

# **SHAMANISM AND INVESTMENT ANALYSIS**

Sara Reiter  
School of Management  
Binghamton University  
Binghamton, New York 13902-6015  
phone: 607-777-6174  
fax: 607-777-4422  
sreiter@binghamton.edu

Elton G. McGoun  
Department of Management  
Bucknell University  
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania 17837  
phone: 570-577-3732  
Fax: 570-577-1338  
mcgoun@bucknell.edu

# **SHAMANISM AND INVESTMENT ANALYSIS**

**Abstract**

“Mitakuye oyasin”  
(We are all relatives!)

*-Black Elk (1975)*

## **I. Introduction**

Shamans are the visionaries and healers of indigenous societies, and in this paper, we explore the parallels between shamanism and investment analysis and what we can learn from the former about the latter. Although relatively rare in finance, such an exploration as this is not unprecedented. In finance itself, dividends have been described as potlaching (Frankfurter and Lane, 1992), and in closely related disciplines, accounting activities have been described as witchcraft and ritual (Gambling, 1977; 1978; 1987) and economics research as art (Szostak, 1992). That the shamanistic<sup>1</sup> aspects of investment analysis might tell us something about it and about ourselves is not as farfetched as it may seem at first glance.

Shamans<sup>2</sup> are persons who receive and interpret visions which enable them to perform a variety of activities, such as diagnosis and healing, interpretation and forecasting of events, and finding lost objects:

[The shaman] helps the people maintain the necessary delicate balance between this world of pragmatic necessities and the more subtle, but no less real world of spirits, souls, and gradated powers. The shaman is an intermediary between multiple worlds, who can communicate, interpret, ... the shaman's wisdom and special powers are critical to communal life and human survival ... [The shaman] is able to discern who among the people have broken the taboos ... or discover the cause of illness ... or foretell future weather conditions (Brown, 1982, p. 8).

Like professionals in our society, shamans undergo rigorous training after showing an initial aptitude (Bear Heart and Larkin, 1998, pp. 36-37), but unlike professionals in our society, also after demonstrating good character. They learn a specialized body of knowledge resulting in the ability to diagnose, heal, interpret, etc.

Professions in modern society fulfil very similar functions to those that shamans fulfil in indigenous societies. The most obvious parallels between professionals and shamans can be drawn for doctors, psychologists, and others in the healing professions. We contend that interpretation and forecasting, activities particularly associated with investment analysis, are also activities performed by shamans. And the financial analysis that is an internal counterpart to external investment analysis is an activity involving some promise of organizational healing. In whole or in part, finance practitioners are professionals expected to combine insight with integrity to translate complex information and either located profitable investment opportunities or facilitate the transformation of corporate vision into reality. These activities are even more along the lines of functions undertaken by modern shamans. Finance professionals, therefore, serve, or want to serve, functions similar to those of shamans in indigenous traditions. Exploring this analogy sheds a critical light on the activities and the worldview of the finance profession.

The suggestion that we can learn something about ourselves by comparison with others and that the usefulness of values and concepts can be illustrated by seeing the roles they play in others' lives is hardly radical. There are, however, a number of caveats. For one thing, there is no single indigenous worldview or Shamanic tradition. Matters such as the training, roles, and operating modes of shamans differ considerably among societies. Within the North American indigenous traditions, there are nevertheless commonalities in "certain patterns of thought, plan, organization and spirit" (Brown, 1974, p. 28). Our reference point for specific practices and worldviews is the plains Indians of North America, particularly the Lakota with whose traditions one of the authors is most personally familiar and which have been extensively documented (Black Elk, 1975; Neihardt, 1992; Lame Deer and Erdoes, 1994; Brown, 1982; Black Elk and Lyons, 1991). In explaining the Native American practices and worldviews, we use first person testimony of twentieth century shamans to the greatest extent possible.

Questions may be raised about whether it is acceptable to “use” Native American traditional thought in this way. Some Native American activists bemoan adoption of traditional ceremonial practices by whites (Buhner ,1997), and they might find using ideas about shamanism to help understand finance problematic. Insights from Native American traditions, however, should be available for use in critiquing and understanding other traditions even though borrowing sacred practices is indeed problematic. Brown (1974) suggests in this regard that we might “learn a little humbleness and open our minds ... from the ancient peoples of America some things of vital importance to man ‘ s future existence” (p. 15). On the other hand, we would be quite uncomfortable undertaking to propose some sort of Native American system of financial management, as that would constitute an unwarranted “speaking for others” (Chew and Greer, 1997, p. 291).

Whether Native American thoughts and practices can be adequately represented and understood outside their traditional setting is an additional and related problem. Fragmentary ideas may make little sense out of their context in the lived lives of indigenous peoples. We are particularly aware in trying to understand Lakota tradition of how limiting it is to not have been raised in a collective society. It is difficult to grasp the full meaning of the recurring phrase “All my relatives” or of the sharing and giving practices which play such a vital role in lives within that culture. Lame Deer explains:

The anthropologists are always saying that there is still too much of the old Buffalo hunter in us. Share your food, share your goods, or the tribe will perish. ...They are also wagging their fingers at us when we have a give-away feast.... But we hold onto our *otuhan*, our give-aways, because they help us to remain Indians. All the big events in our lives -- birth and death, joy and sadness -- can be occasions for a give-away (Lame Deer and Erdoes,1994, p. 41)<sup>3</sup>

Outsiders can achieve only an imperfect understanding of the philosophy embedded in those cultural forms. Furthermore, Native American traditions deal almost entirely with the sacred and with received wisdom. These insights are ineffable and cannot be conveyed easily in

mundane language. Tedlock and Tedlock (1975) explain that the realm of shamanistic knowledge "is open to all men in all places at all times, but it is also universally hard to talk about in ordinary language" (p. xiii). Nor can these insights be known well except as direct knowledge coming from experience. As Tedlock and Tedlock note, "[w]hat we learn in school is never ours; lectures by the experts can never produce in us the light that comes when suddenly and all alone, we know" (p. xxi).

Even given the aforementioned limitations, we feel there is value in proceeding. At the least, we hope to present a different perspective for judging the activity of investment analysis in our society and for challenging the adequacy of the worldview underlying the practices of finance. At the most, we hope to challenge readers to accept that primal does not equate with inferior and that different belief systems have much to teach us. For example, Brown (1974) advises that "the white people need even more help from the Indians on how to achieve a sense of harmony with earth and sky and all living things so this earth ... can be returned to its former beauty and spared from pollution and over-exploitation" (p. 41).

## **II. Witches, priests, and shamans**

To illustrate how this approach works in practice, in this section we will review several articles by Gambling (1977, 1978, 1987) exploring parallels between accounting practice, magic, and ritual. This is an especially appropriate and useful introduction, as investment analysis usually begins with accounting information. After explaining Gambling's parallels, however, we present alternative anthropological and philosophical viewpoints on the meaning of shamanistic practices. Then, we discuss contemporary perspectives on the role of shamanistic practices in modern society and corporate life.

