied by known ethnographic research) as to further activities which might be appropriate to their program. Also invited were Lizzie Diamond, Clifford Hester, Hugo Hester, and Emily Hester, all Cree adults of Waskaganish, to act as recorders, animators, etc.. An additional four highschool

students were hired under a summer job program to draw illustrations of the topics suggested by the participants. Cree resource persons were evenly divided between two groups: one group of men; and, the other group, of women. Brief lectures were arranged to last no more than half an hour each morning and afternoon. These were translated and usually were suggestive of solutions to problems encountered in previous days' activities. The bulk of the instructors' time was spent discussing and assembling a Cree Culture Program.

This major activity began on the first morning with the researcher's story of his winter and spring travels. In each of the two classrooms (one for women, one for men), there had been placed two, four foot by eight foot sheets of untreated insulation board. These sheets were covered with a grid which showed age-grade level divisions, each level divided further into four season-school terms, and each season-school term divided into indoor and outdoor sections. The researcher asked each group to take each of the photographs gathered or taken during the six months prior to this course and after discussion, place the photograph in the appropriate age-grade, season-school term, indoor-outdoor square. This was done quickly with little difficulty in reaching agreement. By the first afternoon, there were very few photographs not yet assigned. At this stage, this researcher pointed out that in spite of all the photographs placed, there were a large number of empty spaces. Those

empty spaces indicated a shortage of meaningful topics of instruction. Those empty spaces indicated potential boredom and student discipline problems. The ideal, it was explained, was to have more than enough activities so that there was no likelihood of running out of things to do. Here, participants were asked to write or draw further descriptions of activities on 3-1/2 inch by 5 inch file cards, to be mounted on the grid as had the photographs been. After this second stage was well underway, the researcher then worked with the academic resource persons to develop a formal description of the Cree Culture Program. Supported by the experiences with Cree Culture Program instructors and guided by the format of other Minister of Education for Quebec programs, a general outline was developed.

Within the next ten days, a developmental, detailed and very full program of studies was achieved. The rationale and general description was compatible with other official descriptions and the course outline was meaningful to the Cree Culture Program instructors because it was illustrated by their efforts. During the rest of the summer and the fall, the panels of photos and file cards were laminated intact. Each entry was numbered and was entered on a computer database. Further meetings and correspondence with Preston and Simeone resulted in the hoped for prototype, "A Beginning: A Cree Culture Program & Course Outline - Elementary Level".

In August 1984, the researcher was officially assigned

to the Cree Culture Program and especially to completing this work. Response to this prototype allowed further refinement which eventually produced the "Elementary School Curriculum: Cree Land Skills I-VII". By mid-winter the communities of Waswanipi and Waskaganish had begun developing community specific course outlines, based on this program.

The effectiveness of a visual-spatial approach for engaging Cree community participation was dramatically demonstrated in the results of the 1984 summer training. In a continuing exploration of this approach, the author produced a video called "Community Based Curriculum Development" in February of 1985. This video program is actually a story of how a Waskaganish parent's intuition of an idea for teaching became a finished and effective curriculum material. The video, in typical story fashion, illustrates the roles of parents, teachers, school principals, pedagogical counsellors, artists, printers and students.

CONCLUSION

The timing of this chapter in relation to earlier chapters parallels very closely the timing of the author's formal studies in relation to his attempts to carry the latter into practice. The author's interest in graduate studies has long been a desire to maintain an alternative, ideal perspective in the course of performing educator

duties which are challenging and often controversial. The author's personal feelings have long been that such an ideal perspective can be an effective antidote to the cynicism and flagging interest which frustration can produce. The frustration, this author has come to believe, is a normal condition of difficult yet worthwhile efforts in cross-cultural education. Ironically, what seems to make frustration 'normal' is the very lack of shared 'norms' between participants. The author's obligations as a student compelled him to look for general, culturally relevant (as opposed to purely personal) explanations for successes and failures; while the author's occupational obligations compelled him to investigate and apply such explanations. The results of practising these two sets of obligations has renewed not only an appreciation of the unique nature of Cree life; it has also renewed a curiosity and regard for intellectually constructed descriptions and innovations. Finally, the development of the Cree Land Skills (Culture) Program has clearly demonstrated the nature of co-operation possible, indeed required, by intracultural Cree formal education.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

First, through theoretical explorations and later through the refinement of 'grounded theory', This researcher has attempted to develop a useful characterization of Cree psychological and sociocultural dynamic, particularly as evident among Cree children. This study has operated on three main assumptions. First, it was assumed that 'Euro-Canadians usually do not perceive or subsequently experience the world in the same fashion as do Cree hunter-gatherers' (Chapter 1:page 9). Secondly, it was assumed that 'in association with differences in world view are marked differences in how Euro-Canadians and Crees perceive or experience culture' (Chapter 1:page 14). Thirdly, it was assumed that 'it is easier and more practical, for educators, students, and parents to focus on providing attractive developmental opportunities for individual students. This would be an alternative to current formal education practice of teaching skills on the basis of a generalized curriculum based on a "normal" child' (Chapter 1:page 30-31).

