EDUCATION AND IDENTITY CHANGE: THE MANITOU CASE

by

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ABSTRACT

Education and Identity Change: The Manitou Case

This thesis examines the relationship between education
and identity change in the context of Amerindian education,
within the setting of an all-native community college in
Northern Quebec, Manitou College. More specifically, the
author looks at the use of labels relevant to social group
identity in order to ascertain the relationship between a
tertiary socialization setting and the process of identity
formation and validation. The presentation of ethnographic
data leads the author to a critical analysis of the literature
and a critique of current theory, which is seen to rest on
certain questionable assumptions. The argument emerges that a
cognitive approach, taking account of the cognitive categories
used by the persons involved, is a necessary prerequisite to
understanding the relevance of labels to social group identity
and ultimately to the phenomenon of identity itself. Further
directions for research are suggested.

RESUME

Education et Changement d'Identité: Le Cas de Manitou

Cette thèse étudie les liens entre l'éducation et les
changements d'identité sociale. Cette étude fut réalisée dans
le contexte d'un collège communautaire amérindien, le Collège
Manitou, situé dans le Nord du Québec. L'auteur analyse, par
le biais d'une étude de l'utilisation des étiquettes sociales,
le rapport entre la formation et l'affirmation d'une identité
sociale et le processus de socialisation tertiaire. Les
données ethnographiques receuillies nous mènent à une analyse
de la littérature anthropologique sur l'éducation et l'identité
et à une critique des présupposés qui soustendent les études
sur l'identité. Nous pensons que seule une approche cognitive
qui tient compte qui catégories de connaissance permet de
comprendre la signification des étiquettes dans la formation et
les changements d'identité et, de là, le phénomène d'identité
lui-même. Nous suggérons à la fin de cette thèse d'autres
avenues de recherche dans ce domaine.

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DEDICATION

To many friends from Manitou College
who are continuing the struggle for
native political development, and to
the memory of Mike Caplin, a Manitou
student and friend who died tragic-
ally on September 30, 1977, this
thesis is affectionately dedicated.

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

This thesis will examine the relationship between education and social group identity, and the role of a separate school system in identity change. The study of identity is carried out in the context of education because the educational system is part of the socialization process whereby the individual first develops his sense of self and group identity (see Erikson 1950, 1968). This study is examined in the context of Manitou Community College, a CEGEP and pre-university educational system for Canadian native people in La Macaza, Quebec.

More specifically, the study of this relationship will focus on a particular aspect of identity, namely, the use of identity labels in an educational milieu. Initial fieldwork at Manitou College revealed that two significant labels, namely "Indian" and "White", were used by students. We wanted to investigate to see if these two categories were used by students to identify different persons in binary opposition ("us"/"them") or rather different constellations or configurations of behavioral or attitudinal traits. We wanted to see how these labels were used and to see if these categories remained as constant mechanisms, that is, if these labels were either static over time or mutually exclusive. By taking account of native perceptions of these labels, we asked what role they played in identity maintenance and formation and how, when, and why they change. Given the cultural heterogeneity of the students involved, the category "Indian" represents the one

thing they all have in common, and it is thus important to understand how this "Indian-ness" is perceived. Because the current literature on native education and identity has failed to examine the labels used, as we shall see, theories of identity rest on certain assumptions, such as that of cultural loss and replacement, that may have little to do with reality. Field experience at Manitou College has led us to believe that a cognitive approach in examining labels is necessary to understand perceptions of group identity.

The decision to take a cognitive approach, in fact, arose from fieldwork experience, where it was discovered that the use of a questionnaire was an inadequate methodological tool for understanding the range of factors influencing the nature and use of identity labels. Rather than use an artificial response-eliciting mechanism associated with the work of such cognitive anthropologists as Frake (1962), my data-field was considerably broadened by participating in the entire range of activities of the informants themselves. I believe that the quality of my data was thus greatly improved by understanding the categorization system of a social group, which cognitive anthropology attempts to do, but in the actual situations producing the categories, rather than the artificial environment associated with early cognitive studies (see for example, Frake 1962; Pike 1966; Black 1969). Frake has stated that a

> "... methodology which insists that any eliciting
> conditions not themselves part of the cultural-
> ecological system being investigated cannot be
> used to define categories purporting to be those
> of the people under study." (Frake 1966:84)

The prime advantage to taking a cognitive approach to this problem is to avoid the assumptions implicit in the models used by most authors. It is important to see how "Indians" define themselves, and to attempt to understand "Indian-ness" within the conceptual scheme of the persons involved. We will illustrate, ultimately, that: a) the cognitive approach of examining labels used by the students themselves is necessary to understanding perceptions of group identity; b) that the content of such labels as "Indian", "White", and others used by the Manitou students, is neither mutually exclusive nor static over time; and c) that much of the current literature on native education and identity, by failing to take a cognitive approach and examine labels employed by persons involved, assumes a situation of cultural loss and replacement that has little social validity.

The second major point examined is the role of tertiary socialization in identity formation and maintenance. Kimball (1974) has pointed out that the very existence of a separate school system implies a felt identity separate from that of the dominant society. We shall examine the role of tertiary socialization on the development of this felt identity and see to what extent an Indian college, Manitou College, had an effect on this process. We shall see that Manitou College had a significant impact on the range of activities, behaviors, attitudes, or values seen as legitimately Indian. "Legitimate" here means being perceived by other Indians as "Indian" activity or behavior.

Finally, by understanding the use of labels and peer labelling in identity formation, and the dynamic content of those labels from the cognitive level, we shall demonstrate the importance of self-ascribed and peer labels to identity theory, and to illustrate the necessity of taking native perceptions into account, as well as more overt forms of expression and behavior, when attempting to formulate models for research into the phenomena of identity formation and change.

Chapter Two of this thesis presents a thematic overview of the current literature on education and identity, with a view to illustrating the assumptions, implicit in the approaches taken, that lead to an inadequate treatment of the concept of identity, and, subsequently, its relationship to education. Chapter Three presents the ethnographic basis of my study, the results of fieldwork carried out at Manitou Community College, and relates the empirical data to the preceding theoretical discussion. Chapter Four summarizes this relationship and presents the conclusions of the study, as well as suggesting the direction of future research on education and identity.

CHAPTER II - IDENTITY AND EDUCATION

This chapter will examine the theoretical treatment of the relationship between education and identity, with particular reference to North American native education. Identity is involved with the educational process in that this is part of a larger socialization process whereby the individual first develops his sense of self and group identity (see Erikson 1950 and 1968). Traditional theories of socialization, perhaps because of the influence of developmental and child psychology, tend to emphasize the importance of early learning and development on identity formation (see Mayer 1970; Whiting 1963; Erikson 1963). Socialization studies, therefore, have been done primarily with children and adolescents at the elementary or secondary levels of schooling (Abu-Laban 1972; Born 1970; Cazden and John 1971; King 1967; Sindell 1974; Spindler 1957; Wax 1973; Wintrob and Sindell 1968; Wolcott 1967). Hence, the present study will fill an ethnographic gap, by examining an aspect of the socialization process among an adult population (see Ryan 1973).

Discussion of the relationship between identity and education, in the anthropological literature, is vague at best. Ryan (1976) has pointed out that anthropology lacks a "strong and established theoretical viewpoint" (Ryan 1976:1) in dealing with Indian identity. Thus, this chapter will present an overview of the anthropological treatment of the concept of identity, and its relationship to the educational process. This approach

will ultimately make the presentation of the definitions used
in this thesis more comprehensible.

A review of the early literature on native education
demonstrates the conflict orientation of early writers, with
their emphasis on educational discontinuities. Benedict (1956)
is generally credited with initiating the term "discontinuities"
in her classic study of the socialization process of the Papago
Indians, a study which had a significant influence on subse-
quent research. This concern with discontinuities is evident
in the Hawthorn Report (1967), still the major study of Canadian
native socialization patterns. It illustrated how formal
schooling, for many young Indians, represents a discontinuity
in the socialization experience, resulting in alienation from
self and from the larger society (Hawthorn 1967:177). The
report goes on to say:

> "Caught between the Indian and the non-Indian
> worlds, as well as between generations, the
> Indian child is faced with an over-whelming task:
> to assemble for himself an identity in situations
> of the utmost confusion." (Ibid:120)

The discontinuities involved in formal schooling, as a
result of the child being exposed to contrasting models of
identification, are reflected in Spindler's work with the
Menomini (1963); Wolcott's experience with the Kwakiutl (1967);
and in the writings of Wintrob and Sindell dealing with Cree
adolescents (1969). A closely related theme is that of aliena-
tion resulting from these discontinuities as seen in the work
of Wintrob and Sindell (1969), Born (1970), and McLean and

Jamieson (1972).

Reference group theories, which emphasize the role of the group to which the individual refers or identifies, were also utilized in an attempt to understand the process of identity formation. Berreman, studying the Aleuts of Nikolski, found that

> "... white men on occasion seem also to constitute an identification group for Aleuts, since an identification group is one which, whether the individual belongs or not, provides his major perspectives and values." (Berreman 1964:233).

He cites two kinds of reference group alienation: valuation group alienation, where members of the subordinate group express alienation from a positively-valued dominant group which maintains a social distance from that subordinate group; and reference group alienation, where the individual alienates himself from his membership group by identifying with the dominant group. The problem here, of course, is that both kinds of alienation will occur only when the so-called dominant group is positively valued. Given that the two groups exist, the existence of behaviors on the part of the subordinate group, while perceived by the dominant group as characteristic of their group, may be perceived by the subordinate group as their own. In other words, the individual may well look to his own group for perspectives and values, while exhibiting behavior characteristic of the other group involved.

King (1967) also looked at identity from the point of view of reference groups for identification. He studied a northern

Indian residential school where he, like Wolcott (1967) was an elementary level teacher. King (1967) found that in the school situation, the children came to perceive the Whiteman as powerful in that he controlled the distribution of rewards. On the question of identity he says:

> "So from the child's earliest perceptions his
> identity is reinforced as Indian opposed to
> Whiteman; Indian opposed to Canadian or any other
> nationality, and Indian as the source of real
> identity affirmation no matter how tenuous the
> threads that bind the Indian to his heritage ...
> In spite of this, all people of Indian heritage
> appear to share a basic perception of mankind
> which makes primary differentiation between
> Indians as the 'we' group and whitemen as the
> 'other' group. This perception persists even
> when the traditional culture has all but
> vanished." (King 1967:27)

King's last statement is illuminating in acknowledging that Indian perceptions of self-identity may have little to do with the traditional culture, however defined. That one may be Indian-oriented, in terms of one's own self-identifying categories, without necessarily being tradition-oriented, is an acknowledgement too seldom made in the literature.

Many studies do suggest this link between ethnic group identity and traditionalism, for instance, those of Wax (1973) and Lesser (1973).

Wax (1973) discusses conservative and progressive factions in an Indian community. Of the conservatives he says:

> "... The result is a negativism in which the
> energies of the conservative population are
> devoted to preserving a style of life that repre-
> sents a sorry amalgam of impoverished white and
> deteriorated Indian cultures, and with which they
> themselves are impatient. The more the

administrators criticize and pressure for reform, the more they identify their true 'Indianess' with the refusal to budge, even to improve their condition." (Wax 1973:341)

He goes on to say:

"In contrast, the progressive faction of the community is oriented toward the white society and the acquisition of white customs, values, and manners; their aim is assimilation."
(Ibid:342)

The implication for education is that

"... This notion of a threat to Indian identity poses the question of the extent to which conservative Indians feel that schools are punitively directed against their very being rather than designed to help them, as Indians, to improve their lot." (Ibid:350)

Lesser (1973), in discussing the future of tribalism in the United States, points out as well that maintenance of Indian identity and formal education may be seen as conflicting goals (1973:490). The problem with both of these writers is that they speak of Indian identity without examining the phenomenon of identity itself. Both studies suggest a connection between Indian identity and traditionalism or tribalism.

We see consistently the use of an arbitrary native/non-native dichotomy couched in terms such as "native-oriented" and "non-native oriented" (Spindler 1963:365); "traditional" and "White" model (Wintrob and Sindell 1969:9); "Anglo" and "Indian" (MacLean and Jamieson 1972:91); "great" and "little" tradition (Wax and Wax 1971:15). No explanation is offered by any of these writers as to how they arrived at the categories used.

The assumption of a continuum of acculturation is evident

in this model, as is the assumption of cultural loss and replacement, which necessarily accompanies a model where two realms are seen as mutually exclusive. This is particularly evident in the work of Born (1970) and Wintrob and Sindell (1968), where the juxtaposition of the terms "traditional" and "White" implicitly suggests an equation of "traditional" and "native". McGee (1970) points out that cultural replacement is not necessary, but continues to assume the traditional/White dichotomy. The implicit implication, again, is that things "traditional" are somehow more "native" and that things "White" are somehow more "modern". The significance of this point, which has influenced much educational practice, will be appreciated when we examine the Manitou College data.

A somewhat different orientation in the literature is taken by Nagler (1972) who has used the concept "Indian" as designating a category rather than a group, when discussing the identification groupings of urban Indians. He says:

> "The term 'category' has been used because 'group' infers social relationships among members while categories are specified segments of the Indian population, in this case, who appear to have the same life style but are not necessarily involved with one another."
> (Nagler 1972:287)

The fact remains, however, that this category is labelled "Indian", and

> "... their subsequent treatment is influenced by this identification. This outside group influence is an important factor in their subsequent development as a group." (Ibid:282)

Nagler's is an important theoretical departure from the

literature discussed so far, in that he recognizes the fact that "Indian" may be more of a concept, than a reality, and he hints at the importance of external factors. Unfortunately, he fails, as do the other writers, to enquire into native use and content of the labels he uses.

This idea that "Indian" may be more of a cognitive label or an analytical construct, rather than an empirical reality such as a group exhibiting certain definable behaviors, is suggested by Zentner as well. He has indicated:

> "... it must be recognized that to have an intellectual or cognitive and instrumental understanding of some given subject-matter, some technology, some social custom, or whatnot, need not necessarily imply or entail assent or commitment to the values which are implicitly or explicitly embedded or associated therewith." (Zentner 1975:3)

Here we see the problem of interpretation of certain behaviors as belonging to a certain group, without taking the perceptions of those behaviors by the persons exhibiting them into account.

This orientation is also shared by Leap as well. In discussing the potential of "Indian English" as an identity symbol, he states that:

> "Concepts of identity must be considered in terms of the consequences of a group's identification. Concepts of identity, as ideological constructs, comment as much on external social forces as they do on the internal ones."
> (Leap 1974:51)

Other authors also recognize the importance of external factors and influences on Indian identity. Bushnell cites the importance of religious ritual and ceremony in perpetuating

"... an enduring core of Indian identity", but again fails to tell us of what that identity consists (Bushnell 1968:1115).

Paredes (1974), talking of Indian identity among the Eastern Creek, likewise emphasizes that external factors may influence the emergence of a group identity. He says:

> "It is suggested here that blunt economic motivations for asserting Indian identity should be given more serious consideration. Given the special governmental status of reservation Indians and the romantic thrust of the American public for things Indian, an identity as Indian may ultimately be the most important economic asset held by poorer, smaller Indian communities." (Paredes 1974:77)

From the foregoing, it is easy to see that the treatment of the concept of identity, in anthropology, has been in something of a theoretical vacuum. The concept itself is used, but the contents of that concept are never discussed.