### Magic and ritual

Using the example of witchcraft in the Azande culture, Gambling explains that "comparatively primitive people actually find a rational use for 'magic'; it provides them with

an explanation of why things go wrong - which does not rely upon uncomfortable ideas like blind chance or their own stupidity" (Gambling, 1977, p. 141). He explains that accounting "fulfils some of the functions of witchcraft in earlier times" (Gambling, 1978, p. 3). Accounting is seen as sometimes a vehicle for "magical" practices of "confidence-building and conflict avoidance" rather than "objective reporting of the facts" (Gambling, 1977, p. 141). Accounting is sometimes made to appear abstract and vague since "[w]hat is sometimes sought from accounting is not so much absolute truth ... but something to which all parties can assent, albeit temporarily and with many interior reservations" (Gambling, 1978, p. 28).

Accounting practices are also seen as having ritual properties, as when "the rational use of DCF [Discounted Cash Flow analysis] enables directors to claim to be profit-maximisers without getting involved in the semantics of what maximizes profit in the long-run ..." (Gambling, 1977, p. 146). Gambling adds that the "whole accounting/budgeting operation is a sort of religious ceremony - a rain-dance ..." (p. 146) following the human motive to do something in the face of uncertainty. Magic and superstition are seen as reactions to stress in the face of social conflicts and changes:

Strictly, superstition is, therefore, a psychomotor reaction to stress, giving rise to a desire to do something, when rational thought says "Think about it a bit longer" or even "There is no logical ground for taking any action at this time." Witchcraft practice is the relief of those feelings by regression to the more pantheistic ideas of half-forgotten ancestors. Both involve a neurotic evasion of facts and theories, which are perfectly well-known, accepted and acted upon in happier circumstances (Gambling, 1987, p. 320).

Accounting is seen as an "anthropocentric ideal" with rituals that attempt to reconcile modern financial rituals with a "consciously outmoded" (reductionist) worldview (p. 322). Gambling hypothesizes that "[a] possible explanation of our whole accounting/financial network is as a machinery for generating financial sacraments, for new styles of financial relationships to accommodate new social and cultural requirements" (p. 325). Society wants the accounting

profession to "certify that a whole range of 'magical' transactions is somehow 'ritually valid' " (p. 327).

Gambling assumes that these rituals involve knowing falsification - just as the witchdoctor makes up his mind and then gathers supporting evidence, accountants inject their rituals and "work the oracle" in the interests of relativism (p. 327). Gambling also suggests that since the supposed objective of accounting is to produce "controlled and auditable data" but accountants are "also the priests who conduct the ceremonies" of obfuscation "the extraordinary compound of fear and reverence which surrounds them is readily understood" (p. 147). While these ritual and magical practices are seen as functional, they are also problematic by being "highly destructive of scientific thought" (p. 150). Gambling suggests toughening up morale so managers and others can better bear the "truth" instead of relying on accounting magic and ritual.

One can begin to see here obvious parallels between magic and ritual and finance along with those with accounting. Finance is notorious for providing explanations of why things went wrong -- from the articles in the Wall Street Journal every day describing why what happened to markets the day before happened, to the report of the commission set up to investigate the "Crash of '87" -- without ever managing to select from among alternative explanations or to understand processes well enough to know what is going to happen before it does. (In section IV we will have more to say about just how "uncomfortable" "blind chance" is with regard to financial markets.) It is a poor finance student indeed who fails to see that DCF can (and indeed is, to justify the hubris that can motivate acquisitions) easily manipulated to support whatever pre-existing decision one wants to make. And as often as we hear that buy-and-hold for the long term is among the soundest of investment principles, in the face of market turbulence we conjure up any number of rationales for "doing something" in the form of trading.

An anthropological view

Gambling's view of magic and rituals in the Azande typifies the "intellectualist" and "symbolist" approaches of anthropology to what Winkelman (1992) calls magico-religious practice. In these views, magic is seen as "faulty science", the "product of a weak and primitive mind" (p. 1). Its function is seen as reinforcing the patterns of relationships in society through a symbolic system of belief and ritual. Magic is a response to stressful situations which cannot be easily resolved, a practice that satisfies human needs for emotional security and explanation. Winkelman's (1992) cross-cultural study of magico-religious practitioners is based on a more recent anthropological perspective and calls for a reassessment of these old views:

The development of medical anthropology has investigated in the context of cultural healing traditions many of the activities previously labeled as magic and religion. Rather than mere products of deluded minds or misguided efforts to relieve anxiety, magico-religious healing practices have increasingly been recognized as effective. And in contrast to the perspective that magical practices were based on childish, ignorant or dull witted mistakes, we find modern psychological perspectives on shamanism indicating that it has represented an advanced level of transpersonal development and human evolution (p. 4).

Winkelman (1992) models magico-religious activities in terms of three potential functions - altered state of consciousness (ASC) healing and divination, sociopolitical power, and malevolent activities. Shamanism appears to be universal in hunter-gatherer societies. Heinze (1991, p. 167) estimates that 90% of all societies have some institutionalized, culturally patterned forms of altered state consciousness. The classic definition of shamanism involves "use of 'techniques of ecstasy' (altered states of consciousness) in interaction with the spirit world on behalf of the community, particularly in healing, divination, protection, and finding game animals" (Winkelman, 1992, p. 47). There appears to be a common physiology underlying ASC trances however induced, and Winkelman hypothesizes that "inherently therapeutic properties derived from the common physiological changes underl[ie] ASC" (p. 52).<sup>4</sup> He concludes that the "universal presence of altered state magico-religious healing practices is functional and psychobiologically based" (p. 52).

Winkelman observes that “[a]lthough shamanistic activities have been traditionally viewed negatively, recent perspectives have presented the shaman as an individual of exceptional mental health, the community therapist, and an important stage in the evolution of human consciousness” (p. 111).

Shamanic traditions have not been taken seriously by Western, industrialized nations despite the fact that many shamans, over the centuries, have developed sophisticated models of human behavior and experience ... ignorance about shamanic traditions, coupled with general prejudice against tribal people, has resulted in shamanism being ignored or scorned by most members of the Western medical, scientific, and academic establishments. They do not recall that shamans were the world’s first physicians, first diagnosticians, first psychotherapists, first religious functionaries, first magicians, first performing artists, and first storytellers (Krippner, 1991, p. xi).

Shamans are involved in the transformation of emotions, and guide themselves and their clients through various therapeutic practices such as visualizations, guided imagery and meditation, waking dreams, confrontation of deepest fears, confession, and catharsis (Winkelman, 1992; Heinze, 1991; Reeves-Ellington and Anderson, 1997).