In the more theoretical discussions of this study, this researcher presented extensive proof of the prevalence of a 'hunter-gatherer' world view and cognitive style. In determining strategies for field work among Greenlanders, Canadian Inuit, Algonquian and Australian Aborigines, a James Bay Cree approach proved consistently effective. The same

contextual style effective for social or professional relations in Cree communities worked well among other hunter-gatherer populations in ecosystems that often differed markedly from the eastern subarctic. That contextual style was essentially one of this researcher trying to intuit a usual context or set of social relations appropriate for meeting and interacting with members of a particular group and to synchronize his thoughts and behaviour with the activities of the group. However, this approach to field work could also prove disastrous if certain prerequisites are not fully appreciated. Supporting this researcher's intuitions are a significant number of years of both treatment by and practice of hunter-gatherer social strategies. Furthermore, the view of Man and the World which they tend to promote, no longer seems exotic or curious to this researcher. The important social cues which guide such an approach are not arranged in a linear or rational order. Still, these same important cues do occur in a consistent, though dynamic paradigm. For example, during all field trips, this researcher attempted to find a low key but relatively intimate position as early as possible. At all costs, static or stereotyped locations were avoided. The least desirable included hotels, teacher or administrators' offices and homes, etc.. In Greenland, this researcher was chipping paint off an old boat within an hour after arriving. In Australia, this researcher gave someone a ride home from Alice Springs to Yuendumu, an Aborigine village in the Western Desert. Though posed negatively as criticism, a

similar concern for effective patterns of relations was often inherent in this researcher's criticisms levied at Euro-Canadian conceived formal education for Cree children.

Within the confines of 'school', with implicit support of Cree adults and children, Euro-Canadian teachers reproduce the verbal rational world of southern Canada. Such is the legacy of Dress-Up Creek. When Cree children respond to 'school' in a fashion akin to 'home' their resulting behaviour is seen as deviant or immature. For example, the modesty and interdependence encouraged at home appears as shyness or cheating in the classroom. A generation ago, school was a given, accepted by all. Going to school was something the majority did during childhood. Relatively few Crees were still in school during mid or late adolescence. There was general agreement amongst Cree students, their parents and their teachers that the Euro-Canadian norms in practice at school were proper. The respective Cree and Euro-Canadian domains were mutually distinct. Teachers reproduced their Euro-Canadian world within the school. Cree children and parents alike accepted that world as appropriate to the skills and benefits hoped for. The clear separation of the domains of home and school allowed Cree children to live separate lives, effectively reducing any disruption which discontinuities between Cree or Euro-Canadian domains might have caused. Such separate lives would be difficult for Euro-Canadians to maintain because of the latter's tendency to generalize norms of behaviour

throughout all social situations. However, for a more visual spatial Cree, such modularizing of social situations was quite sensible and normal.

The separation of school life from home life was, however, not possible for the next generation of Cree parents, actually former students. The distinctions between the two worlds, school and home became ambiguous with important changes which took place in the late 1960's and the early 1970's. The younger Cree parents had experience as former students which their own parents had not. Their parents had remained largely ignorant of, and hence undisturbed, by the trauma experienced in the classroom by Cree students. The younger Cree parents of a decade ago were not so naive and many vivid and troubling memories had survived. As a result of pressure brought to bear by this generation of parents, many residential schools were reduced in size or closed. More important, an increasing number of Cree appropriate changes were being made in an essentially Euro-Canadian institution. School was no longer solely the reproduction of a southern institution by Euro-Canadian teachers. But neither was it an extension of a Cree household or community. Today, the community school, indeed formal education in the James Bay Territory in general, is caught in a confusing see-saw back and forth between both Cree and Euro-Canadian perspectives. The confusion is only heightened by Euro-Canadian efforts to respect 'Cree culture', or the Cree search for an illusive measure of the 'quality of education'. Cree dominance in the realm of the

bush is no longer certain than is Euro-Canadian domination of the village or post. Euro-Canadian teachers now typically arrive with positive and lucid professional orientations for their duties. Invariably though, the positive and lucid nature of these orientations are based on perceptions of Cree children and community as constructed outside any real experience of a Cree milieu. The strategies of such teachers receive unpredictable or ambiguous Cree responses. Rarely are these increasingly perplexed teachers offered rational explanations for such effects. Accordingly, a steady decline in teacher confidence and effectiveness is commonplace. Associated with the latter decline is typically a decline in the degree to which the Euro-Canadian teacher is in touch with his Cree students' community. Few Cree parents have been able to decipher the important cues which guide the community's still largely Euro-Canadian school. As well, competent Cree social behaviour dictates a modesty or reserve when the terms of successful relations with outsiders are not yet clear. On rare occasions when a Euro-Canadian teacher recognizes this modesty and makes an appropriate first move, a more generous Cree hospitality is usually discovered. Unfortunately, the same modesty in the classroom has most often been already interpreted of the Cree community's children as deviant or immature. Subsequently, Cree parental reserve is given by Euro-Canadian teachers a negative or hostile connotation. Though the Euro-Canadian traditions associated with school and life

around the post or village have been made ambiguous and are no longer well integrated, it would be wise not to underestimate their continuing power. This researcher himself, initially only paid slight heed to his own arguments in support of a visual spatial cognitive style while using a verbal rationally developed curriculum development strategy for the Cree Culture Program. Though there were visual spatial features to the 'What Could Be Taught' forms described in chapter five, this researcher was still asking for a list of words or labels integrated by rational or generalized criteria. The dismal results this early effort produced provoked a more conscious and effective use of photographs, bulletin boards and Cree Culture Program instructors' experiences.