An interesting departure from the majority of writers on education and identity is seen in Fitzgerald's work (1972), where the situational approach he advocates recognizes the flexibility of identity labels more than is usually indicated in the literature. He recognizes, too, the complexity of the process of identity formation in a way that the over-simplistic models employed by previous writers do not. Fitzgerald's treatment of identity is more satisfactory in that he avoids the behavioral trap and illustrates how a group may exhibit the manifest roles of the dominant, or what he calls "macro"-culture, while maintaining latent characteristics of the "micro"-culture and perceiving themselves and utilizing self-identifying labels of the "micro"-culture. And yet, even

Fitzgerald does not go far enough in his analyses, in recognizing the importance of identity as a cognitive construct. Our ethnographic data of labels relevant to perceived group identity, demonstrates that persons may not necessarily compartmentalize their lives in the manner Fitzgerald (1972) suggests, but rather, exhibit a holistic perception of themselves as persons rather than persons who are "White" when performing some roles and "native" while performing some others.

To sum up, then, we see the concept of identity used in the literature on native education, but lacking a real theoretical context. The interpretations and conclusions of these writers rest on certain assumptions, inherent in the models they utilize, including the following: 1) that "Indian" and "White" exist as static and mutually exclusive categories; 2) that a continuum of acculturation exists with certain behaviors, traits and attitudes relegated to the "White" and "Indian" ends of the spectrum, with the relegating being based on criteria arbitrarily chosen by the researcher, and which may in fact bear little relation to native perceptions of reality; 3) that cultural loss or replacement occurs, whereby the acquisition of "White" skills, behaviors, and attitudes is seen as implying the loss of "traditional" skills, behaviors, and attitudes; 4) native perceptions and categories have been ignored, and we see a model of socialization employed which assumes that the individual acquires competence, as Inkeles (1966) uses the term, as it is defined by a single cultural system. I suggest that persons may undergo a socialization process in which they

acquire competency, as it is defined by <u>more</u> than one culture.
This contention, supported by my ethnographic data, will be
discussed in the following chapter.

The approaches taken have been primarily behavioral
(Spindler 1961, 1963; McGee 1970; Born 1970; Wax 1973; Bushnell
1970), or psychological (King 1967; Wintrob and Sindell 1968;
Ulfsby 1972). Given these generalizations with regard to the
literature on native education, we shall examine how well this
concept of identity, as historically expounded, fits the ethno-
graphic data. Rather than beginning my investigation with a
set of arbitrary categories, then, we shall take a cognitive
approach, following Frake's statement that:

> "An ethnographer should strive to define
> objects according to the conceptual system
> of the people he is studying." (Frake 1972:192)

Hence, we arrive at a better understanding of the use and
nature of labels and categories employed by the native people
themselves. We shall see in the Manitou case, for example,
that "Indian" and "White" are labels with a very fluid and
dynamic character in that the criteria for classification into
these categories changes with time, place, and situation; and
that the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as persons
may be called one term or another at different points in time
and space. Furthermore, the terms themselves may not neces-
sarily be the significant categories persons use to classify or
identify groups of persons, or even types of behavior. The
details of this process will be discussed in the next chapter.

Before turning to the case study, however, it is beneficial
to review the anthropological notion of ethnicity, which is a
particular, and certainly more well-defined type of identity.
Barth's classic study of ethnicity defines an ethnic group
thus:

> "The term ethnic group is generally understood
> in anthropological literature to designate a
> population which: 1) is largely biologically
> self-perpetuating; 2) shares fundamental cultu-
> ral values; 3) makes up a field of communication
> and interaction; and 4) has a membership which
> identifies itself, and is identified by others,
> as constituting a category distinguished from
> other categories of the same order." (Barth 1969:10)

He emphasizes the generation, maintenance, and utility of
ethnic boundaries. By his definition, tribal labels might
appear to be ethnic identifications more than the label
"Indian", although there may be times when the category "Indian"
is perceived by Indians as fitting his stated criteria. One
cannot make such an assumption, however.

Fitzgerald (1972), in a study of Maori university graduates
and identity, advocates a situational approach whereby indivi-
dual choice makes the use of identity labels more flexible than
is usually indicated in the literature.

> "Since any Maori lives in a kind of duplex
> culture, he may have a number of reference
> relationships which are relevant for him
> simultaneously, alternatively, or most often
> situationally." (Fitzgerald 1972:51)

He found that the graduates, rather than having to choose
between the "Maori culture" into which they were first social-
ized as children, and the "New Zealand culture" represented by

their later education, belonged in fact to both the macro- and micro-cultures, as it were, simultaneously.

> "The element of individual choice, then,
> becomes highly significant in such accultura-
> tive settings. Identity, too, must involve
> such complicated processes of decision-making
> in face of multiple social and cultural situ-
> ations." (Ibid:47)

He goes on to say that the Maori graduates led compartmenta-lized lives, playing different roles for different audiences in different, unrelated, transactions. Fitzgerald's remarks on identity validation are illuminating:

> "In short, a Maori who wishes to validate his
> identity can do so on several counts: as
> belonging to a separate 'race'; on the basis
> of social class characteristics, e.g. shared
> rural poverty; or, as is most often the case,
> by appealing to membership in an historically-
> rooted, psychologically satisfying sub-culture.
> Rather than losing their identities as Maoris,
> the graduates have added a new dimension of
> complexity to the existing pattern of cultural
> heterogeneity in New Zealand society. For
> example, Maori graduates often evince a kind
> of 'backward acculturation' and in some cases,
> an almost super-tribalism when cut off from a
> kin-based community, e.g. in urban settings,
> the graduates usually express their 'Maoriness'
> as a pan-Maori phenomenon." (Ibid:54)

I find Fitzgerald's treatment of identity more satisfactory in that it illustrates how a group may exhibit the manifest roles of the dominant or macro-culture, while maintaining latent Maori characteristics, perceiving themselves as Maori, and retaining "Maori" as a self-identifying label.

This study provided the basis for Fitzgerald's later dis-tinction made between cultural and social identity.

> "Identity, then, is of two sorts: a more or
> less fixed identity, involving a fairly exact
> equation of self with group which is the
> source of cultural or ethnic identification;
> and a more relative identity, less rigid and
> more situationally specific, implying a close
> resemblance of the individual with his role.
> The former might be called cultural identity;
> the latter social identities." (Fitzgerald 1974:3)

Ethnic identity, as expressed by Barth, Cohen and Fitzgerald
may or may not be a component in the perceived identity of the
native person. Abu-Laban's study of self-conceptions of Indian
and non-Indian students showed that

> "... The saliency of ethnic identification as
> a component of the self-conception among the
> Indian children is demonstrated by the fact
> that it tended to be first among statements
> characterizing self." (Abu-Laban 1972:107)

This is not always the case, of course, but this is the only
study which attempts to fit the notion of ethnic identity
within a larger framework of self-identity.

The interactionist approach to problems of identity
focuses on the total social context of groups operating within
circumscribed social contexts. Goffman's classic work on the
dramaturgical approach to social interaction, where interaction
is seen from the point of view of impression management, is
helpful in understanding the role of the individual personality
in interaction. He says,

> "... We often find that the individual may
> deeply involve his ego in his identification
> with a particular past, establishment, and
> group, and in his self-conception as someone
> who does not disrupt social interaction or
> let down the social units which depend upon
> that interaction. When a disruption occurs,

then, we may find that the self-conception
around which his personality has been built
may become discredited." (Goffman 1959:243)

In a later work, Goffman dealt more directly with the
question of identity.

> "In this essay an attempt has been made to
> distinguish between social and personal
> identity. Both types of identity can be
> better understood by bracketing them together
> and contrasting them to what Erikson and
> others have called 'ego' or 'felt' identity,
> namely, the subjective sense of his own
> situation and his own continuity and charac-
> ter that an individual comes to obtain as a
> result of his various social experiences."
> (Goffman 1963:105)

> "Social and personal identity are part, first
> of all, of other persons' concerns and defi-
> nitions regarding the individual whose
> identity is in question. In the case of
> personal identity, these concerns and defini-
> tions can arise even before he is born and
> continue after he has been buried, existing,
> then, at times when the individual himself
> can have no feelings at all, let alone
> feelings of identity. On the other hand, ego
> identity is first of all a subjective, reflex-
> ive matter that necessarily must be felt by
> the individual whose identity is at issue."
> (Ibid:106)

Goffman is mistaken, we believe, in separating personal
and social from ego or felt identity. If felt identity
includes a sense of self that an individual obtains as a result
of his experiences, then Goffman fails to realize that of
course that sense will have been affected and shaped by others'
definitions of him. If there were no non-Indians around, for
example, there would hardly be a need for native persons to
identify themselves as "Indian"! It would appear that, by

making identity an objective phenomenon involving certain con-
figurations of behaviors or attributes, as Goffman does in
distinguishing between virtual and actual social identities
(Ibid:2), we are grossly over-simplifying the concept of iden-
tity and failing to take into account the importance of indivi-
dual and collective cognitive processes and decisions involved
in the formation of identity.

Identity formation does involve a cognitive sense of self
derived from interaction with others. Erikson says:

> "... in psychological terms, identity formation
> employs a process of simultaneous reflection
> and observation, a process taking place on all
> levels of mental functioning, by which the
> individual judges himself in the light of what
> he perceives to be the way in which others
> judge him in comparison to themselves and to
> a typology significant to them; while he
> judges their way of judging him in the light
> of how he perceives himself in comparison to
> them and to types that have become relevant to
> him." (Erikson 1968:23)

Being a psychoanalyst and dealing primarily at the indivi-
dual level, Erikson seems most concerned with ego identity
which he sees as

> "... awareness of the fact that there is a
> self-sameness and continuity to the ego's
> synthesizing methods, the style of one's
> individuality, and that this style coincides
> with the sameness and continuity of one's
> meaning for significant others in the
> immediate community." (Ibid:50)

In another work, he says:

> "Identity formation thus goes beyond the process
> of identifying oneself with others in the
> one-way fashion described in earlier psycho-
> analysis. It is a process based on a heightened
> cognitive and emotional capacity to let oneself

> be identified as a circumscribed individual
> in relation to a predictable universe which
> transcends the circumstances of childhood.
> Identity thus is not the sum of childhood
> identifications but rather a new combination
> of old and new identification fragments."
>
> (Erikson 1964:90)

He points out that true identity, for the individual, will depend upon the support which the individual derives from the collective identity of the social groups significant to him. Identity then is not seen as a static or closed system but a "psychosocial process which preserves some essential features in the individual as well as in his society" (Ibid:96).

I have drawn upon the work of these scholars outside of the field of anthropology, as they are the major recurring influences on socialization studies. Thus, drawing largely from Fitzgerald (1972, 1974) in anthropology, Goffman (1959, 1963) in sociology, and Erikson (1968, 1964, 1963) in psychology, I came to the following definitions with regard to identity, as most useful for my research purposes.

I define "identity" as the sense of situation and self in relation to significant others, that an individual possesses because of his social interactions. "Identity formation" thus refers to the process whereby one's identity is formed. "Identity maintenance and validation" thus logically refers to the process whereby one's identity is maintained or reinforced, and validated or legitimized. By "tertiary socialization" I refer to a third setting where the socialization process occurs in an environment significantly different from the second that preceded it.

CHAPTER III - ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY:
MANITOU COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Having discussed the theoretical treatment of identity as
it relates to the anthropological literature on native educa-
tion, a case study of Manitou Community College shall be
presented as the ethnographic basis of the study.

A. The Setting

The roots of Manitou College are generally seen as stem-
ming from the movement towards improving higher education for
native students in Quebec, by a handful of native students
attending universities and colleges in Montreal in 1969. In
the fall of that year, the McGill University Debating Union, of
the Faculty of Law, asked some native students to assist at a
"Teach-in" on the topic of the White Paper. This activity led
to the organization of the McGill University Intertribal
Council of Native Students, a group which discussed native
education at a meeting at Loyola College in the spring of 1970.
An agreement was reached whereby Loyola College would offer an
introductory course on the native peoples of Canada, under the
direction of Professor Gail Valaskakis. This course began on
September 21, 1970, was taught and attended by both native and
non-native persons, and enjoyed tremendous success.

While this course was going on, the Intertribal Council
and other interested students were organizing themselves with
interested professors from various Montreal-area universities,

to discuss the possibilities of a native studies programme. In January, 1971, a brief was submitted to the (then) Indians of Quebec Association (hereafter designated as the I.Q.A.), by the McGill University Intertribal Council of Native Students at a meeting held in Loretteville, Quebec. It was a proposal for a Native North American Studies Institute (hereafter designated as the N.N.A.S.I.), to be established in Montreal. Their summary:

> "In conclusion, the proposed N.N.A.S.I. will enable native North American students and other native people in Eastern Canada and the Eastern Arctic to study their own languages, their history, and cultures while obtaining knowledge and modern technical skills needed to gain control of their economic, social, and political destiny ... The Institute will have a real and very positive effect on native communities by providing for better conditions under which their youth can achieve university education, by providing a vital resource for individuals, bands, and native associations and finally by providing programmes which will promote cultural continuity and growth." (McGill University Intertribal Council of Native Students 1970:28)

The I.Q.A. accepted the proposal in principle, and Mr. James O'Reilly, their legal representative, was sent to Montreal to legally found it. Three provisional Board members were appointed in March, 1971.

In the summer of 1971, the N.N.A.S.I. incorporated itself and elected a Board of Governors composed of native students then in Montreal-area schools, representatives from each college to be involved with the Institute, and representatives from the I.Q.A. Attempts to fund the Institute were made through private foundations, the Department of Indian Affairs

and Northern Development (hereafter designated as D.I.A.N.D.),
and the Department of Secretary of State. The Institute became
a legal entity on July 30, 1971, and opened in the attic of
Morrice Hall on the McGill Campus. Native courses were planned
for the fall at Dawson College and McGill offered a two-year
teaching certificate for native people.

The Institute was looking for a permanent residence and
investigated the abandoned Bomarc Missile Base at La Macaza,
Quebec, one hundred and thirty miles north of Montreal. They
presented a feasibility study to the government; it was accepted,
and in November, 1972, the sixty million dollars worth of faci-
lities was turned over for the Institute's use. The site was
equipped with one hundred and fourteen furnished and equipped
houses for use as student residences. By offering houses, day
care and elementary school services and other family services,
students with families were encouraged to study at Manitou. As
well, the old barracks served as residence to one hundred-odd
students. Academic facilities included classrooms, library,
audio-visual equipment including a printing press and dark-room
facilities, art rooms, and a bookstore. The recreational
center included a gymnasium, indoor pool, one-hundred-seat
movie theatre, sauna, and bowling alley. There were also
tennis courts, a baseball diamond, a football field, and a rink.
The woods behind the campus provided trails for jogging and
cross-country skiing. There was a cafeteria, snack bar, chapel,
pool room, and the student-run Wampum Lounge. The school
operated its own post-office and fire and security forces.

The site was turned over to the I.Q.A. in January, 1973,
and they, by Band Council Resolutions, turned over their share
of cultural education funds so that Manitou College might be
established. The annual budget allocated by the D.I.A.N.D. was
1.3 million dollars. It became evident to the first director
of the college, Mr. Bill Craig, that more money was needed to
run the college but by June, 1973, cut-backs were ordered by
the I.Q.A. In November, 1973, the Director-General was replaced
by Mr. George Miller, a Mohawk Indian from the Six Nations
Reserve in Brantford, Ontario.