Winkelman (1992) distinguishes between a number of different magico-religious practitioners. Shamans are found in hunting and gathering societies. They are active in healing and divination, protection from spirits and hunting magic and are sometimes also suspected of malevolent acts. They enjoy high social status in their groups and work alone on behalf of clients and the community. In agricultural societies, the shaman role appears to evolve toward shaman/healers or healers. Healers are found in societies with political integration. In contrast to shamans, healers exercise a more impersonal power, often have highly specialized roles, and practice in groups. Their practice is more dependent on learned rituals and techniques than trance states, and they often decide to enter the practice, as opposed to being called through illness or visions. Healers are viewed as predominantly moral. Priests are found in societies with political integration. Their principal function is protection and purification and they wield

considerable political, social, and economic power. They are full time practitioners who get their power entirely from superior spirits or gods. Priests are viewed by society as exclusively moral and appear to have evolved in response to leadership needs of politically integrated societies (p. 72).. Finally, sorcerers (witches) are found in more complex societies with political integration and social stratification. They are accused of malevolent acts. Winkelman (1992) hypothesizes that:

Sorcerer/Witch practitioners' statuses are based on the characteristics of the practitioners classified here as Shamans, Shaman/Healers, and Healers. The Sorcerer/Witch status develops as a result of systematic persecution of some individuals and magico-religious practitioners by other magico-religious practitioners ... who occupy more powerful statuses in the society ... (p. 88).

Figure 1 illustrates the characteristics of shamans, healers, priests, and witches.

Insert Figure 1 here

### A philosophical view

Gambling (1977, 1978, 1987) views magic and rituals as antithetical to modern science. Rather than seeing practices such as shamanism and the worldviews of indigenous peoples as primitive and backward, Smith (1992) suggests that " 'the human unanimity' - how things pretty much looked to peoples everywhere until modern science threw the West temporarily off-balance - has helpful things to suggest toward the creation of a viable pattern for our time ..." (p. vii). The problem, as Smith sees it, is the uni-dimensional nature of the modern scientific worldview that focuses exclusively on objectivity, prediction, control and quantification leaving no room for the nonscientific approach that gives us "Meaning, purpose, and a vision in which everything coheres" (p. 12). There is nothing wrong with the scientific (as opposed to scientific<sup>5</sup>) view, but it lacks values, purposes, life meanings, and quality. Smith asserts that "Not science but the sum of men 's symbol systems, of which science is but one, is the measure of things." (p. 16). This is not a rejection of science, but of the totalizing view of science promoted by modernism.<sup>6</sup>

Shamanistic visions contain valuable lessons if we can integrate their insights, which are expressed in highly symbolic forms. Shamanic practices need not be seen as primitive or consisting of trickery and illusions, but can be appreciated, even within a modern scientific worldview, for their insights into human, psychological, and moral truths. As Reeves-Ellington (1998, p. 101) notes, shamanic thinking alters the “Cartesian paradigm of dichotomous thinking” by drawing a sense of relatedness and emphasize continuums. Shamanistic visions can be a source of integration of science and humanism:

... shamans attempt to identify and develop a unifying whole with the external environment. Their mission is that of world making and taking a wider concern with the structure of the several symbol systems of sciences, philosophy, arts, perception, and everyday discourse... (Reeves-Ellington, 1998, p. 102).

### 20<sup>th</sup> Century shamans

Heinze (1991, p. 7) notes that the “recent interest in shamanism seems to be connected with the insight that the limited Western world views need to be expanded.” She notes that just as the “environment of shamans in the twentieth century differs considerably from that of paleolithic shamans”, so “do the needs contemporary shamans have to fulfill” (p. 197). Modern shamans are not called upon to find new pastures or to bring rain, but their function as shamans who “reinterpret and, at times, re-create worldviews which they communicate in symbolic language and ritual” (p. 195) remains the same. She distinguishes shamans from other practitioners who manipulate powers such as conjurers, magicians, witches and exorcists in that shamans are principally involved in “restoring harmony between the sacred and the profane” (p. 12).

One of Heinze’s examples of a modern urban shaman is a “holistic lawyer” who operates “as a bridge between inner and outer reality” and facilitates “individual and mass paradigm shifts” through her practice (p. 108). While the lawyer does not travel to the spirit world for guidance, she does attempt to connect clients with their inner feelings and with

different levels of consciousness. Her basic mode of operation is to help the client discover what he or she really wants from the situation, rather than imposing her own advice structure:

Her objective of counseling individuals on legal problems, aside from assisting in removing the negative impact of the problem, is to provide an experience in which they are put in touch with their own wisdom and where they begin to trust this information (Heinze, 1991, p. 111).

To use a more familiar example, Reeves-Ellington and Anderson (1997) explain how corporate consultants can take on a shamanistic role:

Success in world making requires commercial shamans to increase their clients' (often charismatic leaders') ability to learn the external world for application in the organizational one (p. 88).

They see the role of shamans in modern corporations as providing transformative insights - "Shamans first 'see' then create, and finally communicate alternate possibilities in which their organizations can work" (p. 90). Reeves-Ellington (1998) presents the shaman as a traditional culture metaphor for transformational leaders and action researchers in understanding their role in the process of corporate change.

### **III. Shamanism**

Before exploring the usefulness of the investment-analysis-as-shamanism parallel, let us define more clearly what shamans are and do from the perspective of Native American practice.

William Lyons (1991) explains:

Since our earliest contacts with the first inhabitants of North America, nothing has been more intriguing to the Western mind than the sacred mystery powers of the Native American shamans (medicine men). Although shamans have appeared in some form in nearly every culture throughout history, we still know very little about their remarkable powers. What we have learned from our studies of shamanism is that its core resides deep within the human psyche. Shamanism involves the ability to enter into an altered state of consciousness *at will* in order to acquire help from spirits. Both the spirits and their aid are manifested mysteriously (p. xi).

There are a "great number of different types of specialists among medicine men, some healing sprains and fractures of limbs, other specializing in certain diseases, still others acting as psychotherapists or moral or spiritual persuaders" (Brown, 1975, p. 34). Lame Deer defines medicine men to include the herbal healer, "yuwipi, the tied one, who uses the power of the rawhide and the stones to find and to cure," the "waayatan - the man of vision who can foretell events which will happen in the future" ... as well as the "wicasa wakan - the holy man" (Lame Deer and Erdoes, 1994, p. 159-60).

### Selection and training

Lake (1994) discusses how one becomes a shaman:

The process of the shamanistic path is started by inheritance and includes certain trials and tests involving psychic encounters, the influence of dreams which lead to vision-seeking and the calling, evaluation by the Elders, and the actual apprenticeship (p. 108). ...

After the dream, the calling, and the vision quest comes the apprenticeship where we are trained in patience and understanding. The training might last two years or two decades depending on the tribal system .. the kind of power you have ... the kind of medicine man or woman you will be .. and the kind of training you undergo (p. 110) ...

I was taught how to 'see and hear' the spirits, both good and bad, in order to negotiate their assistance and protection or to get rid of them. All the training in this area required discipline of the mind, body, and soul.... I learned to distinguish between fantasy and fact, imagination and reality, sanity and insanity, perceived threat and actual threat , physical and spiritual, life and death (p. 111).

