

# 加拿大大學裡的原住民研究學系

カナダ大学の原住民研究学科

Departments of Native Studies in Canada

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Native studies started in Canada as a small program associated with the anthropology department at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario. The push came from Aboriginal students who were tired with having to fight endless debates about the Bering Straight migration or other issues, and wanted to see some classes where their views were respected and taught. The idea quickly caught on, and by the seventies there were departments of native studies at several Canadian universities, including the University of Manitoba. Trent lead the way in gaining departmental status for its program, developing a three and then four year degree, establishing in the eighties a master's program, developing a variety of innovative academic sub programs, cultural based programs and international exchange opportunities, and more recently establishing a doctoral program.

Often native studies has thrived in smaller universities, where the institutional flexibility and willingness to experiment tend to be more strongly supported. Hence, as well as Trent, there are long standing native studies programs at Laurentian in Sudbury, Ontario; Brandon, Manitoba; Lethbridge, Alberta; and the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George. These are all smaller institutions, with student

加拿大的原住民研究始於一項小型的學程，該學程與位於安大略省皮特伯羅的特倫特大學人類學系有關，由原住民學生（註：印第安系加拿大人）所推動，這些學生厭倦了必須回應關於白令海峽遷移或其它議題的永無止盡爭論，他們希望能有一些尊重並傳授原住民觀點的課程，此一想法很快就風行起來，到了一九七〇年代末期，加拿大有幾所大學（包括曼尼托巴大學）成立了原住民研究系。特倫特大學率先讓原住民研究學程成為學系，率先將原先的三年制學位改為四年制，率先在一九八〇年代成立碩士班，率先發展出各種創新型學術子計畫、文化本位學程和國際交流機會，並率先在不久前開闢了博士班。

一般而言，原住民研究已在較小型大學裡比較興盛，在小型大學，機構彈性和實驗意願比較能獲得有力支持，因此，除了特倫特大學，位於安大略薩德伯利市的勞倫欽大學、布藍登大學、曼尼托巴大學、列斯布里治大學、亞伯達大學和位於喬治王子市的北英屬哥倫比亞大學都有歷史悠久的原住民研究學程，

populations sometimes less than 5,000. In such an atmosphere, Aboriginal students find it easier to adjust, particularly those students from small northern communities. For the most part, native studies has institutionally been housed as a department or program within a faculty of arts. One prominent program, though, the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, has separate faculty status.

There are some universities in Canada who have deliberately avoided establishing native studies programs. For example, for many years the University of British Columbia, in Vancouver, maintained that native studies was an 'academic ghetto' that would marginalize Aboriginal students. Their philosophy was to provide exceptional supports for Aboriginal students, but not develop special academic programs. For the most part, this approach has proven ineffective, and even UBC has moved in the last few years to create a First Nations Studies program.

Sometimes native studies departments have had fraught relations with their close neighbors in anthropology. Even though the departments were often created out of anthropology, for a period relations between the two disciplines were conflictual as native studies scholars challenged a number of anthropological practices (especially in archaeology) and developed courses or programs that overlapped with the cultural anthropology

這些都是規模較小的學校，全校學生人數有時少於五千人。在這樣的氣氛下，原住民學生覺得比較容易適應，對來自北方小部落的原住民學生而言尤其如此，最重要的是，原住民研究已正式成為文學院的學系或學程，不過，知名的亞伯達大學原住民研究學院（位於艾德蒙頓）卻是獨立學院。

加拿大也有一些大學一直刻意避免設立原住民研究學程，例如，位於溫哥華的英屬哥倫比亞大學以往多年都維持「原住民研究是學術少數族群聚區，會邊緣化原住民學生」的說法。這些（不設原住民研究學程）大學的想法是：為原住民學生提供額外支持，但不發展特殊學程。最重要的是，這方法已被證明是無效的，就連英屬哥倫比亞大學也在幾年前開闢了第一民族學程。