At an Ottawa meeting of January 5, 1975, of representa-
tives from D.I.A.N.D., I.Q.A., and Manitou College, it was
realized that the debt of almost six hundred thousand dollars
accumulated by November, 1973, had been reduced to two hundred
and twenty-five thousand by March 31, 1974 (and further reduced
a year later to one hundred and twenty thousand dollars). One
may infer from this that the second director of the college
spent much of his time and energy in tackling the financial
problems of the institution.

On July 1, 1973, the first course was given at Manitou
College. It was a six-week summer course for native teachers,
administered and accredited by the University of Quebec at
Chicoutimi. It had the specific objective of training
Amerindian teachers

> "... who will make education more human and
> more efficient by: offering education in terms
> of their own culture and in their own language,
> and making the school the guardian of ethnic
> survival." (Manitou Community College 1973:2)

The student who completed ten courses of this programme, which would take four summers plus winter fieldwork, was granted an elementary Amerindian teacher's certificate by the university and the Quebec Department of Education, thus qualifying him to teach in schools located on reservations and in provincial schools located outside of reservations that had significant native enrollment. The programme outlined specific pedagogical, socio-economic, and cultural objectives. Courses included: Teaching in the Amerindian Language (including Cree, Mohawk, Micmac, Montagnais, Algonquin, Attikamek and Inuit); the Amerindian and his Natural Environment; Expression and Communication; Pedagogical Innovations and the Amerindian; Preparation and Organization of Teaching Materials; Amerindian Teaching and Other Educational Systems; Amerindian Learning Process; Amerindian Linguistics, and Practice Teaching. In 1973, the programme was expanded to offer specialized training to non-native teachers of native students. As with native teachers, these courses can be integrated into a specialized Bachelor's Degree in Education.

In September 1973, the Anglophone CEGEP programme began and was accredited through Dawson College in Montreal. It was a Social Sciences programme offering English, Humanities, and Physical Education as "core" or required courses, and the following options: Administration, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, French, History, Mathematics, Native Languages, Philosophy, and Psychology. This expanded the following year to include Communication, Drama, and Fine Arts; complementary

courses were available in Biology, Music, Photography, Pottery, and Religion. Thus, a "Fine Arts" or "Native Arts and Communication" CEGEP was offered as well.

What made these subjects different from those offered in "White" CEGEPs is not only the fact that they were taught largely by native people, in a personal and informal environment, but also that course content was geared toward native cultures and the environment of the reservation. For example, besides basic language skill courses in English and French, students were offered courses in several native languages as well. The "Introduction to Poetry" course was a comparison of modern young Amerindian writers with models from the western literary tradition. "Legal Problems and Issues" was a Humanities course examining the legal rights and problems natives encounter in interaction with the dominant society; it was a "practical" course in the sense that it provided students with knowledge which they would be able to use in their home reserves. Many of the Economics and Business Administration courses were based on reserve economics and band administration. "History of Canada" traced the patterns of European invasion and settlement and its impact on native society. Thus, the relevance of the curriculum, the flexibility of the admission requirements, the basic upgrading courses offered, the relaxed and personal atmosphere of a small educational system, and the predominance of native teachers and administrators contributed to making Manitou a unique learning environment.

In January 1976, a francophone CEGEP programme, with

courses similar to the anglophone one, was offered and accredited through Ahuntsic College.

In the fall of 1974, Manitou College negotiated with La Direction Générale de l'Enseignement Collégial (D.I.G.E.C.), that part of the Quebec Department of Education governing CEGEPs, to reaffirm accreditation and ask for provincial funding. Money was given on a per capita basis and Manitou received the mandate to develop all provincial CEGEP courses on native culture.

In May 1975, Manitou College graduated its first class from the CEGEP programme. It included eight Micmacs from the Maritimes, four Mohawks from Caughnawaga, and one Algonkian from Quebec. In August of that year, seventeen native teachers from Quebec received their Amerindian diplomas. The by-laws of the college were submitted to the general assembly of the Indians of Quebec Association and tribal representatives were appointed to the Interim Board of Directors. On November 12, 1975, a thirteen-member Board of Directors was elected for a three-year period.

In October of 1975 the "Report of the Review Committee for Manitou Community College" was published. This committee was formed to investigate the status and needs of the college and consisted of two representatives from D.I.A.N.D., one representative from I.Q.A., and one member from Manitou College, with Mr. J.E. Bernard, of Canadian Executive Services, acting as co-ordinator. The report consisted of the history of the college, its philosophy and aims, current activities, community

services, and future activities. It was basically in favor of the college and concluded:

> "The Committee has reviewed the budget and
> with the exception of some areas in which minor
> savings may be possible, considers that a gross
> budget of approximately 1.9 million dollars is
> required to support the current academic and
> associated programmes and to maintain the
> facilities." (Bernard et al. 1975:85)

From this, one can appreciate the scope and difficulties of operating such a college.

The 1975-76 academic year saw new problems at Manitou College involving disciplinary and academic matters. A few unfortunate incidents resulted in detrimental and unfair publicity in the Quebec and Maritime press. The rumblings of discontent were heard on Quebec reserves, as some band councils began to question the usefulness of allocating their cultural education funds to the college. Students from out-of-province were being discouraged from attending Manitou and were having problems obtaining funds from the D.I.A.N.D. General confusion surrounded the apparent discrepancies in funding criteria set by the D.I.A.N.D.

In the early part of 1976, the federal government announced its refusal to guarantee further funding after May 31st of that year. Students and teachers protested and rallied support from chiefs of various reserves and supporters in Montreal. Angry letters were sent to Mr. Judd Buchanan, then Minister of Indian Affairs; a compilation of these student letters was later published as a pamphlet, "Hear Our Words", by the Manitou students. In April, the government extended the

guaranteed funding period for another school year terminating in May 1977. This instability, with regard to the school's future, caused some anxiety among the Manitou students and many, discouraged that they would be unable to finish their programmes, dropped out.

By May 1976, forty students had graduated from the CEGEP programmes and twenty-five students had received their Amerindian Teaching Diplomas, making a total of sixty-five graduates. Another group of teachers graduated in August 1976; a group of CEGEP students graduated in December 1976; and a group of students in the Amerindianization programme graduated in the spring of 1977, but statistics were not made available for these graduations. In July 1976, Mr. Jacques Kurtness, a Montagnais Indian from the Pointe Bleue reservation in northern Quebec, became the new director of the college.

Enrollment for the academic year 1976-77 at Manitou was approximately one hundred and fifty students, an increase from preceding years of about thirty students. These were full-time students and included Micmacs, Maliseets, Mohawks, Algonkians, Hurons, Crees, Montagnais, and Ojibwas.

Soon after the new director took over in July 1976, it became evident that there was a general breakdown in communications and morale at the college. Relations between the administration and the students deteriorated during the fall term of 1976. Again, the college was plagued with economic problems. In December 1976, at a Montreal meeting of the Confederation of Indians of Quebec (the former Indians of Quebec Association),

and the Board of Directors of Manitou College, the decision was made, despite much protest by students and teachers, to close the college. Discouraged, many students returned home to stay; many came to Montreal to continue their education.

B. Methodology

Having set the stage for this case study by providing the historical background and physical and social setting of Manitou Community College, I shall go on to explain the methodology used in this study.

Data for this study was gathered through formal interviews with Manitou College students, informal interviews with students, teachers, administrators, and other persons directly or indirectly involved with the college, during the six-month period that I was involved with Manitou, from June until December, 1976. Participant-observation continued after the college closed, as well, since I was able to follow up on some students' activities in Montreal during the winter of 1977.

Information was obtained in the initial stages of research through the use of a formal questionnaire, covering a broad range of issues and intended as a tool in assessing the impact that attendance at Manitou College had on its graduates and their sense of identity. I formulated a pilot questionnaire, administered it to a few students, and revised it upon their suggestions and comments (see Appendix). Much of the content of the questionnaire was defined by the administration at Manitou College, who had asked me to obtain specific

information on such things as the political, educational, and social impacts of Manitou College on its graduates. The results of this questionnaire were published and presented to the college in January, 1977. In retrospect, the utility of the questionnaire, in terms of data acquired for this study, was mainly as a stimulant to trigger off discussions about native identity and student experiences at Manitou that affected that sense of identity; it allowed for the establishment of a rapport between the researcher and her informants that led to deeper discussions and insights. Theoretically, it assumes greater significance: the report resulting from the question- naire data touched upon the relationship between education and identity of the Manitou College students (refer to pages 18-20 of Appendix), and led to the evolution of a cognitive approach to the subject, and a more intense participant-observation- oriented fieldwork base. As a methodological contribution, this thesis illustrates the need to gather cognitive data in the context of the "real" social situations of the informants involved. Informal interviews, following up on ideas suggested by responses to the earlier formal interviews, were frequent and lengthy, allowing for an accumulation of data of consider- able quantity and quality. But perhaps the most effective mechanism of obtaining information, and the essence of meaning- ful fieldwork, is participant-observation. By participating in all aspects of college life during my frequent and prolonged visits to the college from June until December, 1976, I was able to observe a range of behaviors in different situations

and contexts and to check and re-check information gathered by more formal techniques. By monitoring classes, speaking with instructors, and other persons who had been involved with the college, I was able to glean insights into some of the external factors affecting the students' perceptions, and to understand their "fit" within the socio-political milieu of Manitou College.

I made use of one research assistant in the collection of this data. Ms. Madeleine Taylor travelled to Bersimis and Manuan in northern Quebec to interview the francophone graduates of the college, because my own limited command of the French language would have made that task a difficult one. I have avoided the French-English issue in this thesis for a number of reasons: first, though I am sensitive to the fact that there was some feeling, on the part of the francophone students, that a social split along linguistic lines was evident at the college, this was never defined as a significant issue. Secondly, since the great majority (and certainly the vocal majority) of Manitou students were anglophone, the data base is inadequate to draw meaningful conclusions. Finally, my inability to interact meaningfully with the francophone population at Manitou because of linguistic problems, led to a decision that such an analysis was simply beyond the scope of this thesis.

The formal sample represented in this study consists of thirty-six of the sixty-five students who had graduated from programmes at Manitou College by August 1976. Thirty-one of these are CEGEP programme graduates; the others are teacher

training graduates. Tribally, the sample includes eighteen Micmac, eight Mohawk, six Montagnais, two Huron, one Maliseet, and one Métis student. English was the first non-native language of thirty of these students.

Visits had been made to Manitou College throughout July and August, 1976, and I lived at the college for approximately ten days at the end of the summer. From there I spent three weeks travelling to reservations and urban centres in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to interview those students who had graduated from Manitou College and were then living in their home communities. In New Brunswick I spent time in Fredericton and the Maliseet reservation at Kingsclear; in Nova Scotia, I visited Halifax, Truro, and the Micmac reservations of Shubenacadie, Afton, and Millbrook on the mainland, and Whycocamaugh, Membertou, and Eskasoni in Cape Breton. I met informally, during this travelling period, with friends in the Union of New Brunswick and Union of Nova Scotia Indians, to inform them of my research. I wrote an article for the Native Communications Society of Nova Scotia, which was later published in their newspaper, "The Micmac News".

From September, 1976, until December, 1976, extended weekends were spent travelling to Caughnawaga and Loretteville, in Quebec, and St. Regis and Ottawa in Ontario, as well as spending time at Manitou College itself.

C. Cognitive Categories of Manitou Students

I shall begin this section by presenting data illustrating the use of certain labels or categories by the Manitou students, with regard to the question of identity. Of course, it is very difficult for persons to articulate aspects of their self-identity, and this is seen in the variety of ways in which persons spoke of their Indian identity. Only one student I interviewed used physical characteristics to describe his "Indian-ness":

> "What makes me an Indian is ... the color of my
> skin, living on a reservation all my life. It's
> in my blood."

Another student mentioned values consistently, but did not explain what these different values were. A spiritual superiority was the critical factor as seen by another student:

> "Spiritually, Indians are near to God ... The
> values of the native people are more sophisti-
> cated and superior, down-to-earth."

Despite these difficulties in articulation, it has been noted that four traits or characteristics recurred when students spoke of their native identity. These traits are: language, concept of time, degree of urbanization, and sense of freedom.

The importance of language to group identity has been well-documented in the literature (e.g. see Hymes 1971) and was often mentioned as a self-identifying characteristic among many Manitou students. It is noteworthy that its importance was undermined by many Mohawk students, some of whom later

confessed that they felt badly that they could not speak their native language. To the extent that language defines an in- and out-group in a social situation, the Mohawk students had one less aspect of group identity to manipulate. Many students told me stories of their parents, or themselves, being sent to residential schools where they were forbidden to speak their own languages. One student reminisced:

> "I couldn't even speak my own language. It was considered that God speaks English."

With regard to the language question, I have observed repeatedly that native students constantly referred to "speaking Indian" (as opposed to speaking Montagnais or Cree or Micmac). Perhaps this reflects the fact that native persons, unlike other linguistic minorities, rarely meet a non-native speaker of their own language, and are used to dealing with non-natives who do not distinguish individual "Indian" languages. Thus, the Manitou College experience of being encouraged to speak and develop knowledge of one's native tongue, was a novel and appreciated experience.

A second element constituting "Indian-ness" involves time. Many students expressed the feeling that native people in general are less dependent on a rigid time schedule, and therefore more relaxed and less "uptight" than non-native people. Hence one student's comment:

> "I pity Whites on the streets of Montreal 'cause they don't know what they're doing or where they're going. They don't take the time to know what's going on. I feel Indians are superior in that sense."

And another:

> "I pity White society in how they're so caught
> up in their ways, always in a rush. Manitou
> tries to slow people down, rather than racing
> them through life."

It is difficult to discern the degree to which this element of self-identity has been influenced by the popular old non-native stereotype of Indians as being somehow on a different time schedule, but the positive aspects of being a "more relaxed" people remain as important self-perceptions among the Manitou students.

The degree of urbanization as a component of Indian identity is an interesting issue. There was some feeling, especially among the Cree students with whom I spoke, that the Cree were "more Indian" because of their continued bush activity. One Cree student told me that:

> "Indians should know about traplines ..."

Urbanization would appear not to be a factor among the Caughnawaga Mohawks, many of whom say that the relatively ruralized Micmacs are more "acculturated" than themselves. For the opposite view, we have the example of two Micmac girls who married Mohawk men and, when they moved to Caughnawaga, were shocked by the village-like urban environment -- surely this was not an Indian reservation! Here is a case where the assumed equation of Indian life with (relative) rural-ness was replaced to include urbanized Indians.

Another, somewhat vaguely-defined, aspect of Indian identity was summed up by one student who said:

> "There's a sense of freedom associated with
> Indian identity."

This sense of freedom is closely associated with a concept of "native ingenuity", a phrase I often heard used in a joking manner to refer, quite literally, to what native persons have to rely on in times of crisis. This concept involves the relationship between natives and their ecological/technological world. The feeling is that young native persons are less dependent on money and technology than are their non-native counterparts, and therefore more adaptable and more free. One student said:

> "I understand the values of White society --
> using them is another matter. Like stepping
> on a person to get to the top. The Whiteman's
> timetable is something I'll never understand;
> he has a nervous breakdown if his schedule
> gets upset! There's a sense of freedom
> associated with Indian identity. I have no
> material things so I never feel the urge of
> missing the boat or something."

