

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: Self Concept and Perceptions of Skilled Occupations of Selected

Adult Metis in Rural Northern Alberta

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The purpose of the study was to answer two questions: (1) what are the self concepts and (2) what are the perceptions of skilled occupations of adult Metis in rural northern Alberta? The sample consisted of adult students attending Academic Upgrading programs at Alberta Vocational Centres located in three regions of rural northern Alberta as well as comparable subjects of different ethnicities.

The computer form of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) and the Perceptions of Skilled Occupations, an instrument designed for this study, were used in the collection of data. Special concern was placed on explaining the objectives to the staff and subjects at the Vocational Centres. Careful attention was given to the test environment. This was extremely important because of the known "questionnaire reluctance" of Native people and the fact that a few would not be able to understand the questions despite the assistance that was readily available. Stress was placed on the necessity for sincere responses. The .05 level of significance was used for all tests which included one-way analysis of variance, Student-Newman-Keuls test, Pearson correlation and chi-square test of association.

The findings of the study revealed that there were no significant differences in self concepts and perceptions of skilled occupations among adult Metis, Status Indians and non-Native subjects from rural northern Alberta. There were significant differences in the total self concept scores and various subscale scores of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale among Metis when location was considered. Two locations showed consistent but opposite patterns of high and low levels of scores in total self esteem and other aspects of the self concept. There was a significant although weak relationship between Metis levels of scores in self concept and perceptions of skilled occupations.

Therefore, it was concluded that:

1. The self concept level of the Metis subjects in general was very low and similar low levels were revealed for non-Natives and Status Indians.
2. Ethnicity was not a significant factor in the level of self concept.
3. Low socioeconomic status and continual dependency on social assistance appeared to be associated with negative self images.
4. Evidence would indicate that the differences in the levels of self concept among Metis by location were related to the differences in environmental factors.
5. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale and Perceptions of Skilled Occupations, although significantly related, appeared to be measuring different elements of the self.

The findings have important implications for manpower planning, types of educational programs required and vocational counseling. Recommendations for further study included replication of this study

with Metis in northern areas of other provinces and with urban Metis. The Perceptions of Skilled Occupations survey form requires further testing especially with adult subjects enrolled in a broader scope of training programs and with more varied levels of self concept.

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Self Concept and Perceptions of Skilled Occupations of Selected Adult Metis in Rural Northern Alberta

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In an environment of significant economic growth and employment opportunities, particularly for skilled workers, many northern rural Metis continue to live a life completely dependent on social assistance. This study was concerned with the self concept and perceptions of skilled occupations of Metis and other groups in rural northern Alberta.

Background of the Problem

I am a maid of the small Metis Nation
And with great pride this heritage I share;
I know that God when He shaped His creation
Made every race with equal love and care.
Though the Metis are not many in number,
Great is the destiny which they command
Proud of the hate that the world heaps upon them,
Yet they play a great role in this land.
From "The Song of the Metis Maiden"
written by Louis Riel, circa 1870.

Historical Perspective

The Metis originated in Canada in the early 17th century as a result of the interbreeding between the early white settlers and Indian women. Sealey (1977) described the Metis as a people bound together solely by history. They are not associated with any common language, culture or religion. This hybrid race was a major factor in the fur

trade, the dominant industry in Canada for nearly 200 years, and was employed in hunting, trapping and fishing (Sealey and Kirkness, 1973; Sealey and Lussier, 1975; Alberta Federation of Metis Settlement Association, 1978). The Manitoba Act of 1870 created a province and also established the Metis as a nation, but the Metis became a minority group and were dispersed after their defeat during the 1885 rebellion in Saskatchewan (Elliott, 1971). The loss of land, the annihilation of the buffalo, the decline of the fur trade, and the lack of legal status combined with modern technology forced the Metis either into assimilating with the dominant culture or into a life of dependency and poverty conditions. Lusty (1975) suggested that the advancement of society and lack of legal status for the Metis "... doomed them to perpetual capitulation and subjugation" (p. 4). These mixed-blood people (with a mixed-culture) along with Indians are considered to be at the lowest socio-economic level in Canada (Walter, 1971; McKay, 1972). A more detailed account of the historical background of the Metis is provided in Appendix A.

Current Status of the Metis

From the beginning of the fur trade to the present time, power and authority have been held by white people because of their technology, organization and financial control. The northern native people are suffering not only poverty, deprivation and discrimination but have succumbed to a dependency on social assistance (Buckley, Kew and Hawley, 1963; Sealey and Kirkness, 1973). Dosman (1972) noted as a most striking point concerning Indians and Metis is their manipulation and

control by the bureaucracy of assistance programs. Sealey and Lussier (1975) cited the case of a small rural northern community, Duck Bay, Manitoba, where there were 228 out of a population of 2,600 unemployed at the peak employment period in 1964, and by 1970 welfare had become the main provider of income for native families. These conditions were also reflected in the south of the prosperous province of Alberta as Zentner (1973) found. A few native people are in the professions, such as law and teaching, and a limited number are engaged in technical or skilled work. The majority, however, are in circumstances which he described as the "culture of poverty." The deplorable state of housing is noted in many studies (Lagasse, 1959; Buckley, Kew and Hawley, 1963; McKay, 1972). It is not uncommon for 15 people to live in two to three room shacks, although some limited progress has been made recently to alleviate this situation. McKay (1972) also noted that almost 60 percent of Native housing in northern Saskatchewan were unfit for habitation. Over 90 percent were without water, and the floor space averaged about 400 square feet. Furthermore, Native people nationally have: (1) the lowest income level; (2) the highest birth rate; (3) the highest infant mortality rate; (4) the highest school dropout rate; (5) the shortest life expectancy; (6) the poorest housing conditions; and (7) the highest rate of incarceration (Gue, 1967).