Shamans relate truly hair-raising ordeals, both physical and visionary, undertaken in the quest for shamanistic knowledge.<sup>7</sup>

Black Elk (1975) describes the process of lamenting, or "crying for a vision," of the

Lakota:

Every man can cry for a vision, or 'lament' ; and in the old days we all - men and women - 'lamented' all the time. What is received through 'lamenting' is determined in part by the character of the person who does this, for it is only those

people who are very qualified who receive the great visions, which are interpreted by our holy man, and which give strength and health to our nation (p. 20).

Hallowell (1975) explains that “[e]very special aptitude, all a man’s subsequent successes and the explanation of his many failures, hinged upon the help of the guardian spirits he obtained at this time ...” (p. 171). Persons of good character, who are called to do so, may receive additional training to develop their shamanistic powers. As Lame Deer explains, “I am a medicine man because a dream told me to be one, because I am commanded to be one, because the old holy men ... helped me to become one. Once a supplicant had purified, fasted, humbled himself, and gone to a remote location, he was advised to be attentive to what happened:

When the experience did come, however, it was in the form of some being, a bird or animal, or of the powers and phenomena of the natural world. Usually the being spoke to the supplicant, giving a message revealing some aspect of wisdom which it manifested or possessed. ... Frequently, the animal or bird might become the individual’s guardian spirit, which would protect him or her in the events of life; it might instruct in specific virtues, or convey skills and qualities of special importance to the activities of society (Brown, 1982, p. 79).

### The nature of shamanistic knowledge

In a metaphysical sense, one can think of visions coming from another world which is located “above and below the horizontal plane of our everyday world, and it is reached through a vertical axis that passes through the seeker” (Tedlock and Tedlock, 1975, p. xiv). Smith (1992) describes the primordial view of reality as consisting of higher and lower planes with reality at higher levels being more real. Sojourns into these higher levels are therefore heavily laden with meaning. Ridington and Ridington (1975, p. 192) explain that “[s]hamanism is a magical flight into a hidden, internal, experiential dimension in which time, space, and distance as we know them, as well as the distinction between subject and object, merge into a unity.”

Several components are generally present in the messages from these realms. First, the insight is ineffable, “so little contiguous with ordinary knowing that scarcely a hint of it can be

conveyed to the uninitiated" (Smith, 1992, p. 110). Second, "[t]he vision shows existence to be characterized by an unexpected *unity*" (p. 111). Third, the "discovery naturally awakens *joy*" (p. 111) because the "vision is not a feeling: it is a seeing, a knowing" (p. 112).

The visions are useful in this world in several ways:

A person who has these gifts from the other world can use them to help him see as he did there, to recognize manifestations of that world in this one. This ability to see what is going on in the world is the source of good fortune, of sudden strength in times of danger or uncertainty, as when a man hunts or goes to war. A person who has had an especially potent vision may be able to make *himself* a manifestation of the holiness of the other world, giving him the ability not only to see but to work a change. This is the shaman, the holy man, who uses this power to cure the sick and may even translate his visions into ceremonies that give a whole group of people some access to the cosmos, some understanding, as when Black Elk dramatized his great vision in the Horse Dance (Tedlock and Tedlock, 1975, p. xix).

The Westernized mind sees the workings of shamanistic knowledge in more psychological terms. The spirit world can be seen as a manifestation of the unconscious mind.

Lake (1994) explains how "[p]ower comes in dreams":

I am not talking about the kinds of dreams our own mind creates, but dreams we get from spirits. Both kinds are, indeed, real because the Indians know that the dream world is the real world. It exists in what psychologists like Carl Jung call the unconscious part of the mind-brain complex (p. 28).

Lake relates shamanistic knowledge to the "split-brain theory" of modern psychology which associates the conscious mind with the left side of the brain and the unconscious mind with the right side. The left brain is "the basis for the rational, logical, linear, and digital way of thinking ... [which] dominates the modern Western way of thinking" (p. 29). The right brain is "the spiritual way of thinking," influenced by "ancient and natural symbols, creative imagination, instinct, and intuition" (p. 29). It is also "the seat of powers of clairvoyance, ESP, telekinesis, clairaudience, precognition, soul-travel, dreams, and visions" (p. 29). While some may posit that shamanistic knowledge is entirely a construction of the unconscious mind, Lake perceives spirits as external:

Dreams can be created by the unconscious mind itself or by spirits that are outside of our minds. We consider spirits per se to be real entities and a source of power. They live around us in the physical world, in the spiritual world, and in outer space. It is difficult for them to communicate with us while we are awake because the conscious mind tries to dominate our thinking patterns and tries to rationalize any reality that does not fit its physical and sensual pattern of verification. Thus, as part of the shamanistic training we are taught how to make the appropriate psychic switch from the conscious to the unconscious, for the logical to the intuitive, from the physical to the spiritual; and we learn that unconscious forms of reality and knowledge are natural sources of human mental power (p. 29-30).

Black Elk (1991) explains that spirits work by untangling the confusion of the conscious mind:

When that spirit comes in, he untangles all of this and sets your mind straight. He eases your mind and your headache goes away. He comes in by talking. He untangles and sets you straight; so you might call him a psychiatrist or a psychologist. But we have a psychologist. He 's a spirit. Those other psychologists, they can 't do anything because their mind is tangled also (p. 47).

In both accounts, shamanistic knowledge "works" because it restores some order or logic that we are not able to perceive in everyday life. In fact, we are not able to perceive or understand the higher order help we receive through visions with our rational minds, but some part of us understands and responds. It is perhaps easiest for us to accept shamanistic explanations of healing because we generally accept some role for psychology in the healing process. As Bear Heart explains, all healing has a large psychological component and even physicians "don 't heal--they just get things ready for healing to take place. They rely on other powers to do the healing, whether they acknowledge it or not" (Bear Heart and Larkin, 1998, p. 75). He feels that "there are many factors involved, but the belief of the patient must be there because that 's what initiates the healing process" (p. 88). The physician 's or medicine person 's "own energy has a great deal to do with the healing process. You have to believe that the medicine is going to work out the way you 're fixing it" (p. 89). Bear Heart posits that belief factors account for 80 - 90% of what goes on in healing (p. 89). Likewise, we can understand diagnostic powers as a refined sort of intuition. Seeking and prophesying activities may be

harder for the Western mind to accept, as in Black Elk ' s account of a spirit helper finding the body of a drowned child (Black Elk, 1991, pp. 168-70) or finding the location of stolen horses (pp. 163-64). Finally, in the social anthropology interpretation of shamanism, "spirits and supernatural beings [can] be viewed as a personification of society. Spirits can be viewed as representing social attitudes (e.g., morality), social relations, social experiences, and social purposes" (Winkelman, 1992, p. 113).