This sense of freedom from the (White) world of time schedules, money, and technology, may be interpreted as a romanticized, updated version of the "Mother Earth" concept, which likewise indicated a special relationship to the environment, but the important point here is that it is a perceived element of native identity. It is interesting to note that this sense of freedom was mentioned more frequently by the Mohawk than by other students. In light of the fact that the Mohawk students interviewed did not speak their tribal language, and live in relatively urbanized areas far removed from traditional native activities such as trapping, one may speculate that such a

characteristic would assume greater importance for persons lacking the other mentioned characteristics.

Although such notions may be significant enough to give these students a shared sense of Indian identity when in the company of non-native outsiders (such as the researcher, initially), there exists a perceived "hierarchy of Indian-ness" among the students themselves. Generalizations on this point can only be made at the level of the individual and the tribe, since these characteristics are given more or less importance by individuals and tribal groups according to situation and other factors, which I shall discuss at a later point. One Mohawk student explained:

> "There was competition here over who was more
> Indian -- the people were on an Indian trip."

Certainly one factor in the students' tribal ranking system is the presence or absence of active bush life. I mentioned earlier the existence of the feeling among the Crees that they were "more Indian" because of their continued bush activity. On the individual level, however, I have no evidence to suggest that the Micmac students, to take another tribal example, felt any _less_ Indian because of _lack_ of bush activity! It is interesting to note in this context that the Micmac have often been dubbed "acculturated" by non-Micmac students, with various other tribes arranged in between these two extremes, according to the speakers' perceptions. Reasons given for this ranged from the fact that they held non-traditional jobs (i.e. worked in "White" offices for "White" bosses); had less tribal rituals

and ceremonies; and, in their social behavior, generally exhibited less concern for "things Indian". The Micmacs own comments on the college itself reveal this relative lack of "concern for things Indian", as we shall see. Bush activity is, of course, associated with the previously-mentioned trait of degree of urbanization, but the "hierarchy of Indian-ness" does not operate that simply. Unlike the continuum of acculturation noted in the anthropological literature, tribal differences in the composition of Indian traits, and differences in the importance attached to these traits in different times and places, demonstrate the absurdity and irrelevance of such models for understanding concrete social realities.

For example, I have already noted four recurring elements of Indian identity. They occur among a tribally-mixed sample, and the elements vary in importance along tribal and individual lines. I have noted the factor of bush activity as one discernible element in the hierarchy. Yet these elements cannot be seen in isolation, for they are deeply affected by external factors, three of which I will examine in some detail, namely: the role of the provincial native political organization in Quebec; the role of loyalty; and the role of non-native perceptions and labels.

The native people of Quebec, some tribes of whom differ greatly in their economic base and social aspirations, were united at the provincial level by the Indians of Quebec Association, the body in power at the time of this study. Aforementioned tribal differences led certain groups, such as

the Cree on the western coast of James Bay, to break off and
establish their own political organ; the Grand Council of the
Cree Indians of Quebec Association was thus formed in 1974. In
the days when the Indians of Quebec Association controlled
funding to all provincial tribal groups, it was not uncommon,
according to my Cree informants, for those Cree students at
Manitou to hear complaints in their home communities of Mohawk
take-over of funds. (The leader of the Indians of Quebec
Association was a Mohawk, and its headquarters was on a Mohawk
reserve.) As long as the James Bay Cree talked of subsidized
trapping, and the Caughnawaga Mohawks of sidewalks and street-
lamps, it is easy to understand the lack of a feeling of shared
"Indian-ness"! The Micmac students from Restigouche, Quebec,
often mentioned that they as well felt alienated from the
provincial organization, since their linguistic, historical,
social, and kin ties lie with the Micmacs of New Brunswick and
Nova Scotia. Because student funding was dependent, at least
in part, on the provincial organization, it is understandable
how the existence and composition of the I.Q.A., as it then
existed, affected individuals' and groups' perceptions of each
other. One of the administrative problems at the college,
related to this, is the confusion surrounding the cost-sharing
agreements between provincial unions sponsoring out-of-Quebec
students, and the I.Q.A., whose cultural education funds were
supporting the college. A particularly sensitive incident
occurred when a college official briskly told out-of-province
students that they were "guests" at the college and should act

accordingly.

The extent to which students exhibited a tribal identity may be seen as well in the following illustration. During the earlier days of the college's existence the students were organized into a student union, with representation by (tribal) population, a model of democratic government commonly used in non-native highschools and colleges in Canada. The students were dissatisfied with this arrangement, however. Since the President had a say in which students got jobs, it was felt that there was too much nepotism and that tribal ratios re jobs were unfair. Two students, one Mohawk and one Micmac, responded to this situation by suggesting the alternative idea of a Grand Council, with one representative per tribe. One might expect that the Micmacs, for example, whose population at the college was over twice that of the Algonkians, might feel under-represented. However, this system was implemented and carried out with much greater success than the previous one.

Loyalty is a crucial concept in understanding student perceptions of Indian identity. Perceived loyalty to other native people was seen as a central component of a "real" Indian. I shall illustrate this point by beginning with an example from my personal experience.

Assumptions made about me because I am "White" reflect stereotyped notions held by many students that give clues to native perceptions of that label. Being White, for many Manitou students, meant a combination of being rich, educated, aggressive, and urban. But the more revealing instances are

those when it was assumed that I was an Indian, precisely
because I had _failed_ to exhibit, in varying degrees, the above
characteristics. Because I had worked for the Grand Council of
the Crees; because I understood and spoke some Micmac; because
I knew "a lot of Indians and a lot about Indians"; because much
of my verbal and socio-economic behavior was interpreted as
being supportive and loyal to native people in general -- these
were later given as reasons why people initially thought I must
be at least part Indian.

My research assistant was surprised to find that she, also,
was assumed to be at least part Indian on one occasion. We
both wondered why we were not immediately perceived as "nosy
White anthropologists", with whom the students had had consider-
able experience. (In some cases, we were, of course.) On the
basis of informants' comments, it was concluded that this per-
ception was in great part due to the fact that we were perceived
as exhibiting loyalty to Manitou College, by our interest in it,
and being supportive to native people in general, by our
behavior. This loyalty/supportiveness was attributed by many
students to a particular female administrator at the college,
of whom one student remarked:

> "_____ would give you her last penny. She
> was always trying to help us, in school and
> out. I remember wondering if maybe _she was_
> _Indian herself_." (Emphasis mine)

Perhaps the fact that individuals exhibiting support and
loyalty to the college and its students are "suspected" of
being at least partly Indian, is a telling reflection, both on

the treatment native students have been used to associating
with non-native persons, and on the degree of alienation they
feel from the non-native sector of their society. A point
worth mentioning in this regard is the fact that one point in
my questionnaire proved to be popular, namely, the question:
"Did Manitóu help you grow spiritually?" Perhaps this question
was not seen as a typical "White" question, insofar as it
recognizes the spiritual element of native education, but most
persons responded to it with a greater warmth than their other
answers. In fact, this question was not my own idea at all,
but the suggestion of the student on whom I tried my test
questionnaire!

Loyalty operates on the group, as well as individual,
level. On one occasion the Indians of Quebec Association held
a meeting at the college, at which members of the organization
were perceived, by their disinterested remarks and failure to
confront the students on Manitou-related issues, as being non-
supportive of the college and its students. The story was told
that the flag was removed from the flagpole during the night,
and replaced by a homemade flag which read, "A.Q.A. - Apples of
Quebec Association". "Apple" is a term used by the students to
refer to a native person or group, whom they do not perceive as
"Indian", often primarily because of the lack of loyalty to the
native people displayed by persons labelled as such. The meta-
phor is that an apple is "red on the outside, white on the
inside". In this case, the message was clear: I.Q.A. person-
nel were no longer "Indians" because real Indians support

native people, and in this case, Manitou students.

This term was also used frequently to refer to a certain generally-disliked administrator, who was perceived as continually acting against the good of the native students. It is interesting that this person, on the other hand, had his own ideas of "Indian-ness":

> "It's supposed to be a native college, but
> when I go around and see the people smoking
> dope and drinking Labatts, there's nothing
> native about that."

Finally, I shall deal with the final external factor influencing student perceptions of Indian identity, namely, the role of non-native perceptions. All the students with whom I spoke at Manitou College had experienced cultural discrimination to a greater or lesser degree, though the range of experience is great. They were all conscious, some painfully so, of the fact of being somehow marginal to what academics call the "mainstream" of Canadian society; and of being labelled and identified, often in negative terms (from being the scalping savages of Canadian history books, the "Indian problem" of the sixties, the welfare bums of the seventies), by that "mainstream". One student expressed it this way:

> "I would like to do something worthwhile for
> my people, to have Indians to be identified
> for what they are, not for what they are
> labelled by the White ..."   (Emphasis mine)

> "It's because of the media that Indians are
> regarded as bums on welfare, and drunkards.
> Just because an Indian is put in for some-
> thing he did wrong, the rest of us have to
> suffer for his punished (sic). That label

is stuck on us, whether we like it or
not."

Another student told me that he felt that what an Indian
was, was decided upon in the minds of "White" men:

"I think the White man is confused; telling
us one thing (about ourselves) in the past,
and another thing now."

Comments like the following were common:

"To me, a White person is just another person.
I am another person, who happens to be an
Indian. We're all people in this world ..."
(Emphasis mine)

It is interesting to note that Micmac students particu-
larly made reference to themselves and others as people first.
Their history of long contact and frequent involvement with the
non-native population may offer a partial explanation for the
(relative to non-Micmac students) lack of importance attached
to native/non-native differences. What clearly emerges from
student comments is the frustration felt by individuals who see
themselves as people, people being labelled and defined by
forces external to themselves. One particularly eloquent
Micmac, an activist at the college, summed it up thus:

"Indian is just a label. I've got to be
myself. Being Indian is a collection, an
idea ... Distinctions came out of Manitou
which just didn't fit. There's no such
thing as Indian -- bloodlines of native
ancestry doesn't fit -- language doesn't
fit. There is a concept of Micmac for me
but not Indian. What is a 'White man'?"
(Emphasis mine)

On the basis of data gathered at Manitou College, I

conclude that the felt and expressed sense of Indian identity

is a tribal identity. Manitou students consciously think of

themselves as Micmacs, or Montagnais, or Algonkians, often

using the label "Indian" to refer to this designation, because

they have constantly to deal with a society which labels and

defines them as "Indians" rather than Micmacs or Montagnais

or Algonkians. Their group-consciousness is blatantly

exhibited only at the tribal level. The influence that Manitou

College had on the development of a pan-Indian identity will be

discussed at a later point.

Furthermore, to the extent that individuals continually

expressed the need to be recognized for themselves as persons

first and to be "just like anyone else", many Manitou students

obviously feel that being labelled -- no matter what the label

-- as belonging to a certain group was to restrict and deny the

individual his sense of person-hood. This feeling that

"Indian" was just a label or category with which they were

forced to deal, rather than a tangible reality such as Mohawk,

referring to a real person, is again reflected in such comments

as the one noted earlier:

> "I would like to do something worthwhile
> for my people ... to be identified for what
> they are, not for what they are <u>labelled by
> the White</u>." (Emphasis mine)

Having examined the content of Indian identity, as that

label is perceived by the graduates of Manitou College, let us

examine other labels used by the students, of relevance to this

study. I have already mentioned the existence of two other

relevant labels, namely "White" and "apple", and commented
briefly on the content of each. To expand somewhat, data sug-
gests that the category "White", for example, has its own sub-
categories, such as English-White and French-White. Hence the
following remark:

> "As for White society, before I didn't like
> White people, 'cause I was told not to,
> especially the French, who were another kind
> of White." (Emphasis mine)

Yet another term which complicates the labelling system is
"Wannabe", a joking term used condescendingly to refer to
persons or groups whose behavior was perceived by the students
as their wanting to be (hence "wanna-be") Indians. One of the
native organizations in Quebec, whose membership was perceived
as questionable in terms of native ancestry, was often referred
to as "full of members of the Wannabe tribe".

These labels or categories are used to identify certain
traits or behaviors, rather than refer to individuals. They
change therefore when the behavior changes, so that an indivi-
dual considered to be "Indian" at a given point in time may not
always be seen as such. With regard to a native person exhi-
biting disloyalty to native people, for example, we have seen
that the person involved must either be relegated to another
category (possibly "White", with connotations of total exclu-
sion, or "apple", a more ambiguous term), or the content of the
existing category must change. For example, a certain admini-
strator formerly referred to as "an Indian from X", was rele-
gated to the category of "apple" by the Manitou students, after

specific actions were interpreted as not being in accord with that perceived as "Indian" by the students. In other words, his was not seen as "legitimate" Indian behavior. This dynamic process applies to the label "White" as well. Some students told me that certain persons of Caucasian background, whom they highly respected, "seemed more like Indians than Whites", and that they did not like to call them "White" because of the possible pejorative connotation attached to it. One student said:

> "I don't like calling people 'White', 'cause
> they perceive that as an insult -- they're
> going through identity crises."

The use of these labels is important in that they define social situations and expectations, and allow native students at Manitou to examine more critically their own identity. Along with their importance in the process of identity forma- tion, this study illustrates the dynamic character and changing perceptions of the labels "Indian", "White", and "apple", used by the Manitou students.

Having examined the labels relevant to group identity for the Manitou students, we must now ask what effect Manitou College had on its students' perceptions of those labels, and hence on the range of activities or behaviors seen as legiti- mately Indian. First, it is necessary to describe the atmos- phere of the college as it relates to this question. Manitou College was the first native-run college for native students in Eastern Canada. Its curriculum emphasized native issues and utilized native resource persons and generally promoted an

interest in aspects of Canadian Indian life. The orientation
of many of the native teachers; the emphasis on preserving a
rich cultural tradition of tribal art, folklore, legend, dance,
and song; the fact that most social interaction occurred in an
all-Indian milieu (Manitou being a separate, and not a cross-
cultural, school system), contributed to an atmosphere where
"being Indian" and demonstrating one's "Indian-ness", became a
primary concern. The development of the individual student as
an "Indian", as opposed to his development as a "person",
seemed to be a somewhat confused issue. An ideological split
was observed by the researcher, and remarked upon by the
students, among the teachers with regard to this issue. To
simplify the matter, I will call the two groups politically-
oriented and educationally-oriented.

The politically-oriented group of teachers at Manitou
tended to see the school as a political forum, with one of its
objectives being the political consciousness-raising of the
students; much of their time and energy went into that end. Of
these persons, a number of students complained that there was
"too much of that Indian stuff" at Manitou:

>"When I was at Manitou, I didn't want to
>think about Indian-ness. I wanted to get
>my education and get out of there."

Another explained:

>"At Manitou, the students were too politically
>aware of what was going on; they couldn't
>concentrate because they were so involved."

For these students, the "politic-ing" at the college was

seen as a hassle in their education there:

"I'm fed up with 'Indian trip' people ...
I know who I am and where I am going ..."

The responses of the Micmac students in particular reflect their concern with getting an education, as opposed to a politicization process, and they are the students who most consistently made remarks like the above. Perhaps the fact that they do not have the same obsession with "things Indian" as their fellow students, has something to do with the non-Micmac students' perceptions of the Micmac as "acculturated". Micmac responses to the question of their expectations of Manitou are consistent with this as well. I would speculate, on the basis of my impressions, that the Micmac, as a group, are more secure in their own identity and do not need the constant reinforcement that so many other students seemed to welcome.