有時候，原住民研究系與相近的人類學系一直有著緊繃的關係，即便原住民研究系多源自人類學系，但是有一段時間，這兩個學門間存在衝突，原因是原住民研究學者質疑一些人類學做法（尤其是在考古學方面），他們並發展出與文化人類學中領域相近的課程或學程，同時，人類學

courses in similar areas. As well, sometimes anthropology departments lost their cultural anthropologists to native studies leaving the host department to retrench into fairly conservative academic units, which then lead to conflict. For the most part having reached a second generation of native studies scholars, the two disciplines seem to have made peace and come to some mutual understanding and respect, though as native studies gets more interested in international issues the boundaries between the disciplines may again be a subject for debate.

Native studies involves teaching about the experience of Aboriginal peoples in Canada (although there is a new program in International Indigenous Studies at the University of Calgary, most programs have a heavy Canadian focus) from a sympathetic or insider perspective. Most departments have both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal faculty members, and draw both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students to their courses and programs. Departments emphasize the history of colonial relations, examine contemporary political, legal and social realities, and make a priority of teaching language and culture. Where Aboriginal languages are taught in native studies, the tendency is to rely on 'natural speakers' of the language, indigenous teachers, rather than professional linguists.

Native studies departments also make extraordinary efforts at community outreach, having a special

系有時也會有文化人類學者出走，轉而投入原住民研究，使得身為母系的人類學系縮小成相當保守的學術單位，此一情況隨後就導致衝突。最重要的是，這兩個學門已產生第二代原住民研究學者，兩學門間似乎已能和平共處，並達成某種程度的互相了解和尊重，縱然隨著原住民研究對國際議題愈來愈感興趣，這兩學門間的界線，很可能再次成為爭論主題。

原住民研究牽涉到以同情觀點或內部者觀點教授加拿大原住民族的經驗，（雖然卡加利大學有一個國際原住民研究的新學程，但加拿大絕大多數原住民學程主要著眼加拿大），絕大多數原住民研究系都有原住民籍和非原住民籍教員，課程和學程都有原住民籍和非原住民籍學生來修，原住民研究系強調殖民關係歷史，檢視當代政治、法律和社會現實，並規定要教語言和文化，雖然原住民研究系教原住民語，但傾向聘請從小說原住民語的人（原住民老師）來教，而非專業語言學家。

原住民研究系也極為努力走入部落，負擔回應部落需求的特殊責任，因此，

responsibility to be responsive to the needs of Aboriginal communities. Hence native studies has been a leader in off-campus education, in community based research, and in developing programs to attract Aboriginal people on to campuses (such as elder's gatherings, pow wows, and other social or cultural events). Often these are integrated into the curriculum and associated with course credits. As well, most programs offer some kind of embodied learning opportunities in Aboriginal communities.

Aboriginal students have been drawn to universities in increasing numbers partly as the result of the existence of native studies programs that give them an institutional 'home base'. Often, Aboriginal students will major in other programs, but still take courses in native studies and still see it as a comfortable and familiar space from which to take on the broader university. The numbers of Aboriginal students graduating from universities is one of the quiet 'success stories' in Canadian Aboriginal affairs generally, and will play a role in reconstructing the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and newcomers to Canada in a healthier way. Native studies has played a lead role in this development.

Teaching in native studies is a unique experience. Often, instructors have to manage highly fraught relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students: as the former gain information that allows them greater pride in the achievements of their people, and anger at the

原住民研究已成為校園外教育、社區本位研究以及學程開發的領導者，好吸引原住民來到學校（比如耆老聚會、印第安祈福儀式及其它社會或文化活動），校園外教育、社區本位研究和學程開發通常都融入課程之中，並關係到學分，同時，絕大多數學程會提供部落某種具體的學習機會。