### Native American worldview

Shamanistic practices are interwoven with the beliefs of the indigenous worldview, which informs the insights and provides a source for the alternative perspectives of shamanistic visions. Lame Deer believes that "being a medicine man, more than anything else, is a state of mind, a way of looking at the world" (Lame Deer and Erdoes, 1994, p. 163). The worldview of Native American tradition is on the surface very different from the worldview of finance. This difference centers on views of time and process. Bear Heart explains that "[t]here are two types of thinking – spatial and linear .. In linear thinking you take one item, then keep adding other items to it until they build up into a whole. But in spatial thinking you take the whole and then see how it became whole by filling in individual units" (Bear Heart and Larkin, 1998, p. 108). The circle is central to the spatial thinking of Native American tradition:

To our way of thinking the Indian ' s symbol is the circle, the hoop. Nature wants things to be round. The bodies of human beings and animals have no corners. With us the circle stands for the togetherness of people who sit with one another around the campfire, relatives and friends united in peace while the pipe passes from hand to hand. The camp in which every tipi had its place was also a ring. The tipi was a ring in which people sat in a circle and all the families in a village were in turn circles within a larger circle, part of the larger hoop which was the seven campfires of the Sioux, representing one nation. The nation was only a part of the universe, in itself circular and made of earth, which is round, of the sun, which is round, of the stars, which are round. The moon, the horizon, the rainbowBcircles within circles, with no beginning and no end. To us this is beautiful and fitting, symbol and reality at the same time, expressing the harmony of life and nature. Our circle is timeless, flowing; it is new life emerging from deathBlife winning out over death (Lame Deer and Erdoes, 1994, p. 110-11).

The circle also represents the value of interrelationship. As Bear Heart explains, "[e]verything is part of the Sacred Hoop and everything is related. Our existence is so intertwined that our survival depends upon maintaining a balanced relationship with everything within the Sacred Hoop" (p. 190). Brown (1982) elaborates that this sense of relationship

extends outward to include all beings of the specific environment, the elements, and the winds, whether these beings are what we would call animate or inanimate .. All such forms ... are understood to be mysteriously interrelated ... The intricately interrelated threads of the spider's web are used as a metaphor for the world (p. 53).

The sense of interrelationship central to the Native American vision is closely related to a cyclical concept of time. The modern Western world's values are oriented toward "unrestrained technological and material advancement" (Brown, 1982, p. 116) partly as a consequence of the linear concept of time. Brown explains that linear time has the value orientation that what came earlier is inferior to the more recent of the future and, therefore, "[p]rocess is now identified with progress" (p. 117). This view sows the "seeds of alienation" since only cyclical views of time provide "a true center of permanence that alone can give meaning and direction to change" (p. 118). The cyclical rites and ceremonies of the Lakota "explicitly affirmed that such change is only possible and meaningful in its relationship to the changeless, which is the center of every circle or cycle" (p. 119). The cyclical concept of time is inevitably associated with the interrelatedness of all beings since "[w]here such quality of belief obtains, it inevitably follows that all forms and beings of nature are held as sacred and treated with respect" (p. 119).

The Native American perspective can be seen as similar to the "deep green" perspective (Gray, 1992) in giving an important role to the earth in the social contract. The sense of relationship extends beyond people, animals, and plants to the earth itself. And since the earth

came first in time, it is the oldest, and therefore the most revered. Wallace Black Elk (1991) explains how Native Americans connect to the Earth through the sweat lodge ceremony:

Grandmother the Earth is asleep. At the same time she knows – she smells, tastes, feels, sees, and hears everything. The whole world is her eyes. The whole world is her ears, sense of smell, taste, and feeling. But at this time she 's asleep. So we Earth People have to poke a little hole [build a stone-people-lodge] in the Earth so she could breathe and communicate with us. Then we put the fire [hot rocks] back in there. Put those stone-people in there. Then we offer a little green [burn cedar on the hot stones], and we offer a little water [pour cedar on the hot stones]. We always remember Tunkashila first. We always honor Tunkashila the Creator, because Grandmother and Tunkashila are one (p. 39).

Relationships with other forms of being must be preserved in balance:

The old people say that we used to have that balance. Like we say we want to walk in balance. We want to live in harmony. We want our Mother Earth to heal. But these creatures, like the bird-people and the four-legged, they still have that balance. ... But man lost it. Man lost his navigation in this world (p. 39).

In more Western terms, the Native American beliefs can be seen as embodying a systems perspective. All forms of creation are interrelated and each has effects on the others that are not always easy to discern. Buhner (1997) relates the story of the prairie dogs and the old Navajo saying "If you kill off the prairie dogs, there will be no one to cry for rain" (p. 62). Prairie dogs were exterminated from some rangelands in the 1950's with the consequences that the area became a "virtual wasteland". The explanation concerns a complicated ecosystem about which the Navajo had intuitive knowledge:

Prairie dogs and all the burrowing creatures open breathing tubes in the Earth. As the moon circles the Earth, it pulls on the underground aquifers, just as it pulls on the oceans to cause the tides. This pull on the underground aquifers, causing them to rise and fall, is akin to the breathing process in human bodies. As the underground waters rise and fall, the Earth literally breathes through the fissures created by burrowing creatures. The Earth breathes out moisture-laden air, which helps to create rain (p. 62).

Belief in interrelationship gives rise to the belief “common to all Native people around the world” that it is “against the Creator’s Law to hunt, fish, and gather natural resource materials without proper prayer, or unjustifiably kill our relations in nature ...” (Lake, 1994, p. 125). This perspective does not call for humans to refrain from using and interacting with nature, but it provides a center from which a balanced perspective for interaction can be drawn. Figure 2 portrays the central ideas of the Native American perspective.

Insert Figure 2 here

## **IV. Investment Analysis and Shamanistic Activities**

To more formally relate shamanism to investment analysis, we might regard the former as a metaphor for the latter. Usually, metaphor is thought of as a literary or rhetorical figure or trope. Because the metaphor that something *is* something else is not literally true, metaphors look unscientific, and in fact we usually regard them as being somewhat dramatic. The metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, for example, certainly offers us colorful ways of talking about arguments. While we can “defend a position” and even “launch a counterattack” in an argument, though, no one will have to “receive emergency surgery in a field hospital.” Some entailments of the metaphor of war apply to arguments (positions and counterattacks), others (field hospitals) do not. Arguments are not war in an objective sense, nor is investment analysis shamanism, and putting the two seemingly disparate things together can look like a sort of sensationalism.

But the importance of metaphor in science has long been recognized. Hesse (1965) describes it as transferring associated ideas and implications from one system (the secondary system or explanans) to another system (the primary system or explanandum) by using the language of the one to describe the other. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) similarly define metaphors as ways of expressing one experience in terms of another. Something does not have to *be* something else in order to tell us something about it that helps us understand it. And when we

think and speak about something as if it is something else, we are inclined to act in such a way that it actually becomes more like that something else. There is no doubt that the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR can help us to understand why arguments are the way they are, since there must be similarities between arguments and war that enable us to use the same language to describe both. The metaphor enables us to perceive some of these similarities between arguments and war that we had not seen before, thereby deepening our understanding. But of course common use of the metaphor may in fact make our arguments more like wars, so the existence of the metaphor, and not simply its content, may deepen our understanding.

But where do metaphors come from? Are they merely fanciful creations that have fortuitous explanatory power? Johnson (1987) suggests that our metaphors emerge from our shared experiences living in the world. More primitive than metaphors are what he calls image-schematic structures of meaning.