The educationally-oriented group saw the school's primary objective as upgrading academic skills and preparing students to go further in the educational system. One teacher in this group told me emphatically that she would rather produce students who could write intelligently than "spout political jargon", which she clearly saw as the end-product of some other teachers' methods. An ex-administrator at Manitou confirmed this observation when he suggested that one of the main problems at Manitou, as he saw it, was the fact that it had no clearly-defined charter, so that individual teachers had to decide for themselves what their objectives were to be. Some confusion inevitably arose.

Different attitudes toward students resulted from different conceptions of "Indian-ness". Criticisms were made to me by students of teachers who were too lax and reacted to the students' previous discriminatory school experiences by over-compensating with low standards and easy grades -- always with the best of intentions. Teachers who pushed students to achieve higher academic standards were seen as "tough" but were highly respected among the students. As one person told me, these teachers saw the Manitou students as "students" first, and "Indians" second. These differing perceptions are important in understanding the milieu in which the identities of the Manitou students developed.

Certainly, the primary effect that the Manitou experience had on student self-perceptions was to attach a highly positive connotation to the concept of "being Indian". Part of "being Indian" is "thinking Indian", and this was expressed repeatedly as one of the effects the college had on its students:

> "I didn't 'think Indian' before Manitou ...
> I'm more aware that I'm Indian now ... and
> proud of it ..."

A more revealing remark perhaps:

> "Before I went to Manitou, I thought of myself
> as a person, not an Indian."

By providing a warm, sharing atmosphere at Manitou College; by providing the student with a much greater knowledge of his tribal history and culture; by providing a rhetoric whereby aspects and symbols of native culture were consistently

positively reinforced; Manitou College gave its students the
opportunity to discover their tribal roots in a culture and
history seen as psychologically satisfying, rather than a
previous negative expression of native identity as an anti-
White phenomenon. "Finding one's identity" was constantly men-
tioned as one of the most positive things Manitou College had
to offer. As one Micmac student said:

> "At Manitou I saw a lot of things more clearly,
> started thinking about it quite a bit ... I
> learned a lot about my own people that I never
> knew before and it made me feel good to be
> Indian ..."

Another student:

> "Manitou taught me that ... I'm an Indian with
> a different culture, and a different language
> ... Manitou gave me hope inside for Indians ..."

Along with this phenomenon of increased positive self-
conceptions, which was a recurring theme among the Manitou
graduates, came an exposure to various other tribal groups,
which was a "first" for many Manitou students. Thus their
knowledge of the range of cultural and linguistic groups of
Canadian native peoples was increased first-hand. This aspect
of the college was highly valued by the graduates; one student
told me:

> "And to think that I'd never even heard of the
> Montagnais before!"

For many of the students who discovered spouses from different
tribes than their own, their own tribal consciousness was
heightened significantly. Hence one Montagnais student's

remark:

> "Before I married _____ (a Mohawk), I didn't
> really think about other Indian groups before
> ... One of the nice things about Manitou was
> the way we all got together from different
> tribes and places ..."

Despite the increased awareness of other Indians coming from
their cross-tribal experiences at Manitou, however, it is
doubtful whether a real pan-Indian identity ever developed.
Though a few students claimed to possess a "brotherhood" with
all North- and South-Amerindians, the great majority of Manitou
students did not attain that level of consciousness where the
political possibilities of tribal coalitions were considered.
It would have been especially difficult for students to maintain
such an interest, once away from the atmosphere of the college,
when they returned to the concrete immediate problems permeat-
ing their home reserves. One student told me:

> "It was great to get excited about things that
> were happening to Indians across Canada ...
> but when I got home to _____, the Band Council
> just wasn't interested in hearing about those
> things. They wanted to build a rink."

An ex-teacher at the college who himself had attempted to get
the students to identify their place as Canadian natives within
a global, historical framework, expressed disappointment that
this identification never occurred:

> "As for a pan-Indian movement ... no, that idea
> never really developed at Manitou ..."

In summary then, Manitou College increased its students' aware-
ness of other tribal groups and promoted a cross-tribal

cultural exchange, but this process did not reach the point where evidence of a real pan-Indian consciousness could be perceived.

In discussing the effect that Manitou College had on its students' perceptions, one notes the legitimizing process, whereby certain activities or behaviors or attitudes were socially reinforced as "Indian". Experiences shared by the Manitou students contributed to the definition of what was legitimately Indian, as seen by the following example. For reasons already explained, the D.I.A.N.D. was increasingly perceived as non-supportive to Manitou students. Political and peer pressure was such that no student would publicly express aspirations to work with "the Department", as it became known, without running the risk of being perceived as a sell-out, a traitor, an "apple". And, though the researcher saw the D.I.A. as primarily a White organization, and the (then) I.Q.A. as an Indian organization, student feelings toward the two organizations were very similar at this time. Hence, the aforementioned incident where the I.Q.A. awoke one morning to find their flag replaced by a banner reading "Apples of Quebec Association". Obviously, a "real" Indian would have to dissociate himself from such non-credible organizations. One student, who had spent the summer working for "the Department", told me with hesitation and reluctance that she could not understand why everyone at the college was always criticizing the department, when she thought that it was a really good place to work. When she mentioned that she hoped to work there the next summer, a

friend said scornfully:

> "Why would you want to work with all those
> honkies and apples?"

The negative feelings toward the D.I.A.N.D. and the I.Q.A.
generated by the atmosphere of Manitou College, may not neces-
sarily carry over into the reserve level however, where students
spoke of these organizations with rather less hostility. Thus,
Manitou may have unwittingly had the effect of limiting the
range of activities seen as legitimately Indian while the
students were attending the college, but these feelings did not
seem to carry over to those students who had returned to their
home reserves. The limited time span of this thesis makes a
more penetrating analysis of the effect of Manitou College on
its students' self-perceptions impossible, but suffices to note
that it clearly affected the general scope of "Indian-ness",
and related personal and tribal identities that were the result
of the Manitou experience.

CHAPTER IV - CONCLUSIONS

This thesis illustrates the need for further study of the
relationship between education and social group identity,
because of the poor theoretical treatment of the subject by
anthropology. By focusing on a specific aspect of identity,
namely, the use of identity labels in an educational milieu, we
demonstrated that the notions of identity held and utilized by
anthropologists and educators were based on faulty assumptions,
especially the implicit notion of a continuum of personality
types polarizing "Indian" and "White" as if these labels rep-
resented real categories for the persons involved, but ignoring
the real social and situational context of the labels and the
label users themselves. We therefore noted the necessity of
taking a cognitive approach to the problem of identity change
in order to understand the phenomena of identity in a way that
is theoretically and ethnographically sound. The necessity of
understanding the situational context of the use of identity
labels, as a clue to the perception of identity itself, became
evident. The necessity of collecting cognitive data in real
social situations was illustrated.

Our examination of the labels used suggests the following
conclusions: firstly, that a cognitive approach, whereby
account is taken of labels used by the persons involved, is a
necessary step to understanding the relevance of labels to
social group identity. This approach points out the inadequacy
of other orientations such as the behavioral approach of

Spindler (1961, 1963), McGee (1970), Born (1970), Wax (1973),
and Bushnell (1970), and the psychological approach of such
writers as King (1967), Wintrob and Sindell (1968), and Ulfsby
(1972).

Of the cognitive approach, Frake has stated that

"This conception of an ethnography requires
that the units, by which the data of observa-
tion are segmented, and interrelated, be
delimited and defined according to contrasts
inherent in the data themselves and not
according to a priori notions of pertinent
descriptive categories." (Frake 1962:54)

This study has strengthened the argument for the utility of a
cognitive approach, and illustrated the need to collect cogni-
tive data under social conditions that are relevant to the
informants themselves and hence the development of their cate-
gory systems.

Secondly, our examination of the use of such identifying
mechanisms as the labels "Indian" and "White" reveals that the
content of these and other labels used are neither static over
time nor necessarily mutually exclusive. This refutes the.
assumptions of studies carried out by a wide spectrum of
writers ranging from Benedict (1956), Spindler (1963), Wolcott
(1967), Wintrob and Sindell (1969), Born (1970), MacLean and
Jamieson (1972), McGee (1970), Cazden and John (1971), Abu-Laban
(1971), Nagler (1972), Wax and Wax (1971), and Hawthorn (1967)
to a lesser degree. The models employed by all of these
writers, and hence the conclusions they arrived at, contain an
implicit assumption that these are static and exclusive labels.

Our study illustrates that labels, while an important cue
to perceptions and thus behaviors, may not by themselves lead
to an understanding of an individual's self-identity. It is
quite clear from our data, for example, that native students
can learn to "play", or manipulate, the categories that other
people assign to them as roles, without necessarily having that
category as a self-image. The converse holds true also: an
individual may be victimized or manipulated by a label, if
emotional connotations and/or social pressure attached to it
are strong enough. This is suggestive of the deliberate ideo-
logical manipulation by politically-interested groups suggested
by one identity theorist (see Berger and Luckmann 1967).

Thirdly, much of the current literature on native educa-
tion and identity, by misunderstanding the nature and importance
of labels as categories of thought, assumes a continuum of
acculturation toward a "White model" of arbitrarily-chosen
traits, and a process of cultural loss and replacement, that
our ethnographic data shows to have little to do with reality.
Again, this continuum is seen as a recurring theme in the work
of Spindler (1963), Wintrob and Sindell (1969), Born (1970),
MacLean and Jamieson (1972), Lesser (1973), Wax and Wax (1971).
Data from Manitou College students clearly illustrate that
individuals can achieve competence in, i.e. undergo a sociali-
zation process embracing more than one cultural system, so
that culture loss need not necessarily occur. Inkeles' assump-
tion (1966) that an individual achieves competence as defined
by a single cultural system is clearly refuted by data from the

Manitou students illustrating their competence in two realms simultaneously.

Fourthly, the importance of external factors in the process of identity formation, in the total social context, has been underestimated by the great majority of writers. Nagler's (1972) work hinted at this, and Zentner (1975) and Leap (1974) likewise emphasized external factors in identity development. The important fact, which these writers never quite recognized or articulated, but which our Manitou data clearly indicates, is the fact that the process of identity formation does involve a cognitive sense of self derived from interaction with others. In this case, the development of a native identity was very closely involved with the group's interactions with the non-native world.

Fifthly, an understanding of the process by which Manitou College enhanced the label "Indian", helps us to understand the effect that labels have on behavior and on "legitimizing" identity, by changing the "legitimizing" criteria of the behavioral content of those labels. The fluidity of the labels used by Manitou students, and the manner in which use of certain labels led to feelings of psychological well-being and group cohesion, illustrates the "legitimizing" process of identity validation that is essential to an effective educational system.

Ethnographically, we have seen the lack of a sound theoretical treatment of the concept of identity in anthropological tradition. By analyzing the role of labels in identity

formation and validation, this thesis attempts to fill an ethnographic gap in the literature. Theoretically, our analysis has attempted to demonstrate the role, meaning, and importance of labelling to development and legitimization processes of social group identity.

At this point, I would like to discuss the role of a tertiary socialization setting in identity maintenance and formation. Because the great majority of studies involving native education have concentrated on the primary and secondary levels (see Chapter Two), and possibly because of the relative lack of Indian students in tertiary settings, little has been written on this stage of Indian socialization. Though Manitou College, was a tertiary educational setting for all of its students, in that none of them had formerly been involved in an all-Indian college, the degree to which it was actually a tertiary educational process, implying ends different from the secondary process and experiential discontinuities, varied with the individual. For most of the Micmac students, who expressed their motivations for going to Manitou as "to get my education" or "to get my CEGEP diploma", the Manitou experience certainly did not represent a tertiary process of (re)-socialization. While Manitou may or may not have been a tertiary socialization process for its students, then, it does seem that the students' educational experiences at Manitou were sufficiently different from their previous experiences in formal education to allow them to "succeed" and finish their programmes. (A great many of the students, it should be remembered, were former high

school drop-outs.) Their own explanations for why they suc-
ceeded at Manitou involved factors such as feeling comfortable
around the people there, not being intimidated by "White" insti-
tutions in large cities, et cetera. Many of their remarks
revolve, again, around discovering one's identity at Manitou
College. Comments like: "I think at Manitou is where I found
my Indian identity", and "I don't feel so threatened by Whites
now", were common.

We conclude that a separate school system, such as Manitou
was, where the students were given the opportunity and encour-
agement to place themselves as people in an historical, legal,
and social framework, played a significant role in the develop-
ment of the heightened sense of positive personal and group
identity expressed by the Manitou graduates. The real "success
stories" of the college are the persons who, being unable to
"make it" in the "White" educational systems, dropped out,
wandered around, were marginally employed, et cetera, and then
went to Manitou. For many of these persons, Manitou College
provided a "second chance" to finish a degree and prepare for
further education or employment.

Practically speaking, the application of our analysis to
educational administration should be evident: where decisions
are being made concerning the nature of "Indian" education, and
evaluation of "Indian" needs and "Indian" culture, we must ask
who is doing the categorizing and what effect this categoriza-
tion from outside is having on the people themselves. When a
guidance counsellor continually decides that some programmes

(such as vocational-technical programmes) are more in keeping
with "White" notions of "White" perceived "native culture", we
may well ask what the consequences of this categorization
process will be.   The pressure exerted on native individuals
and groups to adopt certain behaviors in the name of retention
of "Indian identity", either by blatant processes of discrimi-
nation or more subtle reinforcement of "White"-selected aspects
of "White" concepts of "native culture", may lead to educational
practices that are restrictive, at best, and strangling, at
worst.

Where an educational system is concerned with the healthy
development and validation of a group's identity, it is essen-
tial to understand how that group perceives itself and others
significant to itself, in order for them to be able to define
their own educational development.

This thesis has obviously led to further suggestions for
research. A project enquiring into the relationship between
identity-legitimizing-behavior and economic underdevelopment,
for example, is a logical follow-up question, but quite beyond
the scope of the present study. This research also suggests
that anthropology take a closer look at some of the assumptions
hidden in the labels and models of reality it utilizes to dis-
cuss educational policy.

A Final Word

Sometimes it happens in the highly abstract business of thesis-writing, that we get so entangled in theoretical problems that we forget that we are dealing always with real people and their real problems. Many things have changed, for me and for the people this study is about, since I began this thesis. During the morning of my oral proposal hearing, the Confederation of Indians of Quebec, and the Board of Directors of Manitou College, were holding a meeting in Montreal, which led to the decision to close the college. "Official" reasons given were financial, but a complex series of events suggested that the closing may have been prompted more by political motives. Many students transferred to Montreal CEGEPs the following term; approximately fifteen of them graduated in the spring of 1977. The majority dropped out, one by one, or left the city. Problems in adjusting to Montreal, to the "Whiteman's" curriculum and teaching style; problems with money, discrimination, and discouragement, were given as reasons for leaving.