In order to avoid painting an unrealistically cynical picture of the current state of educational affairs a number of other important and recent factors need to be described. Concurrent with the decline of general confidence in a purely Euro-Canadian model of formal education has been a notable increase in the degree to which Cree cultural semantics have been articulated. In order to defend the legitimacy of a Cree lifestyle, the James Bay Crees had to articulate that lifestyle in the rationale and authoritative terms of southern Canada. The social scientists hired to develop such arguments, implicitly had to accept the nature and validity of Cree world view. Prior to such social science support of hunter-gatherer interests, more ethnocentric Euro-Canadian frameworks prevailed, largely

unchallenged. Much of the theoretical support of this researcher's arguments in earlier chapters of this study are drawn from the efforts of social scientists who have been engaged by hunter-gatherer organizations. In addition to producing new and challenging themes for further social science research, these supporting studies have generated many of the formal portraits of Cree sociocultural dynamic which are already proving valuable to a more effective Cree formal education. Just as social scientists engagement with Cree realities has afforded new useful intuitions, similarly Cree participation in Euro-Canadian institutions has provided the Crees with instructive experiences. In part due to the grim realization that the current educational malaise won't go away and in part as a result of participation in the institutions which govern community affairs, Cree people demonstrate a persistent interest in an improved system of formal education. As an expression of that interest, in 1978 when the Cree School Board first began there were four persons (actually the non-Cree wives of Cree men) in college or university. Within two years of the Board's operation, there were more than one-hundred and fifty. The drop-out rate (steady around 10%) continues to be markedly lower than the average at most universities (around 40%). These figures do not include teacher training or other group training programs.

The grounding of this studies' assumptions, discussions and theories in the development of the Cree Culture Program

precipitated a deeper appreciation and a greater confidence in a set of working principles. The relationship between Cree and Euro-Canadian competences in the development of a more effective model for formal education was vividly illustrated during the summer of 1984. When the Cree instructors had placed all of the photographs of what they had already been teaching, they received important further suggestions from two anthropologists who had not practised but had formally studied Cree or hunter-gatherer culture generally. In effect, the Cree egalitarian social climate was making use of a 'de facto' leadership which shifted from whatever competence was required from one moment to the next. The legitimacy of leadership at any moment was premised on contextual rather than general or authoritative criteria. When first hand experience of a skill was important at a given stage of discussion, the more experienced practitioners spoke while the anthropologists deferred. However, when the topic of discussion shifted to labels, metaphorical or conceptual understandings, then the anthropologists were more prominent, while the instructor-practitioners deferred. The term defer is used rather than say, default because the acquiescence of one leader to another was not total. Each leader needed to propose contributions which were credible to the others in the group. Consistent good humour and debate contributed to a positive yet critical atmosphere.

Without the Cree practitioners, the course outline would likely have developed into a sterile list of cultural

'concepts' and would likely have lacked a contextual authenticity or a Cree natural pattern of form and content. On the other hand, without the participation of the social scientists, the course outline would have lacked the form and precision prerequisite of formal education. This researcher played the role of a bridge between the practitioners and the social scientists, acting on formal understandings where they were available and acting on intuitions when they were not. The development of the Cree Land Skills Program helped to clarify previous assumptions and to add new elements to a general strategy for development in Cree formal education. It is to the description of this new general strategy that this author will now turn.

A General Strategy for Cree Formal Education:

In order to be effective in the sociocultural milieu of application, a developmental strategy must be clearly visible to the inhabitants of that milieu. Based on a common visible meaning, the appropriate inhabitants must be able to identify and act out roles as participants, leaders, or supporters in a development plan. The majority of strategies used by Euro-Canadian educators or administrators for developing Cree formal education have failed because they were not framed in the terms by which Crees determine coherence or reality. Most often Euro-Canadian strategies have been developed and expressed in general rational terms rather than in the specific contextual terms preferred by

Crees. For example, the Cree School Board's pedagogical staff and DIAND before them have relied heavily on committees, task forces, workshops, and other forums shaped or determined in accordance with rational cues.

Responsibility for specific tasks has been delegated according to general criteria or prerequisites such as formal educational qualifications, authority within an organizational structure, etc.. In spite of the rather disappointing results in a Cree milieu, Euro-Canadian faith in such a strategy seems unshaken. Though Cree people have adopted many instrumental techniques and much sociocultural behaviour such as language or economic relations, their pervasive modal behaviour and cognitive style has actually changed little. The exceptions are of course those situations where Cree modal behaviour has been seriously undermined ----but it must also be noted in these cases, satisfying alternatives rarely replace the original mode of behaviour. A kind of sociocultural limbo has been the result instead. For example, young men who have not learned the bush skills seldom either have learned the mode and content for a more Euro-Canadian style of a man 'getting a living'.