. . . in order for us to have meaningful connected experiences that we can comprehend and reason about, there must be pattern and order to our actions, perceptions, and conceptions. *A schema is a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of, these ongoing ordering activities.* These patterns emerge as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions. (Ibid., page 29, italics in original)

With the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, we are drawing on one schema suggested by Johnson having to do with the physical forces with which we as embodied human beings must contend. We exert forces on objects, and objects exert forces on us. Forces intermediate all of our physical interactions with objects; therefore, it is natural for us to use our bodily experience with forces to structure our interactions not only with objects but with other people as well. War is an experience in which people exert force on each other, and because arguments can be similar mutual exertions of force, we have a structural basis for the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR.

So we might find the use of the metaphor that investment analysis is shamanism more justifiable if we were to see some schema underlying both of them. Although not a schema, one attribute clearly uniting shamanism and investment analysis is the professionalism we noted in the introduction. Hooks (1992) summarizes the characteristics of professionals from a taxonomic trait model as including a “high skill level based on theoretical knowledge (i.e. a learned profession), an altruistic service motive and adherence to a code of conduct” (p. 112). Shamans are like modern professionals in that they acquire a specialized body of knowledge which they are entrusted to use for the benefit of others according to a set of behavioral expectations that resembles a code of conduct. But there ought to be something more -- something deeper -- than professionalism on which to base our metaphor.

King (1981) does not use the word “schema”, but she describes another sort of foundation upon which we might not simply base a metaphor, but a more comprehensive sociocultural analysis along with it.

We have to be careful not to allow the form and historical setting of something to disguise its function as a modern counterpart of a traditional function; it may be a new version of an old idea, or an old version of a “modern” one. (Ibid., pp. 133-134)

One example she gives of this is that traditionally, “arbiters of truth” were priests and shamans. In their place in modern elite culture as arbiters of truth, we have scientists, psychiatrists, and academic professionals, and in modern popular culture we have opinion leaders, celebrities, and evangelists. This general contention is consistent with what we have asserted throughout this paper, that shamans perform certain functions in traditional society that also must be performed in modern society. And some of these modern functions are performed by investment analysts and advisors.

What are these functions? In short, the modern function of investment analysts is to assess the true value of an investment, which of course may differ from its current price, thereby creating an investment opportunity. Obviously this specific activity is only meaningful in a

modern market economy, since in a traditional economy the necessary beliefs and structures underlying investment (time value of money; private, tradeable ownership of productive assets) are unlikely to be present.

There is clearly a parallel between King's description of shamans as "arbiters of truth" and the task of investment analysis to discover "true value". This is not merely a fortuitous use of the same word. It is in fact impossible that there be a "true value" of an investment. Usually, it is thought to be the value that an investment would have were we to have perfect knowledge of its future outcome. But the rate at which the future outcome (cash flow) of an investment is discounted to the present to compute a present value depends upon riskiness, which would require us to know with perfect foresight what could happen but will not. Of course, to know what will happen is inconsistent with there being any such thing as what could happen but will not. (McGoun, 1997) Yet we insist that there is such a thing as "true value".

As we have said, shamanistic knowledge "works" because it restores some order or logic that we are not able to perceive in everyday life. Likewise, investment analysis seeks to find some similar order or logic in the markets which have such a profound effect on our modern everyday lives. We are loathe to believe that the value upon which our financial, and thereby material, well-being depends has no firm foundation. Investments must have "true values", and there must be professionals trained to find them. We see the same underlying belief at work in the substitution of the word "efficient" for the mathematically equivalent phrase "random walk" to describe markets. We are loathe to believe that our most fundamental institutions are governed by random processes about which we can do nothing but follow along with them blindly. It is much more comforting to believe that they are "efficient". Even though our knowledge of their workings may be imperfect, there is some sort of transcendental perfection, order, or logic inherent in them that guarantees efficient functioning. (Frankfurter and McGoun, 1999)

The pursuit of “truth” by both shamans and investment analysts necessitates forecasting the future. In the preceding sections, we have seen the key role this plays in shamanism, and in the preceding paragraphs the key role that it plays in valuation. Of course, investment analysts do not purify, fast, and humble themselves and retire to remote locations to have visions, as we have described shamans doing. But we would be hard-pressed to argue that the arcane mathematics now being used for investment analysis is not a way to put us in touch with the mysterious forces (or Keynes’ animal spirits) which animate the economy. These mathematical techniques are not the outcome of rigorous empirical testing of theories and hypotheses, rather they are more heuristics that seek to find and exploit ephemeral patterns that may persist for short periods of time.

And the reason for the pursuit of “truth” by both shamans and investment analysts to relieve anxieties concerning health -- physical for the former and financial for the latter. Consider the difference between priests and shamans. As Heinze (1991) explains, the priests’ task is to uphold and defend the dogma of their religion, so they are generally antithetical to change, whereas shamans remain open to change, using instructions that are “constantly rewritten” (p. 10). Reeves-Ellington and Anderson (1987, pp. 87-88) see shamans as serving a visionary, as opposed to a missionary, function. Shamans do not present a dogma, a set of rituals that should be adopted by a client to achieve their ends. Shamans enable the client to open up to their own visions and healing potential. The process must be different in each case and involves active participation and transformation on the part of the client. This function requires a very different form of knowledge from the uniformly applied ritual knowledge of the priest. Metzner (1987, p. 235) notes that in shamanism, the emphasis is on self-transformation, self-healing, and self-understanding.

Investment analysts and advisors may sometimes behave as if they are priests, promoting some dogma or other such as “value investing” or “momentum investing”. But more often they are like shamans, seeking to guide a client through an understanding of their personal financial

circumstances and the choices they must make on their own to secure their own financial health and well-being. We have drawn an analogy between shamans and physicians, and clearly investment analysts are financial physicians, diagnosing problems and recommending treatments. Financial health is a no less serious matter than physical health, and we trust such serious matters to professionals thought to have special powers.

## **V. Conclusion**

We have seen in the preceding section how pursuing transcendental truth, forecasting the future, and healing are functions performed in traditional societies by shamans and in part in modern society by investment analysts and advisors. The insight that investment analysis is not a function peculiar to a modern market economy but addresses more enduring human needs certainly enables us to not only understand it better, but to go about it better. There are, however, other insights that we might obtain from considering Native American traditions in a broader sense.

Economics in general and finance in particular embody an inherent paradox. While there is a firm belief in the cause and effect schema that sustains the traditional methodology and methods of science, the most cherished theories assume an equilibrium in which everything is interrelated. Nothing is privileged as a cause or an effect, although the forms of our equilibrium equations seem to label independent variables as the former and dependent variables as the latter. Hicks (1979) recognized the apparent incompatibility between equilibria and cause-and-effect mechanisms, but was unsuccessful in reconciling them.