> "My teacher seems really bored ... and the
> other students look at me like I'm weird or
> something. Everytime anything comes up in
> class about Indians, the teacher always
> expects me to know all about it. I guess
> they don't realize all Indians aren't the
> same. It was different at Manitou ... it
> felt different. I don't know ... at
> Manitou, I felt more like a person ..."
> (Emphasis mine)

APPENDIX

INTERIM REPORT OF THE FOLLOW-UP STUDY

OF THE GRADUATES OF MANITOU COMMUNITY COLLEGE

by

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January 1977

NB: Questions, comments, or requests for copies of this
      report should be made to the author at the above
      address.

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I. Preface

Perhaps one of the most sensitive problems involved with this research project is the political use of research. This, in fact, was a serious concern of the graduates I interviewed and a cause of some anxiety among people with whom I spoke at Manitou. It says something about social scientists in general, and perhaps anthropologists in particular, that the people "researched" too often fail to see the results of the research or are unable to exert any control over its application. On the other hand, researchers, under the guise of scientific objectivity, have often felt compelled to refrain from taking a stand on issues of a political nature. This has had the cyclical effect of contributing to the mistrust accorded some anthropologists by some native persons.

I began this study with no political feelings toward the college. Having now spent considerable time with the graduates of Manitou, and at the college, I actively support Manitou College, in principle, as it has reflected native control of native education, and in practice, as it has positively and significantly affected the lives of so many young Indian people. This feeling has been a consequence and not an assumption of my research and in no way affects the objectivity of the data presented here. Thus it is my hope that the facts and comments presented in this report, and intended for the use of Manitou College, will prove helpful to all those individuals concerned with and involved, in the capacity of students, teachers, or administrators, with native education.

I feel it pertinent to make a few remarks on the role of the anthropologist in native research. Political realities dictate that the native population take a much more active role in the initiation, designing and administration of research projects affecting their development; the old colonialist mentality that has characterized too much anthropological research is no longer acceptable. My experiences at Manitou have resulted in a re-evaluation of the purposes of research; I hope that one of the side-effects of this project has been to sensitize fellow anthropologists to the real ethical and moral questions shaping the role the anthropologist (or any social scientist) has to play in native research today.

II. Acknowledgements

Where so many people are involved in making a research project possible, it is difficult to know where to begin to express appreciation. I would like to thank firstly, Mrs. Velma Bourque and Miss Wanda West for their help and encouragement in the initial stages of research. I would like to express appreciation to the many people at Manitou and in Nova Scotia who fed and housed me, provided me with drives and introductions, and welcomed me into their homes. I am grateful also to Miss Madeleine Taylor who travelled to Bersimis and Manuan, without renumeration, to interview the Francophone students. But especially I would like to thank the Manitou students and graduates themselves. I have learned much from their patience with my many questions and from their friendship. Finally I am grateful to Dr. Richard Salisbury in the Anthropology of Development Programme for making a grant available to carry out the research.

III.   Introduction

A.   History of the Project and Aims of Research

Manitou Community College, the first college specifically
for Canadian Indian, Inuit, and Metis students, opened its
doors in La Macaza, Quebec in January, 1973. Although it was
closed in December 1976, the college had graduated approximately
100 students in CEGEP-level social science programs or native
teacher-training programs. Looking at some of the activities
of the graduates of Manitou College allows an insight into the
impact that Manitou College, as an experiment in Indian higher
education, had on those who completed its programs; and helps
to uncover some of the problems involved in such a unique
learning situation, as well as the mechanisms that made Manitou
"work" for individuals, where other school systems failed.

I first learned of Manitou College in January, 1976, while
attending a seminar on native people being held at Vanier CEGEP
in Montreal. As an anthropology student at McGill, I had been
interested in native education, and in July 1976, visited
Manitou to discuss a research project involving the graduates
of the college. Permission was obtained from the college to
carry out fieldwork, on the understanding that I would collect
specific data for the college and present it in January 1977.
A grant for travelling expenses was obtained from the Programme
in the Anthropology of Development at McGill University in
August. After talking with people at Manitou, a test question-
naire was formulated and revised upon their suggestions (see
Appendix A). Background information was researched at the
college, and each graduate was sent a letter explaining the
research project and asking permission for me to speak with
him/her about his/her experiences at Manitou (see Appendix B).
I was interested in the relationship between education and
identity for my own interests and in more quantitative data
such as educational, political, and economic factors, for the
purposes of Manitou College. A letter of permission from the
college was obtained to show students I would be interviewing
(see Appendix C).

B.   Fieldwork

Though a few brief visits had been made to Manitou through-
out July and August, I spent the last week in August living at
Manitou and getting to know something of the college and its

students. From there, I travelled to reservations in New
Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Quebec, as well as to Manitou, and
to urban centres where graduates were living. Although there
were a few times when people preferred not to answer a specific
question, my reception has been generally encouraging and
interviews lengthy and informal. In many cases in fact, I did
not use the questionnaire at all but simply listened as people
spoke of their experiences at Manitou. The questionnaire,
therefore, represents but a part of the research as observation
and participation at the college allowed me to learn from the
students there. Because of my lack of facility with French,
Ms Madeleine Taylor from Montreal travelled north to help me by
interviewing the Francophone graduates. She had previously
accompanied me to the college and acquainted herself with the
project.

C. Limitations of the Study

The limitations imposed upon this study are spatial,
temporal, and financial in scope. Because of limited funding
and available time, it was impossible to interview those
graduates living as far north as James Bay for example. There
have been problems of course in locating some individuals, which
has reduced the number of interviews possible. The study
includes graduates as of August 1976 and thus does not include
the September 1976 teacher-training graduate class nor the
December 1976 CEGEP graduates. Had it been possible for me to
spend all of the fall term doing fieldwork, I would have been
able to speak with more people for longer periods of time. As
it stands, I was able to spend a considerable amount of time
with each graduate I did interview, as well as talking with
other students (including drop-outs), teachers, administrators,
attending classes at Manitou and participating in activities
there.

D. Layout of the Report

The sample represented in this report consists of 36 of
the 65 students who had graduated from programs at Manitou by
August 1976. Thirty-one of these are CEGEP graduates. Other
statistics are as follows:

Breakdown by province of home reserve:
Nova Scotia	13
Quebec	12
New Brunswick	4
Ontario	2

Breakdown by tribal affiliation: Micmac   18
                                    Mohawk   7
                                    Montagnais   2
                                    Huron   2
                                    Maliseet   1
                                    Metis   1

Breakdown by first (non-native) language: English   28
                                            French   3

Breakdown by sex: male   17
                    female   14

    Rather than explain the questionnaire as such, I shall
explain each section of the data as it is presented. The
information gathered was put into seventeen sections, sections
6 and 7 corresponding to question 1 on the questionnaire;
sections 8 and 9 corresponding to question 2; section 10 to
question 3, and so on. Since the questions were open-ended,
I tallied the responses on a master chart and rearranged the
answers according to popularity of response. Thus I shall give
the statistical data, followed by a brief explanatory comment.
I shall do this for the CEGEP graduates first, and follow with
the Amerindian Techniques graduates. The reasons for dividing
the sample by course will become obvious as the differences
in responses are noted. Thirdly, I shall comment briefly on
the interviews I did with "drop-outs".

    The seventh section of this report concerns itself with
points 10 and 11 of the questionnaire, that is the question of
identity and ethnic relations. Finally, in the summary I shall
present comparisons along tribal lines, and by year. I shall
then summarize the feelings of the graduates as represented in
this report.

IV. Statistical Data: the CEGEP Graduates

1. Average age of graduates is: 25.5

2. Type of school attended prior to Manitou:
    A. Public school with majority of non-native students 19
    B. Residential school   7
    C. Other (including vocational/technical schools,
            Manpower Training, etc.)   5

3. Average grade level prior to attending Manitou: 10.9

4. Time spent in full-time work (other than summer jobs) prior to attending Manitou:
    A. Greater than two years   12
    B. Less than two years   12
    C. Came to Manitou directly from school 5

5. Speaks a native language:
    A. Yes   19
    B. Partly   7
    C. No   5

6. Expected from program at Manitou:
    A. Regular CEGEP program and diploma   13
    B. Didn't know what to expect   10
    C. Specific vocational/technical program 8

    Comment: The students entering Manitou in the first year
              of its operation, that is the graduating class
              of 1975, either came for a specific vocational
              or technical program, which is what they thought
              Manitou was all about, or they didn't quite know
              what to expect. Once the CEGEP programs were
              firmly organized, later students had a clearer
              idea of what was available to them at Manitou.

7. Saw the aims of Manitou College as:
    A. Unsure but expected it to be different
            from "white" schools   15
    B. Same as any other school   13
    C. Cultural centre with emphasis on
            things Indian   3

8. Liked best about Manitou:
   A. The people (students, teachers, staff)   16
   B. Personal, informal, relaxed atmosphere   5
   C. Facilities and opportunities   3
   D. "Everything!"   5
   E. Other (includes scenery, meeting other
      Indians, etc.)   2

Comment: The overwhelming feeling here obviously was that
         the people at Manitou were what made it unique.
         Teachers at Manitou, with very few exceptions,
         are seen by students as dedicated and sincere,
         and this teacher-student relationship makes for a
         unique learning environment. People seemed to
         feel that the people involved in it made Manitou
         College "a good place to learn". This is closely
         tied in with the warmth and relaxation of the
         general atmosphere, which many students pointed
         out as a welcome contrast to their previous
         experiences in highly impersonal, formal, "white"
         educational environments. The five students who
         responded with "Everything!" mentioned several
         points they liked about the college and finally
         concluded that everything made it a good place
         to be.

9. Liked least about Manitou:
   A. Administration of the college, and the way
      students were excluded from the decision-
      making process   10
   B. Excessive drinking and the problems
      associated with it   8
   C. Too easy; low academic standards   3
   D. Poor screening of students   2
   E. Isolation of site   2
   F. Other (included lack of counsellors, too
      many whites, etc.)   6

Comment: The things the students liked least about Manitou
         centred around two issues. Firstly, the students
         who are still at Manitou either working or doing
         their third year in arts, feel unanimously that
         relations between the administration and the
         students are extremely tense and alienated. The
         students are bothered by the new director's lack
         of visibility and lack of communication with the

student body, and feel that they have no input
into the decisions made at the college. This
feeling of being "controlled from above" seems
to have resulted, they say, in a feeling that it
is not their college, after all. There exists
a great deal of frustration because of the
instability that has dogged the college since its
opening, because of its political and economic
situation. The second issue was that of drinking.
A number of graduates talked about drinking as a
prime problem at Manitou, specifically, and among
the Indian population generally. Many "explana-
tions" were offered ranging from depression to
the lax academic standards to the lack of alter-
native social activities to peer pressure. It was
frequently suggested that a counsellor could be a
help in this respect and that Mr. Doug Knockwood,
a former counsellor at the college had been very
helpful in this respect. Directly tied in with
the perception of alcohol as a problem at the
college, five students suggested that had the
initial screening of students been more selective,
the academic standards high and strict enough to
require greater time spent on schoolwork, that the
effect might have been less "partying". Other
students countered that it (alcohol) was a much
more individual matter.

10. Effect of Manitou on political activities:
   A. Basically politically inactive but more under-
      standing and awareness of political situation
      and process because of attending Manitou   23
   B. Slightly less active politically   3
   C. Slightly more active politically   3
   D. Definite political involvement at local
      band level   1
   E. Preferred not to comment on political
      activities   1

   Comment: Contrary to expectations expressed by some people
            at Manitou, the majority of graduates feel that
            Manitou has had no effect on their political
            activities. They all hastened to assure me
            however, that they had a greater understanding of
            their historic, legal and political situation, as

Indians, than they had before attending Manitou.
Basically, however, they saw themselves as non-
political persons or not wanting to get involved
politically. Many persons expressed the idea that
the intellectual climate at Manitou, which is
highly politicized, did not carry over into the
home reservation. One exception to this is a
student whose experiences at Manitou encouraged
him to run for band councillor, a position he now
holds.

11. Effect of Manitou on economic status:
    A. No improvement in economic status   11
    B. Improvement because of marketable skills
        (crafts, teaching crafts, selling
          artwork, etc.)   8
    C. Will improve eventually because of educa-
        tional status but am now a student   7
    D. Improvement because of student and CEGEP
        status   3
    E. Improvement in the sense that I'm working
        at Manitou now   2

Comment: Approximately one-third of the students said that
        Manitou had not helped them improve their economic
        status. Another 13 said that their economic
        condition had improved because of learning skills
        such as jewelry-making, canoe-building, pottery,
        and other crafts which they had learned at Manitou.
        Many of these students had been asked to demon-
        strate or teach such skills at Manitou and at
        other places. For seven students who are currently
        in school, they feel that Manitou will improve
        their economic situation, by having started them
        in an educational system. One of the problems in
        attempting to evaluate the economic impact of
        Manitou on its graduates, of course, is the time
        involved. General skills and knowledge learned
        at Manitou may indirectly contribute to an indi-
        vidual's financial status. Two factors that were
        mentioned over and over again by the students were
        that: a) Manitou had made them much more aware of
        what employment opportunities and funding sources
        for federal and provincial government grants, etc.
        were available, and b) their experiences at

Manitou had made them much more articulate and confident to apply for jobs, etc.

12. Have you continued your education beyond Manitou?
    A. Yes   24

Breakdown:
a) Enrolled full-time in university   4
b) Enrolled full-time in a teachers' college   3
c) Enrolled full-time at university but temporarily absent this year because of personal finances or because my university is on strike   3
d) Enrolled part-time at university while working part-time   1
e) Enrolled in the third year of the arts course at Manitou   13

For those who continued:
i) Would you have been accepted prior to Manitou?
    Yes   4
    No   6
ii) Did Manitou help you academically?
    Yes   9
    No   1
iii) Were you given credit for courses taken at Manitou?
    Yes   7
    Partial   1
    No   2

NB: Of the eleven students who went on to schools other than Manitou, one student did not answer this section hence the discrepancy in numbers.

Comment: Perhaps one of the strongest arguments to be made in favour of Manitou's continued operation is the fact that 24 of the 31 students in the sample have continued their education beyond CEGEP level. It is especially significant that, with a single exception, every one of these students expressed a definite plan to return to his home reservation and apply his education there. These students all had well-defined ideas of how their education would allow them to make a contribution to their home community, and all expressed a desire to work

with and help their "own people" in concrete
ways. Of the eleven students who went beyond
CEGEP level to schools other than Manitou, six of
them said that they would never have been accepted
prior to attending Manitou, because of pre-
Manitou academic status, lack of motivation, and
other factors. Nine students said that Manitou
had definitely helped them academically in a
variety of ways, including upgrading of basic
literacy skills, development of research skills
and study habits, and providing incentive and
motivation to continue academic studies, by
increasing personal competence and thus confidence.
On the question of accreditation, seven students
received full credit for courses taken at Manitou,
one student received partial, and two students
received no credit for their coursework. In the
latter two cases, the situation was complicated
by the fact that the students involved had com-
pleted grade twelve and were attending universities
in the Maritimes, where a CEGEP diploma is super-
fluous. Seven students have not continued their
education: six of these are now working and one
is unemployed. All of the students interviewed
saw education as a major need of the native popu-
lation and felt that Manitou College, whatever its
problems or their personal feelings towards it,
was a positive step in encouraging young people
to go to a school where they could feel comfortable,
and learn "relevant" material and skills. It is
interesting to note also that, while many of the
Manitou graduates are drop-outs of other school
systems, every graduate recommended that young
Indian students should continue their education
beyond the highschool level. I suggest that their
experiences at Manitou gave the students a much
more positive orientation toward education, in
general, and its role in the development of the
native population, in particular.