Based on the theoretical arguments and borne out by the application of this study's assumptions, this author uses a strategy framed in terms of existing and probable sociocultural patterns within a James Bay Territory Cree milieu. These patterns must be visible or coherent to Cree sensibilities in order that the critical roles of

participants, leaders, and supporters be assumed by Crees. Furthermore, because generalized conceptual thinking is not preferred, these important patterns must be presented in specific, community particular terms. As a case in point, when presenting important patterns of or relationships between cause and effect, examples well known in the particular community must be used as illustrations. But using Cree cognitive style to illustrate a strategy is not enough. The very strategy itself must be viewed by animators and participants alike as a network of relations both between the people and the shared meanings of the community. Critical members of the Cree community must be able to anticipate common outcomes or be able to agree as to the best ways of continuing the development of the formal education system. Finally, the strategy though perhaps conceptually complex, must convey a rather clear and vivid image of an effective situation in the minds of critical members of the Cree community. A significant number of Cree people must be able to tell the story of how a particular aspect of Cree formal education came to be with the same consistency that narratives are told of traditions or events already identified as part of the community's shared experiences. As noted in earlier chapters, such a pervasive and persistent narrative is rooted in pervasive and persistent images, shared generally among a community, band or family's members.

The expression, 'critical members of a Cree community' is carefully used with Cree particularism in mind. For many

Cree people, truth or credibility is a person, not a concept or rational construction. Invariably, when competent story tellers and community members generally are queried or challenged on the veracity or accuracy of a story, the criteria of truth is usually a person such as an uncle, a grandparent, or reliable witness. Similarly, in Cree formal educational development, the 'critical members of the Cree community' are those persons looked to for verification of the truth or plausibility of the issue at hand.

However, formal education differs from happenstance by virtue of its very deliberate causes. Accordingly, Cree formal education cannot merely be allowed to happen. It must be caused. Cree people will need to intervene in the typical patterns of childhood experiences at school, in the same manner in which they have intervened in these same patterns while teaching Cree traditional skills. Cree formal education strategy as such must catalyze positively, the unfolding or articulation of those skills seen as important to the viability and richness of a Cree future. The words 'unfolding' and 'articulation' have been deliberately chosen by this author in contrast with a Euro-Canadian preference for 'moulding' or 'training'. This careful choice of terms is in recognition of a Cree notion of child development that supposes:

"...that the child is naturally sociable and wishes from its innermost being to do the same things that others do provided the others treat it with fairness and equality; that reward is not necessary to produce acceptable behaviour providing everyone behaves well. In short, it is a combination of a

social modelling theory with an 'innate sociability' theory. It denies that the baby is born a tyrant or that the adult's role is to control its tyrannical wishes. It denies that indulgence will produce selfishness and lack of sociability and asserts instead that indulgence is the right of everyone when a child, and indulging is the duty of everyone when adult." (Hamilton 1981:)

The homogeneity and continuity of eastern Cree communities also demands the particular attention of a strategy. It is probable that a Cree educator will take part in the education of students who will grow up to play decisive roles in the same Cree educator's life. This reciprocity has already happened and is evident with a regularity as to make Cree parents and Cree teachers cautious in their treatment of their young charges. Indeed, the distinction of one generation to the next becomes ambiguous in the common situation where a Cree teacher has a sibling, daughter and or many cousins in her educational care. Such pervasive intimacy in the present and future circumstances of Cree formal education requires a greater degree of egalitarian behaviour between teachers, parents, students or principals than Euro-Canadian strategies have allowed. Accordingly, control of students or control of teachers or control of principals must be in accordance with the same principles of social competence as practised in the community at large. A context, not a line of authority is needed here. A context must be promoted which tends to produce patterns of behaviour and a climate which do not contribute to or cause anti-social behaviour. A context must be promoted based on the tenet of Cree child development

"that the child is naturally sociable and wishes from its innermost being to do the same things that others do provided the others treat it with fairness and equality; that reward is not necessary to produce acceptable behaviour providing everyone behaves well" (Hamilton 1981).

But, how do current, often chaotic situations, evolve toward the ideal described by this author? Where, one might ask is the role of this researcher or any other who has already or wishes to make a contribution to Cree formal education? A second look at the events leading up to a Cree Land Skills Program do offer some possible answers to these important questions. The social scientist, virtually always with a trained Euro-Canadian perspective, can provide valuable support of efforts toward an intracultural mode of formal education as long as his behaviour does not preclude or inhibit Cree consensus on description of the problems, alternatives and processes important to improvements. As long as the researcher positively catalyzes the Cree problem solving processes, one might expect a general movement toward a well integrated, Cree competent, formal education system. It is this researcher's firm belief that the chaos often evident in current approaches to formal education is due to discontinuities caused by highly transient Euro-Canadian intervention in Cree community processes. As well, Euro-Canadians often look for conceptual cues of effective functioning when the Cree activities they are watching are contextually, not conceptually structured. For example, a

Chief's authority might be perceived to be ignored in a discussion group's deference to an untitled Cree community members' proven experience with children. In such a situation, it would seem that the group exhibited signs of being disorganized because the authority of an official spokesperson was ignored. Subsequently, the chaos will diminish, in fact and in appearance when Cree community processes for identifying and solving problems are supported. It also follows that the role of the researcher or educator most comfortable with a Euro-Canadian perspective is one of catalyst and scribe, faithfully searching for, identifying and supporting images and patterns of behaviour generally regarded by Crees as competent.