Senge (1994) defines systems thinking as "a conceptual framework, a body of knowledge and tools that has been developed over the past fifty years, to make full patterns clearer, and to help us see how to change them effectively" (p. 7). The essence of the discipline of systems thinking comes from "seeing interrelationships rather than linear cause-effect chains, and seeing

processes of change rather than snapshots" (p. 73). This is the type of visionary transformation that shamans seek to accomplish. The Native American worldview also illustrates a number of precepts of systems thinking.

The self-knowledge, holistic knowledge, and systems thinking that Senge (1994) explains is vital to organizational change and development is similar to shamanistic knowledge. Shamanistic knowledge "works" because of what it reflects about higher order reality or about meaning in the unconscious mind.

On the one hand, finance recognizes this systems approach in its equilibrium constructions. On the other hand, it attempts to dissect markets in cause-and-effect terms, which is inherently contradictory.

Finally, Reiter (1994) explains how financial economic theory elevates abstraction and rationality and devalues process and concreteness. In this way, it represents the antithesis of Native American tradition. Economic theory does not consider the process by which the market mechanism works and it assumes away any considerations of morality through the assumption that market mechanisms provide for optimal distribution of resources. There is also a narrow focus on a single goal or concern, profit maximization (Findlay and Williams, 1985, p. 2-3), rather than on a broader set of issues, such as social and environmental concerns. The emphasis on short-term profit considerations and shareholders' interests has largely excluded concern with broader issues of accountability and the interests of other stakeholders.

U.S. accounting principles also privilege the particular interests of investors over all others, in accordance with the underlying belief from neoclassical economics that shareholder wealth maximization will lead to the greatest benefits for all. This stance is at odds with the Native American conviction that all parts of the circle must be equally valued. The outputs of U.S. accounting present a highly fragmented and partial view of the results of business operations because of disregard for the interests of all participants. Social and environmental accountants call for a fuller accountability that takes into account expanded social and environmental interests

(e.g., Gray et al, 1988; Gray et al., 1991; Gray, 1992, Gray et al., 1997). Native American tradition offers an alternative, affirmative vision of sustainability. Earth-based spirituality offers a center from which to act, order, and believe:

As a human being, too, at the center partakes of and is surrounded by this Mystery, he or she is not just a part of creation but is one with the totality of all that is. Where this sense for the sacred is lost there is little else that has the necessary force to control our accelerating waste of resources, unless it is the desperate and ultimate threat, the question of our very survival (Brown, 1982, p. 119).

## ENDNOTES

## References

- Ansari, S. and Euske, K.J. (1995), "Breaking down the barriers between financial and managerial accounting: a comment on the Jenkins Committee report", Accounting Horizons, June, pp. 40-3.
- Bear Heart and Larkin, M.. (1998), The Wind is My Mother: The Life and Teachings of a Native American Shaman, Berkely Books, New York.
- Black Elk through Joseph Epes Brown (1975), A Hanblecheyapi: Crying for a vision@, in Tedlock, D. and Tedlock, B. (Eds.), Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Teachings and Philosophy, Liveright, New York, pp. 20-41.
- Black Elk, W. and Lyons, W. S. (1991), Black Elk: The Sacred Ways of a Lakota, Harper, San Francisco.
- Brown, J. E. (1982), The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian, The Crossroads Publishing Company, New York.
- Brown, V. (1974), Voices of Earth and Sky, Stackpole Books, Harrisburg, Pa.
- Buhner, S. H. (1997), One Spirit Many Peoples: A Manifesto for Earth Spirituality, Roberts Rinehart Publishers, Niwot, Colorado.
- Carlozzi, C. L. (1998), A Visionary: The CPA=s new role,@ Journal of Accountancy (January), pp. 44-46.
- Chew, A. and Greer, S. (1997) "Contrasting world views on accounting: accountability and aboriginal culture", Accounting, Auditing, & Accountability Journal, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 276-298.
- Craig, J. L. (1998), A Survival of the fittest@, The CPA Journal (January), pp. 16-18.
- Demski, J.S., N. Dopuch, B. Lev, J. Ronen, G. Searfoss, and S. Sunder (1991), "A statement on the state of academic accounting", Statement to the Research Director of the American Accounting Association.
- Eliade, M. (1964), Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
- Elliott, R.K. (1994), "Confronting the future: choices for the attest function", Accounting Horizons, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 106-124.
- Findlay, M. C. and Williams, E. E. (1985), A post keynesian view of modern financial economics: In search of alternative paradigms@, Journal of Business Finance & Accounting, Vol. 12 (Spring), pp. 1-18.

- Frankfurter, G.M. and Lane, W.R. (1992), "The Rationality of Dividends," International Review of Financial Analysis, Vol. 1, pp. 115-129.
- Frankfurter, G.M., and McGoun, E.G. (1999), "Ideology and the Theory of Financial Economics", Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, Vol 39, pp. 159-77.
- Gambling, T. (1977), "A Magic, accounting and morale", Accounting, Organizations and Society, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 141-151.
- Gambling, T. (1978), Beyond the Conventions of Accounting, The Macmillan Press LTD, London.
- Gambling, T. (1987), "Accounting for rituals", Accounting, Organizations and Society, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 319-329.
- Gray, R. (1992), "Accounting and environmentalism: An exploration of the challenge of gently accounting for accountability, transparency and sustainability", Accounting Organizations and Society, Vol. 17, No. 5, pp. 399-425.
- Gray, R. H., Owen, D. L. and Maunders, K. T. (1988), "Corporate social reporting: emerging trends in accountability and the social contract", Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 6-20.
- Gray, R. H., Owen, D. L. and Maunders, K. T. (1991), "Accountability, corporate social reporting, and the external social audits", Advances in Public Interest Accounting, Vol. 4, pp. 1-21.
- Gray, R. H., Dey, C., Owen, D., Evans, R., and Zadek, S. (1997), "Struggling with the praxis of social accounting: stakeholders, accountability, audits and procedures", Accounting Auditing & Accountability Journal, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 325-364.

- Griffin, D. R. and Smith, H. (1989), Primordial Truth and Postmodern Theology, SUNY Press, Albany, NY.
- Hallowell, A. I. (1975), AOjibwa ontology, behavior, and world view@, in Tedlock, D. and Tedlock, B. (Eds.), Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Teachings and Philosophy, Liveright, New York, pp. 141-178.
- Heinze, R-I. (1991), Shamans of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Irvington Publishers, Inc., New York.
- Hesse, M. (1965) "The Explanatory Function of Metaphor" in Bar-Hillel, Y. (Ed.), Logic, Methodology, and the Philosophy of Science, North Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, pp. 249-259.
- Hicks, J. (1979), Causality in Economics, Basic Books, New York.
- Hooks, K.L. (1992), "Professionalism and self interest: a critical view of the expectations gap", Critical Perspectives on Accounting, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 109-36.
- Hugh-Jones, S. (1994), AShamans, prophets, priests and pastors@, in Thomas, N. and Humphrey, C. (Eds.), Shamanism, History, and the State, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mi.
- Johnson, M. (1987) The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- King, M.J. (1981), "Disneyland and Walt Disney World: Traditional Values in Futuristic Form", Journal of Popular Culture, Vol 15, pp. 116-40.
- Krippner, S. (1991), "Forward", to Heinze, R-I. (1991), Shamans of the Twentieth Century, Irvington Publishers, Inc., New York.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M., (1980) Metaphors We Live By, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Lake, M. G. (1994), Native Healer: Initiation into an Ancient Art, Quest Books, Wheaton, Il.
- Lame Deer, J. F. and Erdoes, R. (1994), Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions, Washington Square Press, New York.
- Levitt, A. (1998), AThe >Numbers Game=,@ Speech at the NYU Center for Law and Business, September 28, 1998.
- Lyons, W. S. (1991), APreface@ to Black Elk, W. and Lyons, W. S. (1991), Black Elk: The Sacred Ways of a Lakota, Harper, San Francisco.