13. Were you able to put what you learned at Manitou into
practice in your own reservation or community?
    A. Am planning to in the future but am in school
       right now   16
    B. No   10
    C. Yes   4

Comment: Most students have definite plans to work in
their home communities but are currently away
for most of the year, as students. Those who
answered "yes" included a band councillor, a
student starting a craft shop, a student involved
with native research, and a student working on a
native communications project.

14. Would you advise a younger brother or sister to go to
Manitou, to a "white" college or CEGEP, or not to continue
his education after highschool? Why?
A. Manitou   17
B. Manitou, if it changes and solves
   some of the problems it has now   8
C. Another "white" CEGEP or university
   system   6

Comment: The great majority of people recommended Manitou
College. The following reasons were given: the
relevance of the curriculum; the unique environ-
ment at Manitou; the uniqueness of the range of
skills one could learn there; the upgrading program
which gave a lot of people a "second chance" in
education. Manitou was seen as a place to "find
your identity" and "get your head together".
Eight people recommended Manitou with the stipu-
lation that it iron out some of its current
problems. The problems mentioned most frequently
were: the poor relationship and lack of communi-
cation between the administration and the students,
and economic problems of the college which in turn
caused more problems. Six students said they
would recommend another CEGEP or university system.
The primary reason given was that for those going
on to university in the Maritimes, a grade twelve
education was all that was needed. Therefore
while Manitou was seen as especially good for
previous school drop-outs, people felt that if one
had completed highschool and wanted to go to
university, that two years spent at Manitou would
be a waste of time. One person felt that most
native people needed technical skills more than
the social science learned at Manitou.

15. What changes do you think Manitou will have to undergo to

adapt to changing native needs?

What is needed at Manitou is .....

A. The students must have greater participation
   in the decision-making process. There must
   be better communication between the admini-
   stration and the students.   9

B. There must be a way to overcome the amount of
   drinking at Manitou and the problems caused
   by or related to it.   7

C. There must be a greater diversity of programs,
   for example science courses and some.
   vocational/technical training.   3

D. Formal education is not a native priority so
   Manitou should expand to include other
   than liberal arts training.   3

E. There should be stricter academic standards
   and screening of students   3

F. Other (included suggestions that there should
   be separate English and French schools and
   that there should be greater communications
   with bands).   3

16. How do you think Manitou has been handled by the media?
    A. Unfairly   28
    B. Too little communication to tell   1
    C. No comment   2

    Comment: Most students felt that the media had been res-
             ponsible for creating a negative image of Manitou
             College by gross exaggeration and distortion of
             the facts. It seemed to them that only negative
             things were being written about the college and
             that the administration was doing nothing to
             counteract that negative publicity. Many students
             further stated that this was particularly unfor-
             tunate for those bands who knew very little of
             what was actually going on at Manitou and had to
             rely upon the press for their information.

17. How do you think Manitou has been handled by the government?
    A. Unfairly   17
    B. No comment   10
    C. Fairly   4

    Comment: The students who felt that the (federal) government

had treated the college unfairly gave the
following reasons: many students were unable to
obtain the funding they were legally entitled to
and were "hassled" and discouraged from attending
Manitou by Indian Affairs agents. Students said
that they were unable to obtain access to documents
of the federal government regarding the college,
thus making them feel alienated from the decision-
making process. Students felt that the guidelines
set up for cultural education programs by the
federal government contained inherent contradic-
tions, which prevented the success of the college.
For example, a certain number of students were
needed to justify the existence of the college,
yet students were being discouraged from going to
Manitou and were having trouble obtaining funding.
Many students did not want to comment on this
question as they felt too uninformed to do so,
saying that the communication between the govern-
ment and the students was so poor as to make an
assessment of the government's position impossible.
The four who said that the government had treated
the college fairly were of the first graduating
class: there seemed to be some feeling that
Indian Affairs was initially receptive to the
college but that, for a number of reasons, it
lessened its financial and moral support as the
years went by.

V. Statistical Data: The Amerindian Techniques Program

Note: Because of the very small sample interviewed these
interviews may be much less representative of the
total group, than the CEGEP program data. However,
I do think the responses reveal a significant dif-
ference in the total Manitou experience than the
CEGEP students.

1. Average age of this sample is 34.

2. Type of school attended prior to Manitou is:
    A. Public "white" school   3
    B. Residential   2

3. Average level prior to attending Manitou

4. Time spent in full-time work (other than summer jobs) prior
    to attending Manitou:
    A. Worked less than 2 years   1
    B. Worked more than 2 years   4

5. Speaks a native language:
    A. Yes   5

6. Expected from program at Manitou:
    A. Certification for teacher's licence   5

7. Saw the aims of Manitou College as:
    A. Same as any other school   4
    B. More of a cultural center   1

8. Liked best about Manitou:
    A. Course itself   3
    B. Atmosphere of Manitou   2

9. Liked least about Manitou:
    A. English-French relations, difficult social
        situations created by English/French
        division   3
    B. Drinking and student problems associated
        with it   2

10. Effect of Manitou on political activities:

A. Politically inactive but Manitou having
some effect in terms of general under-
standing and awareness of political
situation and process 5

11. Effect of Manitou on economic status:
A. Definite improvement because of certification 5

12. Have you continued your education?
A. Does not really apply as I am working
(teaching) now 4
B. I was accepted at Laval but it has been
on strike 1

13. Were you able to put what you learned at Manitou into
practice in your own reservation or community?
A. Yes, am teaching now 4
B. Yes, involved now in linguistic research 1

14. Would you advise a younger brother or sister to go to
Manitou, to a "white" college or CEGEP, or not to continue
his education after highschool? Why?
A. Manitou, if it solves its present problems
of drinking, etc. 3
B. Manitou 2

15. What changes do you think Manitou will have to undergo to
adapt to changing native needs?
A. There should be a stricter atmosphere with
regard to screening of students, alcohol,
and related disciplinary problems 3
B. There should be better general organization
at the college 2

16. How do you think Manitou College has been treated by the
media?
A. No comment 4
B. Unfairly 1

17. How do you think Manitou College has been treated by the
government?
A. No comment 4
B. Unfairly 1

VI.   Statistical Data: The Drop-Outs

This research project was originally intended as a study of the graduates and the drop-outs of Manitou College. Unfortunately, time and financial restrictions have caused me to direct the focus of the study on graduates only. However, eleven formal interviews were conducted with "drop-outs".   The sample includes five Micmac from Nova Scotia, one Micmac and one Maliseet from New Brunswick, and from Quebec, two Mohawk, one Cree and one Montagnais. I shall present the questionnaire results first, followed by comments.

1. Average age is 23.2.

2. Type of school attended prior to Manitou:
    A.   Public school with majority of non-native
        students   9
    B.   Residential school   2

3. Average grade level prior to attending Manitou: 11.1

4. Time spent in full-time work (other than summer jobs) prior to attending Manitou:
    A.   Greater than 2 years   8
    B.   Less than 2 years   2
    C.   Came to Manitou directly from school   1

5. Speaks a native language:
    A.   Yes   9
    B.   Partly   1
    C.   No   1

6. Expected from program at Manitou:
    A.   Regular CEGEP program and diploma   5
    B.   Didn't know what to expect   2
    C.   Specific vocational/technical program   2
    D.   Other   2

7. Saw the aims of Manitou College as:
    A.   Same as any other school   5
    B.   Unsure but expected it to be different
        from "white" schools   2
    C.   Cultural center with emphasis on things
        Indian   2
    D.   Other   1

8. Liked best about Manitou:
    A. The people (students, teachers, staff)   5
    B. Facilities and opportunities   3
    C. Other (very specific point)   2
    D. Atmosphere   1

9. Liked least about Manitou:
    A. Isolation of the site   5
    B. Other (very specific)   3
    C. Drinking and problems associated with it   2
    D. Administration of the college   1

10. Effect of Manitou on political activities:
    A. Basically politically inactive but more
        understanding and awareness because of
        political situation and process because
        of attending Manitou   10
    B. Slightly less active politically   1

11. Effect of Manitou on economic status:
    A. No improvement in economic status   8
    B. Improvement because of marketable skills   2
    C. Will improve eventually but am now a student   1

12. Have you continued your education beyond Manitou?
    A. No   10
    B. Yes am in school part-time   1

13. Were you able to put what you learned at Manitou into
practice in your own reservation or community?
    A. No   9
    B. Yes (photographic skills)   2

14. Would you advise a younger brother or sister to go to
Manitou, to a "white" college or CEGEP, or not to continue
his education after highschool? Why?
    A. Manitou   7
    B. Another "white" CEGEP or university system   2
    C. Manitou if it solves its current problems   1
    D. Other   1

15. What changes do you think Manitou will have to undergo to
adapt to changing native needs?
    A. Other (refers to very specific individual
        points).   6

B. Overcome the drinking problem   3
C. Students need greater participation in
    decision-making process   1
D. Education itself is not a native priority   1

16. How do you think Manitou has been handled by the media?
    A. Unfairly   7
    B. No comment   2
    C. Too little communication to tell   1

17. How do you think Manitou has been handled by the government?
    A. Unfairly   6
    B. No comment   3
    C. Fairly   1

Comment: One of the most difficult problems in attempting
to interview "drop-outs" is in defining the term.
Most students who left Manitou did so for reasons
that had little to do with the school, reasons
such as poor health, upcoming marriage, or
finances. Every drop-out I spoke with, except
one, expressed a desire to return to Manitou.
The majority unconditionally recommended Manitou
as a CEGEP. While many of the responses do not
differ greatly from those of the CEGEP graduates,
it is interesting to note some of the differences
which may give clues to reasons why people left
the college. It is notable, for example, that
five of the students, all from relatively popu-
lated areas, found the isolation of the site
difficult to cope with. Also, when asked about
changes needed at Manitou, these students tended
to give very specific criticisms of the college in
regard to matters which personally concerned
them.

VII. Education and Identity

While social scientists have attempted to refine the concept of identity, I have taken a cognitive approach in this research project, in using the concept of identity as it is defined by the graduates of Manitou College themselves. The Manitou data suggests that identity involves two main spheres: orientation toward self and orientation toward others significant to oneself. This is not to suggest, of course, that persons actually analyze their identity as such, but the question of "Indian identity" certainly involves internal and external factors on both levels.

While many graduates did not discuss this question in any length, the overwhelming majority of graduates interviewed said that Manitou was a place where one could find one's identity. One student summed up the feelings of many others when she said, "For me, Manitou relieved a lot of frustrations. A sense of confidence and pride overcame childhood feelings of inferiority, that had been taught to me by (white) teachers." Finding one's identity, for the Manitou graduates, meant having a greater understanding of oneself and one's people, and feeling more positive about themselves and their situation. Again, the reinforcing factor of being surrounded by people they felt comfortable with, encouraged a relaxed atmosphere where individuals felt a part of the group. Although a great many of the graduates had frequent interaction with non-native persons, and felt positively towards them, being with other native persons was certainly a drawing card for students wishing to go to Manitou College. By providing this atmosphere; by encouraging and providing resources for individuals to explore their history and culture; by positively reinforcing the use of native languages and religious or cultural practices; by providing the students with a historical and legal framework within which to place the current situation of Canadian natives; all seem to have created a positive self-image and a sense of having a unique and psychologically satisfying background. When one hears of the damaging effects of earlier school experiences, the very positive role Manitou has played in the formation of positive self-identity is understandable. Accompanying this is a new sense of confidence. Many students said that they felt far less inhibited by white people; that they were better able to articulate their needs and could "present" themselves more effectively in job situations, etc. To talk of enhancing one's

personal or cultural identity and building confidence, may
not be the type of quantifiable output that educational
administrators seek to justify an educational program.
After speaking with a number of people who said that Manitou
has had a tremendous effect on their assertiveness and self-
image, I feel convinced that this sometimes under-estimated
effect of the college is one of the most valuable contri-
butions to human development that any cultural-educational
system could make.

In terms of orientation toward other persons, a number
of the graduates I interviewed distinguished between native
and non-native persons. The overwhelming majority of
Manitou graduates show a positive feeling toward non-native
persons, often in spite of having experienced fairly flagrant
discrimination. Of course, there are cultural values with
which they may disagree in the larger society, but the
individual orientation remains positive. A very small
number of graduates expressed feelings of anger, resentment,
and hostility toward non-native people. The prime factor
affecting this feeling seemed to be background experiences
of the individuals involved. In this respect, for example,
one can make a comparison along tribal lines. Contrasting
the history and frequency of contact with non-native people,
of the Nova Scotian Micmacs, with that of Indians from
relatively isolated reserves in northern Quebec, a notice-
able difference emerges, in that the Micmac are somewhat
more used to frequent interaction with non-natives and
"relate" to them more. They seem less-alienated from the
poor, rural, non-native population adjacent to them. In
terms of other native groups, the majority of the graduates
said that they had very little contact with other tribes,
and that their experiences at Manitou gave them a much
greater awareness of the linguistic and cultural diversity
of native groups. Whether or not a Pan-Indian identity
was actually being fostered at Manitou is difficult to say.
Certainly, students exhibited a great deal of tribal con-
sciousness, despite significant regional variation within
tribal units, as for example, when the students initiated
the tribal-based student political body instead of the
previous representation-by-population set-up. In terms of
the process of identity formation, most students said that
they previously equated "Mohawk"-ness, for example, with
"Indian"-ness, but that Manitou experiences had changed
that slightly. Evident as well is the presence of inter-
tribal competition and joking/stereotyping along tribal

lines.

On a more theoretical level, perhaps, it is interesting to note the role of peer labelling in identity formation and maintenance. Studies of native education have generally assumed, firstly, a continuum of acculturation with certain behaviours, traits and attitudes relegated to the "white" and "Indian" ends of the spectrum, and secondly, an assumption of cultural loss and replacement, the idea that the acquisition of "white" skills, behaviours, and attitudes implies loss of "traditional" or "native" skills, behaviours, and attitudes. The point here, of course, is simply that researchers have failed to take native categories into account; one cannot assume a priori that certain categories are real for the persons involved. We see at Manitou, for example, that "Indian" and "white" are terms used not necessarily to refer to persons but to attitudes or behaviours, which are neither of necessity static nor mutually exclusive. An understanding of the role of peer labelling in identity formation is important to understand what mechanisms contribute to identity validation. How the categories change in response to native need, that is to say, how the content of labels such as "Indian" or "white" change with situation, illuminates the processes of identity maintenance and what exactly people mean when they express desires to maintain their identity. If the philosophical base of Manitou College is a rhetoric of "preservation of ethnic identity" or "maintenance of a separate cultural identity", then this cognitive or perceptual approach to the problem may help administrators translate the rhetoric into concrete programs and policies.