Finally, this author wishes to identify three major features of an effective strategy for developmental efforts in Cree formal education. These features or activities should be considered as interacting processes like gears in a transmission producing the effect and speed preferred by the Cree community. They are not conceived in a linear, step-by-step sequence but instead are constantly affected by one another. The first is identification of problems. In this facet, the researcher-educator would best play the role of documentary camera man recording and presenting to a Cree public, an interesting image of important relations currently not producing desirable effects. In order to be interesting the researcher-educator must also be coherent or clearly understood by a Cree world view and cognitive style.

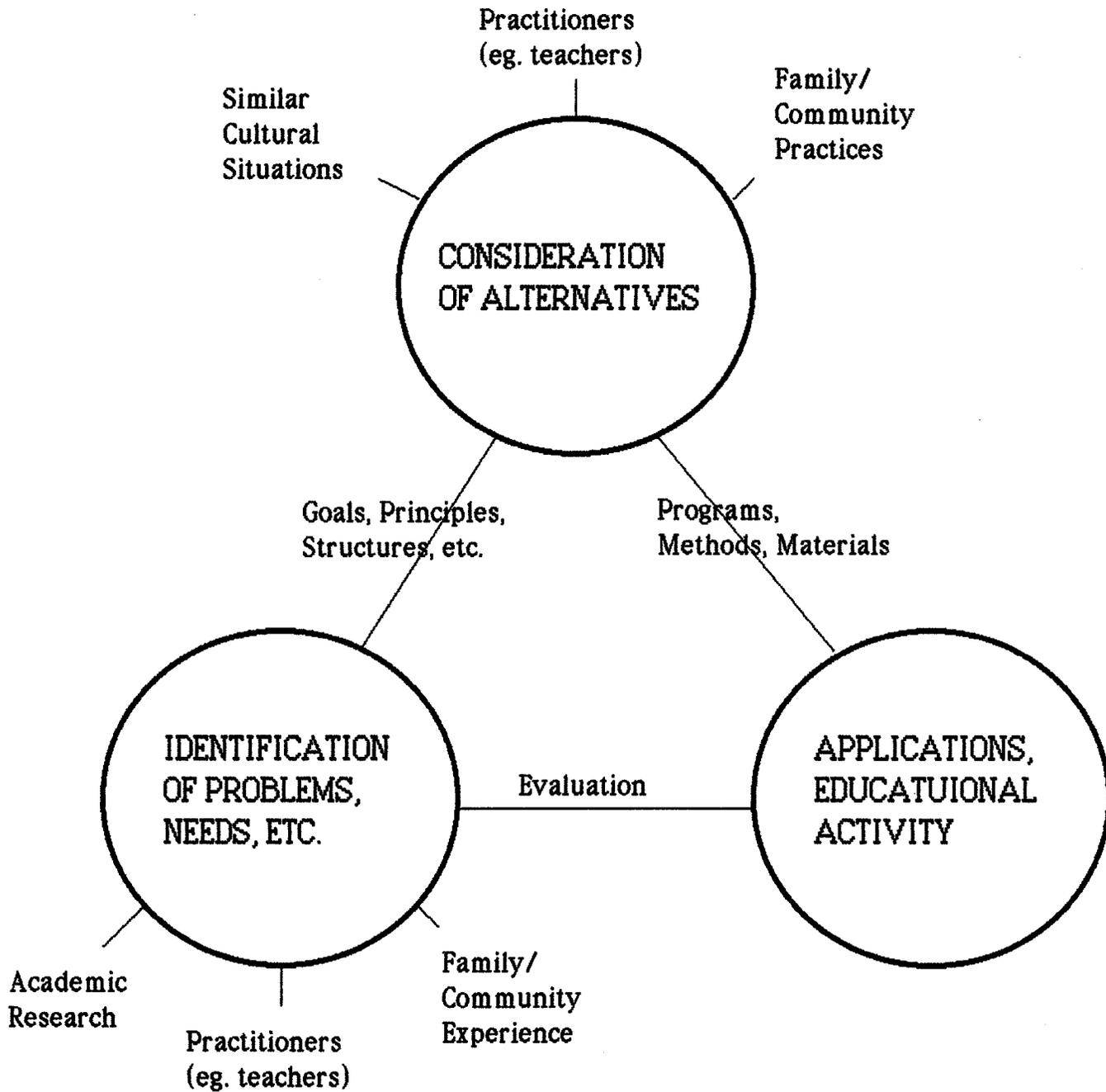


FIGURE 4

He must offer a reflection of what is generally already believed but must also present new but credible preceptions hitherto not appreciated. The integration of the old and new perceptions should provide a commonly believed image of the patterns which are producing the 'problem'. The second gear or activity is consideration of alternatives to those patterns recognized as undesirable. The role of the researcher-educator here is to locate and faithfully present these alternatives as patterns of experience which are capable of producing effects valued or preferred by the Cree community generally. This location of alternatives contrasts sharply with the common practice of researchers, consultants, and public servants who select alternatives for Cree communities based on Euro-Canadian values or preferences. The third gear or activity in the dynamic is the integration of new Cree preferred alternatives with traditional patterns. Here, the researcher-educator's knowledge of formal techniques and empathy with Cree preferences are critical in the innovation of new sociocultural behaviours. To be successful, these innovations must be consistent with Cree modality but innovative in the effects they produce. The common issue of student discipline would serve to illustrate the use of such a three factor dynamic. The problem of student discipline could be examined with the help of researcher-educators sensitive to Cree values of social behaviour. Certain patterns of 'school behaviour' which tended to produce