- McGoun, E.G. (1997), "Hyperreal Finance", Critical Perspectives on Accounting, Vol 8, pp. 97-122.
- Metzner, R. (1987), "Transformation process in shamanism, alchemy, and yoga", in Nicholson, S. (Compiler.), Shamanism: An Expanded View of Reality, The Theosophical Publishing House, Wheaton, Ill.
- Neihardt, J. G. (1992), Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of Oglala Sioux, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Ne.
- Reeves-Ellington, R. H. (1998), "Leadership for socially responsible organizations", Leadership & Organization Development Journal, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 97-105.
- Reeves-Ellington, R. H. and Anderson, A. (1997), Business, Commerce, and Social Responsibility: Beyond Agenda, The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, NY.
- Reiter, S. A. (1994), "Beyond economic man: lessons for behavioral research in accounting", Behavioral Research in Accounting, Vol. 6 (Supplement), pp. 163-85.
- Reiter, S. A. (1997), "Storytelling and ethics in financial economics", Critical Perspectives on Accounting, Vol. 8, pp. 605-632.
- Reiter, S. A. (1998), "Economic imperialism and the crisis in financial accounting research", Critical Perspectives on Accounting, Vol. 9, pp. 143-171.
- Ridington, R. and Ridington, T. (1975), "The inner eye of shamanism and totemism", in Tedlock, D. and Tedlock, B. (Eds.), Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Teachings and Philosophy, Liveright, New York, pp. 190-204.
- Rosenberg, A. (1992), Economics - Mathematical Politics or Science of Diminishing Returns?, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Szostak, R. (1992), "The History of Art and the Art in Economics", History of Economics Review, pp. 70-107.
- Senge, P. (1990), The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization, Currency Doubleday, New York.
- Smith, H. (1992), Forgotten Truth: The Common Vision of the World's Religions, Harper Collins Paperback, San Francisco.
- Tedlock, D. and Tedlock, B. (1975), "Introduction", in Tedlock, D. and Tedlock, B. (Eds.), Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Teachings and Philosophy, Liveright, New York, pp. xi-xxiv.
- Thurow, L. C. (1984), Dangerous Currents: The State of Economics, Vintage Books, New York.

Wallmann, S. (1995), "The future of accounting and disclosure in an evolving world: the need for dramatic change", Accounting Horizons, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 81-91.

Winkelman, M. J.(1992), Shamans, Priests and Witches: A Cross-cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners, Arizona State University Anthropological Research Papers No. 44.

**Figure 1.** Shamans, healers, priests, and witches  
(Source: Winkelman, 1992)

Dimensions				<u>Shaman</u>	<u>Healer</u>	<u>Priest</u>	<u>Witch</u>
Societal							Hunting & Agriculture
Conditions							Agriculture gathering Political Political Political
			integration				integration integration Social stratification
Magico- religious activity							Healing and Healing and Protection & Malevolent acts divination divination purification Protection from Propitiation Propitiation & Agricultural worship Agricultural
		spirits					
		Malevolent acts		rites rites			
Source of power							Animal spirits Superior gods Superior gods Spirits spirit Ritual
							allies Ritual knowledge
			techniques				

Professional characteristics				Part time Full time Full time Part time Individual Collective Organized No organization group	Killed
		practice Specialized role	Hierarchical roles		
Selection and training			Vision quests Social labeling Spirit training inheritance or Payment for training Learn rituals	Voluntary selection Self taught	Social
Status recognized by	Clients	Ceremony	Ceremony	Social labeling Practice in secret	
Motive and context				At client request At client To fulfil Client request For community request public social Personal reasons	
		collective rituals	Public Calendrical rites	functions	
Moral status in community				Amibiguous Positive Positive Negative	

**Figure 2.** Contrasting worldviews

<u>Native American</u>	<u>Reporting</u>	<u>Financial</u>
Spatial thinking		Linear thinking
Holistic perspective		Narrow focus
Interrelationships		Profit
Sacred hoop	maximization	Shareholders= interests
Cyclical time		Linear time
Centeredness		Progress
Balance		Achievement

---

<sup>1</sup>. Heinze (1991, p. 156) draws a distinction between the terms "shamanic" and "shamanistic". "Shamanic" refers to practices performed by shamans while "shamanistic" refers to the use of shamanic techniques by non-shamans.

<sup>2</sup>. Shamans are sometimes otherwise known as holy men and women, medicine men and women, witchdoctors and witches, and even sorcerers. The differences between shamans, priests, and witches (sorcerers) will be explained in the following section.

<sup>3</sup> See Frankfurter and Lane (1992) for a discussion of dividend policy as such a "give-away."

<sup>4</sup>. These physiological changes include parasympathetic dominance, slow wave discharges, interhemispheric integration, and limbic-frontal synchronization (Winkelman, 1992, p. 52).

<sup>5</sup>. "Scientism ... goes beyond the actual findings of science to deny that other approaches to knowledge are valid and other truths true" (Smith, 1992, p. 16).

<sup>6</sup>. A number of parallels between primordial and "constructive postmodern" worldviews are elucidated in Griffin and Smith (1989).

<sup>7</sup>. For example, Bear Heart tells how he acquired the power to influence legal proceedings: AIn addition to learning the chants and herbs, my training included many tests designed to test my character and faith. One of the first took place the time Dave Lewis had me stand in a river at midnight. ... I was determined to stay put even

---

though I had no idea what might happen. ... As I stood looking upstream, I saw something just below the surface of the water going up and down. I could see little glimpses in the moonlight of something like a cow with little tiny bells on the tips of its horns approaching me. ... It was coming right at me when all of a sudden it went down under the water and went right by as I stood there. That wasn't all. Next I saw two giant arms with long fingers like tentacles coming toward me. At the last minute they passed me by and went on. ... Then something kept bobbing up and down and a great snake with four heads came at me. That one really got close, but I held my ground and it went on by. As it passed me I heard a song, which came to me in such a way that I could repeat it after that. That's when Dave asked me to come on up and relate everything I saw. ... >What was the song? Sing it.= I sang it for him and he said, >That snake gave you a song that you will be able to use in court situations. You can use it to fix tobacco to help our people be treated fairly@ (Bear Heart and Larkin, 1998, pp. 41-3).

This is quite a contrast to the way accounting students acquire their knowledge of business law!