VIII. Summary and Conclusions

Summarizing the responses of the graduates suggests three possible lines of major differences: by year, by tribal affiliation or region, and by course. In terms of graduating classes, the primary differences by year involved perceptions of the school and communications. The first graduates, who entered Manitou in 1973, had no idea of what to expect. Many planned vocational or technical careers and ended up in CEGEP programs. Understandably, that first term at Manitou was a hectic one in trying to organize classes and programs. The students all recounted the first year at Manitou as a time when they felt very much a part of the decision-making process, and very much a community. "Making Manitou work", as the students put it, was a cause worth fighting for. Many people have pointed out, however, that there seemed to be some initial confusion over what Manitou was supposed to be all about; some saw it as a school not unlike others except for the emphasis on native content, while some saw it more as a political consciousness-raising activity. Certainly these different camps of thought were reflected in the differing activities and attitudes of teachers as well. Later students were to come to Manitou with a much clearer idea of what the college had to offer; this is reflected in the yearly decrease of drop-outs since the college opened. Another general comment that reflects yearly differences is the fact that the lines of intra-college communications broke down as the years at Manitou went by. Specifically, the general feeling of the graduates seems to be that relations between the students and the administration deteriorated with time, causing a feeling of alienation from the college itself. Economic and political factors external to the college, as well as internal problems, may have made the position of director a more difficult one as time went on. Some of the Francophone students mentioned that relations between English and French-speaking students represented another split in communications but that this was not really a problem.

In terms of tribal affiliations, one cannot help but note the success of the Micmac students at Manitou. Perhaps background factors affected student motivations, as one teacher suggested. Perhaps students from more remote reservations in northern Quebec felt that the CEGEP program was not as relevant to their needs, as it may have been for

the Micmac students. Certainly, in terms of political consciousness or militancy, there is a marked difference between a lot of the students from Quebec and those from the Maritimes. Contrasting the history and frequency of interaction with the non-native population of the two groups, and considering the recent James Bay Agreement, it is understandable that the political feelings of a young Cree student and his orientation toward non-native people may be considerably more militant than those of a Micmac for example. Certainly the linguistic and cultural diversity of native people in Quebec presents much more of a problem to provincial native unity, than that found in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. Hence the range of political orientations to be found among Quebec Indians is much greater than that in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. One thing that many students really enjoyed at Manitou was the opportunity to meet other groups of young native people. A certain tribal consciousness expressed itself in friendship patterns (this may have been connected with language use), joking and stereotyping along tribal lines, as well as in the political student body at the college.

The most significant differences though, are to be seen among the graduates of the different courses. Looking at the graduates of the teacher-training program, they are significantly older than the CEGEP graduates, had a much clearer idea of what to expect from Manitou, and seemed to be much more purely academic in their interests, as seen from their comments. The mention of the social split along French-English lines ties in with that mentioned by Francophone CEGEP students. Politically, these graduates were inactive and had little to say, in spite of one of them being a chief on his reserve. They were also far less critical of the treatment of the college by the media and government, than were the CEGEP graduates. The primary difference in this course is that all the graduates were able to put what they learned into immediate practice, and to experience immediate economic benefits. Because of the certification that this course brings, and its immediate educational and economic consequences, there seems to be no question as to its utility and continuance. It is expected that other institutions such as l'Université de Québec à Chicoutimi, or other educational centers can continue to provide this training.

Looking back over the general economic, political, social, educational, and practical effects that Manitou College has had on its graduates, it becomes evident that any attempt at evaluation by the students is complicated by the following two factors. Firstly, Manitou College was still in its infant stages when it was closed. Having had no precedent in Eastern Canada, it had to experiment and learn from its mistakes. It hardly seems realistic, given the time factor involved, to really understand the impact it has had. For all the graduates who are now in universities and teachers' colleges, for example, the repercussions of their future activities on reserves, could be tremendous. The long-range practical application of what students learned at Manitou has to be taken into account as well. Besides the time factor, another problem in evaluation is the fact of working with intangibles. That is, their Manitou experiences gave many students a new sense of self-confidence; how will this affect them academically in tackling higher education, or economically in applying for and getting jobs? The development of basic literacy skills and the individual ability to articulate will have a tremendous effect on development of leadership and ability to communicate needs effectively to persons and institutions in power. An increased political awareness and understanding should lead to responsible decision-makers at the reserve level. Therefore, many of the criticisms of the college are premature and destructive when weighed against the long-range potential of the school as a tool for the development of the native population.

It would be equally unrealistic not to acknowledge the many problems Manitou has faced. The primary problems, as perceived by the graduates, revolve around three issues: economics, politics, and communication.

Economically, Manitou has been dogged from the beginning by lack of adequate funding necessary for the maintenance of the site. Lack of funding may have had repercussions in other areas, causing a vicious cycle of problems. Selective screening of students and teachers, adequate teaching aids and resources, proper security systems, counselling and other student services -- all of these things rely on an adequate funding base. It speaks well of a number of the teachers at Manitou that they were able.

to continue running courses and programs under conditions such as no duplicating resources, lack of funds for books and related materials, scarce secretarial resources and so on. There seems to be a predominant feeling however, that lack of money is not the central problem. Many students feel that money could have been spent more wisely at the college by the administration. On the student side of things, they advocated 1) that an arrangement be made whereby cheques would be distributed more frequently and only on week-ends, and 2) that a strict rule be enforced whereby individuals involved in property damage should be forced to pay for damages. The general economic situation was seen by a number of Manitou graduates as tied into the larger and more complex relationship of the college to the provincial native organization and, federally, to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. To a certain extent the provincial (native) political organization and the federal (non-native) political organization became the scapegoats for the problems of the college, as they were perceived as being non-supportive of an institution that was seen as a good thing for the native people.

Politically, of course, this feeling that the provincial organization did not support the college, or at least accorded it a very low status in their list of priorities, reflected the inter-generational conflict of interests expressed to me by so many young Indian persons from Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It is interesting to note for example, that so many students and teachers felt that Manitou was perceived as a threat to the native political status quo by encouraging the rise of young leaders. Yet, it seems in fact, very few people have been significantly affected politically by attending Manitou, beyond the level of consciousness-raising. Some have expressed desires to get involved politically but feel alienated from and disillusioned with much of what they have experienced at the local and provincial levels of government. Moving from the federal level as represented by DIAND, and the provincial level as represented by the IQA, to the local level at Manitou as represented by the administration there, the feelings expressed by the students of having no input into policy decisions and so on, is closely tied to a communications problem. From DIAND to Manitou; from IQA to Manitou; from provincial band councils to Manitou; from Manitou to the larger non-native population via negatively-biased press

coverage; from the Manitou administration to its students;
-- all are lines of communication which broke down over time
and led to many problems. Examples of gross misunder-
standings or simply lack of first-hand knowledge, are
abundant enough to justify the general student feeling that
the people in positions of power with regard to the college's
future, such as band councillors who knew little of the
college or "white bureaucrats in Ottawa" who knew even
less, actually knew very little of what was really happening
at the school. Certainly, improved communications on all
levels is an absolute necessity if such an educational
system is to be reinstituted. Two positions suggest them-
selves here: the possibility of a student-staff ombudsman
and the position of public relations officer as a means of
improving communication flow. There were also problems
created by the presence of out-of-province students. After
enquiring to many people, no one has yet explained to me
why the provincial organizations failed to work out some
sort of compromise position whereby individual out-of-
province students would be sponsored, thus relieving the
Quebec organization of its financial burden. The lack of
cost sharing caused tensions as well, especially when the
out-of-province students were told they were "guests" at
the college.

Besides these three problem areas mentioned consis-
tently by the students, there was some concern as well that
excessive drinking had become a problem for a minority of
the students. The reasons are too varied and complex to
attempt any sort of answer to this problem, but the fact
that it is recognized as such may point to the need for
counsellors on alcoholism, as some students suggested would
be helpful.

The students were quick to point out to me that
problems such as those articulated above are offset by the
many advantages which make Manitou a unique educational
experience: the flexible admissions, the upgrading programs,
the relevance of the curriculum, the relaxed atmosphere,
the unique experience of learning with other Indian tribes,
etc. Manitou was especially helpful in giving previous
highschool drop-outs a "second chance" at education.

In this report I have attempted to present an overview
of the feelings of the graduates of Manitou College on a

number of subjects related to the college. To isolate
individuals or specific events which caused problems would
accomplish nothing but further communication breakdown; I
hope that the impressions of the students, as represented
in this report, will be taken in a constructive vein and
will prove useful in future planning.

I had originally planned to continue the fieldwork
and to compile the final report by May 1977. Because
Manitou College is now closed, I have asked the admini-
stration to organize a meeting, where we can discuss the
feasibility and utility of continuing this project and
exchange suggestions for further research.

Interview Questionnaire for Manitou Study

NAME:

HOME ADDRESS:

AGE:

COURSE:

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED PRIOR TO MANITOU:

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING PRIOR TO MANITOU:

DID YOU WORK BEFORE COMING TO MANITOU:

DATE ENTERED MANITOU:

DATE LEFT MANITOU:

CURRENT OCCUPATION:

1. What did you expect your programme at Manitou to do for you?
    What did you feel were the aims of Manitou in general and the
    purposes of your programme in particular?

2. What were the things you liked best about Manitou?
    What were the things you liked least about Manitou?

3. Have you been involved in any native organizations
    before entering Manitou?
    after leaving Manitou?
    Have you participated in any strikes or demonstrations or other
    political activity before entering Manitou?
                   after leaving Manitou?
    Have you ever written articles or letters regarding native
    affairs before entering Manitou?
           after leaving Manitou?
    Did you ever initiate political or other native organizations
    before entering Manitou?
    after leaving Manitou?

4. Did Manitou provide you with channels and skills for finding
    employment?
    Are you in a better economic position now because of attending
    Manitou?

5. Are you now enrolled in a post-CEGEP educational institute?
    Would you have been accepted prior to attending Manitou?
    Do you feel that attending Manitou has helped you academically?
    Were you given credit for courses taken at Manitou?

Manitou Questionnaire (cont.)

6. Were you able to put your learning into practice in your own reservation or home community?

7. Would you advise a younger brother or sister to go to Manitou, to a white college or CEGEP, or not to continue his education? Why?

8. What changes do you think Manitou will have to undergo to adapt to changing native needs?

9. How do you feel Manitou has been handled by the media? by government?

10. Did your learning experiences at Manitou give you a greater sense of personal or ethnic identity?
    Did it change your ideas of "Indian-ness"?
    Did it help you grow spiritually?

11. Did your experiences at Manitou give you a better understanding of the values of "white" society?
    Did it change your perspective?

QUESTIONNAIRE ENTREVUE POUR L'ETUDE MANITOU

NOM:

ADRESSE DU DOMICILE:

AGE:

COURS:

GENRE D'ECOLE FREQUENTEE AVANT MANITOU:

NIVEAU SCOLAIRE ATTEINT AVANT MANITOU:

AVEZ VOUS TRAVAILLE AVANT DE VENIR A MANITOU:

DATE D'ENTREE A MANITOU:

DATE DE DEPART DE MANITOU:

OCCUPATION ACTUELLE:

1. Qu'attendiez-vous personnellement de votre programme à Manitou? Que pensiez-vous être les buts generaux de Manitou et les objectifs de votre programme en particulier?

2. Qu'avez-vous aimé le plus à Manitou?
   Qu'avez-vous aimé le moins à Manitou?

3. Vous-êtes vous impliqué dans quelque activité Amérindienne avant d'entrer à Manitou? Depuis votre départ?

   Avez-vous participé à des grèves ou des manifestations politiques avant d'entrer à Manitou? Depuis votre départ?

   Avez-vous jamais écrit des articles ou des lettres regardant des affaires Amérindienne avant d'entrer à Manitou? Depuis votre départ?

   Avez-vous jamais initié des organisations politiques ou d'autres avant d'entrer à Manitou? Depuis votre départ?

4. Est-ce que Manitou vous a fournit des possibilitiés et compétences pour trouver un emploi? Votre situation économique s'est-elle amélioré parce que vous avez fait vos études à Manitou?

2.

5. Etes-vous maintenant inscrit à un institut d'education post-cégep? Y-auriez-vous été admis avant d'avoir etudie à Manitou? Pensez-vous Manitou vous avoir aidé académiquement? Avez-vous été crédité pour vos cours à Manitou?

6. Avez-vous pu mettre en pratique votre apprentissage dans votre réserve ou votre communauté?

7. Conseilleriez-vous un jeune frère ou une jeune soeur de fréquenter le collège Manitou, un cégep ou collège (blanc) ou à ne pas poursuivre ses études? Pourquois?

8. Quelles changements seront necessaires à Manitou si le collège veut s'adapter aux besoins de la population Amérindienne?

9. A votre avis comment Manitou a-t-il été manipulé par les média? Le gouvernement?

10. Est-ce que vos experiences acquises à Manitou vous ont donné le sentiment d'une identité ethnique ou personnelle plus grand? Ont-elle influéncé de quelque façon votre sentiment sur ce que c'est d'être indien? Vous-ont-elles aidé à "grandir" spirituellement?

11. Est-ce que votre expérience à Manitou vous à donné une meilleur compréhension des valeurs de la société (blanche)? Votre perspective, est-elle changée?

PROGRAMME IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

McGILL UNIVERSITY   **.P.O. BOX 6070**   **MONTREAL 101**   **CANADA**

DEPARTMENT OF
ANTHROPOLOGY AND DEVELOPING AREA STUDIES

August 1st 1976

Dear

In order to help Manitou College to improve its
programmes, and to better meet the needs of native people, I have
been asked by the College to do an independent study of students
who have attended.   I wonder if it would be possible to meet
with you and hear about your experiences at Manitou ?

Some of the things that I would be interested in hearing about
would be -- what you expected from Manitou; what your impressions
of the College were; how studying at Manitou affected your activities
since then, politically, economically and otherwise; whether what
you learned at Manitou has been of use in your home community;
whether Manitou changed your ideas about Indian and White society.
This is an independent study, and any personal comments you might
make would be kept strictly confidential, and not included in the
report to the College in any way that might identify you.

I hope to visit your community in the near future to talk with
you and other former students of Manitou. I hope you will agree to
talk about your feelings. Would it be possible for you to let me know
when it would be convenient for us to meet?   I am enclosing a
self-addressed envelope for you to use, if you could write and let
me know, as soon as possible.

Hoping that you will help improve Manitou College,

Sincerely

(Conni Kilfoil)

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**DEPARTMENT OF
ANTHROPOLOGY AND DEVELOPING AREA STUDIES**

le 1er août 1976

Le collège Manitou m'a demandé de faire une étude indépendante
de son programme afin d'apporter toute amélioration jugée nécéssaire pour
mieux servir les besoins des Amerindiens. J'aimerais vous rencontrer à ce
propos et discuter avec vous de votre expérience personnelle touchant en
particulier les sujets suivants: qu'attendiez-vous de votre séjour au
collège Manitou; quelles furent vos impressions du collège; de quelle façon
vos études au collège ont-elles influencé vos activitiés dans les domaines
politique, économique, et autres; si vos études au collège ont été utiles
à votre communauté; si vos opinions vis-à-vis la societé (blanche) et
(indienne) ont été modifiées par votre passage au collège Manitou.

Je vous rappelle que cette étude est une recherche indépendante.
Conséquemment les données recueillies seront strictement confidentielles et
rien ne permettra de vous identifier dans le rapport final soumis au collège
Manitou.

J'ai l'intention de visiter votre communauté dans un avenir prochain
afin de discuter avec vous et avec d'autres étudiants du collège de vos
impressions et de vos opinions. J'aimerais donc savoir dans le plus brefs
délais quand il vous serait possible de me rencontrer. J'inclus à cet effet
une enveloppe de retour espérant que vous accorderez votre aide à une
amélioration prochaine du collège Manitou.

Bien à vous,

Conni Kilfoil

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