undesirable effects amongst Cree students and their teachers would be identified. For example, the tendency of Euro-Canadian teachers to attempt to mould or control students behaviour might be compared with the Cree preference for engineering social situations or influencing a more cooperative behaviour. Second, a number of alternatives in practice in a Cree family situation which tended to produce the Cree preferred effects might be presented for consideration by Cree parents and Cree educators. Third, innovations might be proposed which respected Cree modal behaviour but accommodated the scale of formal education. This strategy would be brought full circle or restarted by an evaluation of the manner in which the preceding efforts had affected the original problem of Cree student behaviour. Supported with these new 'grounded' theories or images the process would begin anew. Continuing indefinitely in this circular strategy, the sensibilities of the Euro-Canadian researcher-educator and the Cree participants would approach a point of common understanding. The former would interpret the experience gained from applying a common strategy in rational though interestingly complex terms. The latter would interpret the same experience in clear and visual though highly detailed terms. But most important, a common history of events would have been created which was not only shared but was also clearly perceived in both Cree and Euro-Canadian perspectives.

CONCLUSION

Dress-Up Creek was a transition point important to an historical relationship which once helped the Crees of the James Bay Territory to maintain the cognitive and social integrity of their lifestyle in the face of a ubiquitous cultural presence of European origin. Dress-Up Creek and the historical relationships to which it is tied were supported by the mutual exclusion of Cree and Euro-Canadian domains. The meaning of Dress-Up Creek has changed in more recent times through Euro-Canadian economic and cultural expansion and as much by early Cree efforts to adjust to a new order. Rather than continuing to support or preserve Cree cultural integrity, the tradition of dressing up has confounded Cree adaptive culture and offered false support to Euro-Canadian ethnocentrism. Fortunately, the world seen and therefore experienced by Crees is not linear but rather continues to be contextual or wholistic. Subsequently, the deterioration of Cree cultural integrity is not irreversible. Rather, Cree sociocultural integrity is responsive to important changes in the complex of factors which define at any given time, the quality and vibrance of a Cree reality. More recently, there is ample evidence to indicate the revival and renewed vigor of a Cree adaptive culture.

Cree strategies based on an appreciation of important patterns of experience with Euro-Canadians have produced results which serve to re-enforce traditional Cree cognitive style. For example, concepts of land ownership, political

control, community and economic organization are still rather ambiguous in both the **James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement** and the **Cree Naskapi Act**. Yet, very much evident in the events of the last several years is a surprisingly detailed Cree appreciation of the interpersonal, intercommunity relations and effects associated with those legal, political and economic issues. As a case in point, one might examine the reversals of political power caused by the Cree population during the past three years. Most Cree administrative entities were originally designed in accordance with rational Euro-Canadian norms by the lawyers and other consultants hired by the Crees as early as fourteen years ago. But, recently these same entities have been amalgamated, decentralized and altered in other significant ways by the leadership of the Territory's Cree communities. Ten years ago, the Cree Regional Authority resembled closely its antecedent, the Abitibi District Office of Canada's Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Today, the Cree Regional Authority operates at the pleasure of the Cree communities Band Councils. The latter approve (or disapprove) funds for the regional authorities operation. The role of the regional entities have been reduced from control to mere representation and the support of intercommunity cooperation. Other similar examples can be offered to illustrate how Cree people have adopted other Euro-Canadian concepts and have through an appreciation of their potential effects have influenced a different performance than originally associated with them. Finally,

this author claims authorship only of the articulation of this study's formal education strategy. The latter strategy is very much evident in recent Cree interventions.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The Comparability of the James Bay Territory Cree:

During the last several years, a new stereotype of the James Bay Territory Crees has emerged, largely as a result of highly publicized court and land settlement proceedings. Ten years ago, Euro-Canadians in the region, indeed in the province, did not distinguish Algonquin (for example, from Lac Simon, Pikogan, Maniwaki) from Cree. All were called 'Indien'. Today, Crees are distinguished from 'Indien', the latter being those who are still mainly wards of government. In fact, Cree are often colloquially called 'les Arabs du Nord' (Arabs of the North), in recognition of both their cultural peculiarity and their alleged wealth. This author has recently noticed the considerable extent to which James Bay Territory Cree are seen as different from other Native Canadians, especially in socioeconomic terms. However, as is often the case with stereotypes, this portrayal is based on partial and largely inaccurate information. At the time of the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, the same Cree population was seen as losing and likely to be soon impoverished. Publicity focused on the cash settlement and very little else. In the course of the last few years, the political implications of the Agreement have gained a