原住民學生進大學的人數已有所增長，原住民研究學程的出現是部分原因，這些學程給予原住民學生一個學校機構型的基地。通常，原住民學生會主修別的學程，但仍選修原住民研究課程，並且依舊還是把原住民研究視為一個舒適且熟悉的空間，讓他們以此出發，進行範圍更廣的大學學習。整體而言，原住民大學畢業生人數是加拿大原住民事務的靜默的成功故事之一，並將關係著以更健康方式重建加拿大原住民族和新住民的關係，原住民研究在此一發展上已扮演了重要角色。

在原住民研究系教課是一種獨特的經驗，通常，講師必須處理原住民與非原住民學生間高度衝突的關係：原住民學生獲取資訊，這些資訊讓他們對其民族的成就更引以為傲，也使他們為歷史的不公感到

historical injustices, the latter find themselves having to reconfigure their image of Canada as a 'just society' and deal with the darker side of their own history. However, it is critical that native studies both provide Aboriginal students with the skills and knowledge they need to succeed as individuals and for their communities, and non-Aboriginal students with an awareness of the colonial realities that have and continue to pervade Canada's relations with its indigenous peoples.

Research in native studies is in many respects only now coming into its own. Native studies scholars have produced research of interest across many disciplines: historical studies of residential schools or other colonial episodes, studies of contemporary economic development at the community level, readings of Aboriginal poetry and literature, reports on non-renewable resource conflicts in northern Canada, collaborative works of narrative history or life history with Aboriginal teachers and leaders, and many other areas of scholarship. Native studies scholars have the difficult job of ensuring that they are independent of this or that group of Aboriginal leaders and have the academic freedom to speak in their own voice, while also wanting to write in a manner that will forward the agenda of Aboriginal peoples. This can sometimes be a delicate balancing act.

One of the most ambitious attempts around native

忿怒；非原住民學生則發現自己必須重組他們對加拿大的「公義社會」之印象，並處理自己民族歷史的較黑暗面。更重要的是，原住民研究不但要提供原住民學生個人成功及部落成功所需的技能和知識，也要讓非原住民學生意識到勢必且繼續充斥加拿大與其原住民族之關係的殖民現實。

在許多方面，原住民研究現在才逐漸變成原住民研究的模樣，原住民研究學者已引發許多學門對原住民研究的興趣：寄宿學校或其它殖民情境的歷史研究，部落層級之當代經濟發展研究，原住民詩歌與文學閱讀，關於加拿大北部非再生資源衝突的報導，與原住民老師和領袖合作採集口述歷史或生命史，以及許多別的學術領域。原住民研究學者想在以帶出原住民族議程的方式書寫的時，確保自己獨立於某個原住民領袖的團體之外，並且保有自己發聲的學術自由，是困難的，這有時必須小心翼翼地找出平衡。

正因為此一議題，與原住民研究

studies is at the moment undergoing crises exactly as a result of this issue. The new First Nations University in Regina, Saskatchewan offers a full range of university level arts courses including native studies to indigenous students, and was about to 'take off' as an institution, with international exchange program opportunities, a major research grant awarded to the president, and a fragile but growing reputation for solid academic programs. However, a conflict between the professional academics and administrators who stressed the need for autonomy and academic freedom, on the one hand, and Aboriginal political leaders appointed to the Board of Governors who wanted to take a more 'hands on' approach to management, on the other, has created an extraordinary schism in the institution that may take many years to fully resolve. Although native studies departments have been fraught with their own infighting over the years as the complex issues of how to be a de-institutionalizing part of the institution are fought out through personalities and problems, the resolution of this particular crises will have implications for Aboriginal post secondary education across Canada.