much more positive regard outside the Territory. Today, the original cash settlement, approximately one-hundred-fifty million dollars (the Cree share), together with interest earned has still not been spent and remains invested. On the other hand, the total of the operations budgets of the Cree regional corporations which deliver services in the Territory exceeds fifty million dollars each year. As these facts have surfaced, the myth of wealthy Crees has taken shape. Unfortunately, what seems totally lost in the new mythology is that the alleged wealth is derived from Cree control of resources which are even more generous outside the Territory. This author, employed as a school principal, watched the erosion of programs and funding in the last several years of federal control of education and other community services in the Territory. Administrative costs approached ninety percent of the total budget for Indian and Northern Affairs. Expressed another way, federal control put ten percent of its budget into Cree hands in the form of goods or services. As a case in point, during its last transportation of Cree students off reserve to school, Indian and Northern Affairs spent in excess of forty thousand dollars. For a third more students, the Cree School Board spent eight thousand. With other comparisons of Indian and Northern Affairs and Cree School Board spending it could be shown that in fact, the Crees are operating more services on funding which is inferior to that which continues to support federal and provincial delivery of the same services elsewhere. By virtue of their self-serving relationship,

Cree organizations are obliged to achieve a greater degree of responsibility and efficiency in favour of their Cree clients. As with Cree wealth, Cree control is to a significant degree an illusion with greatest currency farthest from the Territory. In the manner suggested earlier in this study, the former clear imagery of federal control personified by the School Superintendent or Indian Agent has been replaced by an often confusing system of committees, boards and officials. Moreover, many of the developmental and decision-making roles are carried out by lawyers and consultants who live outside the Territory. Because of the political control achieved through land settlement, there is a potential advantage for James Bay Territory Crees over their other Native Canadian counterparts. But, without achieving a functional, practical command of formal education, that potential advantage will remain largely unrealized. For this reason, this author argues that the situation of the Crees of the James Bay Territory is closely comparable to the situations of most other northern Native Canadians.

Needs and Opportunities for Further Research:

The research efforts of more than a dozen years ago which accepted notions of Crees' and other Canadian Natives' intellectual and social inferiority are rarely ever tolerated today by their Native subjects. These studies have lost much of their earlier credibility among other social scientists as well. The latter are now faced with the

challenge of developing interesting projects for research which on one hand relate positively to Native cognitive and social styles, while on the other hand are objective and therefore of scientific importance. This researcher has attempted to offer a more detailed and accurate portrait of the Native Canadian, particularly Cree, perspectives which engage the disciplines that support formal education. These portraits, the author admits, are actually sketches which provoke many further questions for social scientific research. For example, the author's criticism of Euro-Canadian descriptions of hunter-gatherer or Cree cognitive style is necessarily negative or argumentative. What is needed now are more positive descriptions of Canadian Native cognitive styles. These would best include suggestions of how the latter function and what formal educational strategies might promote and support them.

A personal detachment from the Native Canadian people about or among whom research is conducted has often been ignored by many social scientists or it has been regarded as important to scientific objectivity. The author hopes that this study will demonstrate that personal involvement does not necessarily compromise objectivity and can actually bring to a research project, rich resources of experience otherwise unavailable.

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GRADE ONE: Term One

2 sewing projects [Wemindji]
2 outdoor excursions [Wemindji]
berry picking, goose hunting [Wemindji]
big game animals [Chisasibi]
clothing types & uses [Chisasibi]
fall goose hunt [Chisasibi]
fishing [Wemindji]
fur bearers [Chisasibi]
hunting equipment & preparation [Chisasibi]
preparation for fishing [Chisasibi]
preparation for trapline [Chisasibi]
straight stitching various materials [Waswanipi]
types of homes [Chisasibi]

Term Two:

2 sewing projects [Wemindji]
berries (10 kinds) [Chisasibi]
celebration of Christmas & New Years [Chisasibi]
choosing and making a winter camp [Wemindji]
joining squares for quilts [Waswanipi]
preparation of skins & furs [Chisasibi]
sewing bags, potholders, aprons [Waswanipi]
sewing pillowcases, sheets, etc. [Waswanipi]
syllabics (pe...te...me) [Chisasibi]

Term Three:

2 sewing projects [Wemindji]
animals, birds, etc. we depend on [Chisasibi]
campsite (wood, boughs, shelters) [Chisasibi]
duffle mitts [Waswanipi]
herringbone stitch [Waswanipi]
hunting & cooking small game [Chisasibi]
ice fishing [Chisasibi]
moose & caribou hunting [Chisasibi]
names of parts of animals [Chisasibi]
setting a spring camp [Wemindji]
sewing on buttons [Waswanipi]
simple wall hanging [Waswanipi]
trapping stories [Chisasibi]

Term Four:

bird hunting (simple toys) [Chisasibi]
braiding [Waswanipi]
field day & feast [Chisasibi]
finish all projects [Wemindji]
finish all projects [Waswanipi]
first goose [Chisasibi]
fishing (spawning, hooks, nets) [Chisasibi]
fishing (survival) [Chisasibi]
goose hunting (shelters) [Chisasibi]
history of canoe brigades [Chisasibi]
knitting (squares & scarfs) [Waswanipi]
legends [Chisasibi] muskrat trapping [Chisasibi]
preservation of food [Chisasibi]
special feasts (walking out, weddings, etc.) [Wemindji]
transportation (sled, survival) [Chisasibi]

GRADE TWO: Term One

2 sewing projects [Wemindji]
2 outdoor excursions [Wemindji]
berry picking, goose hunting [Wemindji]
big game animals [Chisasibi]
clothing types & uses [Chisasibi]
fall goose hunt [Chisasibi]
fishing [Wemindji]
fur bearers [Chisasibi]
hunting equipment & preparation [Chisasibi]
preparation for fishing [Chisasibi]
preparation for trapline [Chisasibi]
spell student names [Chisasibi]
straight stitching various materials [Waswanipi]
syllabics (e, pe, te, ke, etc.) [Chisasibi]
threading needles & making knots [Chisasibi]
types of homes [Chisasibi]

Term Two:

2 sewing projects [Wemindji]
berries (10 kinds) [Chisasibi]
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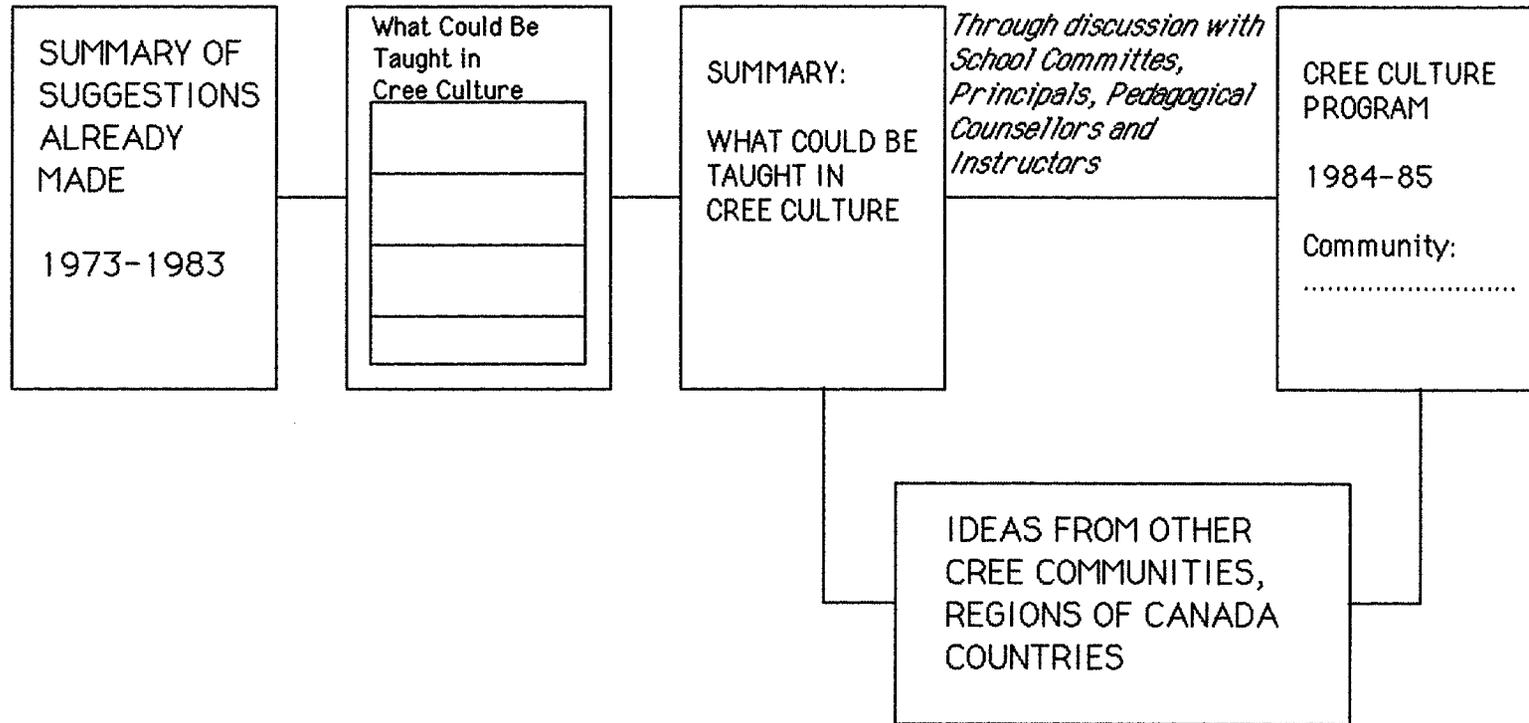
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transportation (sled, survival) [Chisasibi]

CREE CULTURE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY



What Could Be Taught in Cree Culture

Fall (Indoors)	Fall (Outdoors)
Early Winter (Indoors)	Early Winter (Outdoors)
Late Winter (Indoors)	Late Winter (Outdoors)
Spring (Indoors)	Spring (Outdoors)