Native studies is nevertheless in a fertile moment in Canada. It is one of the fields where scholarship is dynamic and at the cutting edge of interdisciplinary research. It is a leader in innovative programming, much

相關的最具雄心的企圖之一，此時正面臨危機。甫設立的第一民族大學（位於薩斯卡其萬省雷吉納市）提供完整的大學水準文史課程，包括為原住民學生開設的原住民研究課程，該校並朝學術機構規模邁進，具備了國際交流學程機會、一項頒發給校長的重大的研究獎助金、聲譽並不穩固但漸開的堅實學術計畫。然而，強調一定要有自治和學術自由的專業學術人員，與學校行政人員和擔任學校董事的原住民政治領袖之間存在衝突，後者希望採取較多干預的管理方式，如此衝突已使學校產生分裂，這樣的情況恐怕要好幾年才能徹底解決。雖然，隨著如何成為學校的去機構化單位之複雜議題透過毀謗和問題被凸顯出來，原住民研究系的內鬥已持續好幾年，但此一特定危機的解決將對全加拿大的原住民專科以上教育有所啟示。

雖然如此，原住民研究在加拿大正處於茁壯階段，此一領域是學術活躍並走在跨領域研究尖端的領域之一，原住



of which (for example, support programming for students) is now being copied by more mainstream parts of the institution. The debates, the passion, the conflicts, the enthusiasm, the laughter and the learning that are all part of the project of native studies have become valuable parts of the universities that host them.

In the future two trends are likely to emerge. On the one hand, some larger institutions seem poised to finally invest in native studies. While at one time it seemed like my own institution, the University of Manitoba, might lead the way it now appears that another - the University of Toronto has started a program, as has UBC and Calgary, with both the University of Alberta and the University of Saskatchewan also poised to grow - may well grasp the opportunity to become the major institutional leader in the field. On the other hand, many native studies programs are turning to international indigenous studies for exchange program, conference, research and other opportunities. Trent university's programs in Ecuador and Thailand, the University of Calgary's initiative in international indigenous studies, the First Nations University's

民研究是創新型學程規畫的先驅，創新型學程規畫（比如給予學生支援的學程規畫）多數目前正被學校內較主流學系仿效，爭辯、熱情、衝突、興趣、笑聲與學習全都是原住民研究計畫的一部分，原住民研究已經變成接納原住民研究之大學的寶貴部分。

將來很可能出現兩種趨勢：一方面，某些較大型學校看起來終究會投入原住民研究，但曾有一段時間，我所任職的學校——曼尼托巴大學，似乎將是原住民研究的領導大學，但目前看起來是多倫多大學，該校已經開辦了一個原住民研究學程，英屬哥倫比亞大學和卡加利大學也成立了一個，亞伯達大學和薩斯卡其萬大學看似也將蓄勢成長，這兩所大學也很有可能抓住成為原住民研究主要機構之先鋒的機會；另一方面，許多原住民研究學程正轉向國際原住民研究，以爭取交流計畫、大型會議、研究及其它機會，特倫特大學在厄瓜多和泰國的計畫、卡加利大學的國際原住民研究計畫、第一民族大學在中國的計畫都促成對比較原住民研究和國際交流的興趣增長。

initiatives in China all are markers of a growing interest in comparative indigenous studies and international cross fertilization. Perhaps Taiwan's indigenous people will establish some Canadian connections through growth in this area.

Whether called First Nations studies, indigenous studies, Aboriginal studies, native or native american studies, the field represents an exciting development in post secondary education: a chance for indigenous culture to reinvigorate one of the institutions that played a role in establishing colonial dominance, thereby transforming it into a tool of decolonization and producing a body of complex, challenging scholarship and a more aware and diverse group of university students.

或許台灣的原住民將來會透過此一領域的成長與加拿大建立聯繫。

不論被稱作第一民族研究、原住民研究、先住民研究、土著研究或土生美洲人研究，此一領域代表著專科以上教育令人振奮的發展：給予原住民文化重新活化某個參與建立殖民權威之學校機構的機會，並且將該校轉型為去殖民化的工具，且產生一個複雜又具挑戰性的體系，以及較有意識和多樣性的一群大學學生。



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至新竹鎮西堡部落參訪時留影