The condition of poverty, while partially alleviated by welfare or social assistance, encourages a dependency condition which temporarily solves some problems and at the same time creating others. This is a current major issue in Native affairs. Many Metis and Indians, however, are desperately trying to remove themselves from welfare roles.

As reported by Thompson (1972), Joe Dion, the president of the Indian Association of Alberta, attacked the government for its lack of providing employment opportunities. Their massive welfare programs are "... killing the initiative and the challenge the people have toward work" (p. 1). The current status and problems of the Metis people are dealt with more fully in Appendix B.

Educational Status

Card, Herabayashi and French (1963) cited a 1936 report of the Alberta Royal Commission on Metis which revealed that 80 percent of the Metis children received no formal education. They further stated that the school enrollment has improved, and studies of Indians and limited ones on Metis (Sealey and Kirkness, 1973; Adams, 1975) support their position. There is, however, still a serious school dropout problem. Various studies (Sealey and Kirkness, 1973; Nagler, 1975) showed that over 90 percent who entered school never graduated from high school.

There is also a problem for Natives in grade retardation. A study by Slobodin (1966) found that a predominantly white grade one class had a promotion rate of 88 percent. Two predominantly Metis grade one classes had average promotion rates of less than 40 percent.

Employment Status

The mining industry represented by the Alberta Chamber of Resources presented a brief to the provincial mining ministers in Toronto that expressed concern over unwarranted government pressure

to hire Natives and grant Natives special privileges. The Chamber urged the government to enforce educational and training standards for skilled jobs (Edmonton Journal, September 26, 1978, p. F1, col. 4). Exactly two weeks later Native leaders were concerned with obtaining skilled jobs in the proposed heavy oil plant in northeast Alberta where unemployment for Native people in some communities is as high as 80 percent (Vicar, 1978, p. B2). Stan Daniels, president of the Metis Association of Alberta, and Native Council of Canada president Harry Daniels stated that 80 percent of Natives were frequently unemployed, even in Alberta, the "land of honey and black gold" (Thompson, 1978, p. 3). Cardinal (1969) appears more conservative when he claimed that over half of the Indians of Canada are continuously unemployed. Mason (1971) quoted the comparative unemployment rate for Indians in the United States at 40 percent against a 3.5 percent rate for all Americans. The exact rate of unemployment is difficult to determine because non-Status Indians and Metis are included in general unemployment figures. However, there is little question that unemployment among Native people is the highest of any ethnic group and several times in excess of the national average. The need for academic upgrading and vocational training to alleviate the situation and welfare/poverty condition is stressed by most writers reviewing the current plight of Canadian Natives (Buckley, 1963; Slobodin, 1966; Cardinal, 1969; McKay, 1972; Dosman, 1972; Sealey and Lussier, 1975; Sealey, 1977).

Howard Adams, a Canadian Metis, formerly a professor at the University of Lethbridge, Alberta, who is now teaching in California, strongly and somewhat angrily described a situation of discrimination

against Native people. Adams (1975), expressing his feelings when looking for employment in his youth stated, "Seeking employment as a [N]ative was more than looking for a job, it was asking to be insulted" (p. 3). It is well, although sometimes reluctantly, recognized that stereotyping and subsequent discrimination against Natives are common and have had unfavorable results on efforts to improve the condition of these people, especially the Metis who have been frequently labelled as the "Forgotten People." Cases and circumstances of discrimination against Natives have been documented by numerous writers such as Card, Herabayashi and French (1963); Slobodin (1966); Gue (1967); Smitheram (1970); Sealey (1973, 1975); and Luke (1979). A pertinent study on prejudice towards Indians and Metis was conducted by Dallyn and Carle (quoted in Sealey and Lussier, 1975) and showed that the highest percentages displaying prejudice were among laborers, foremen, proprietors and managers, the people who would hire or work with the Natives.

Many Native people have been successful and generally assimilated into Canadian society. A significant number have abandoned their culture to varying degrees and have disassociated themselves from other Natives. The problems outlined are a reality to several thousand Native persons in Alberta. The situation concerning education and employment for Metis is elaborated in more depth in Appendix C.

To summarize the plight of the Metis, the Federal Task Force on Manpower Services to Native People (report undated, distributed in 1978) reported that some Native households are seldom employed from generation to generation. Welfare records indicate that entire communities have little income other than welfare. The Task Force placed a

dollar figure on the loss of income to the Gross National Product and costs for social assistance. The analysis, taking into consideration various factors (such as a 12-year absence from the work force for wives), used a fully employed couple and four children with a comparable unemployed family for the period from age 21 to retirement at age 65. The resultant loss to the country because of the zero productivity of the unemployed couple and the welfare costs amounted to a staggering 1.3 million dollars. The human costs on the unemployed couple and their family are immeasurable.

The Economy of Alberta

During the last 15 years Canada has had the highest labor force growth and unemployment rates of any of the major industrial countries. Employment growth in Alberta has risen to five percent over the last five years compared to the Canadian average of slightly over three percent. The unemployment rate for Alberta has averaged 4.2 percent over the last five years compared to a Canadian average of 6.6 percent. The buoyancy of the Alberta economy is expected to continue for at least the next eight to ten years, and the peak demand period will be in the early part of the next decade. The demand will be met to a large extent by a continuation of the high in-migration rate, which is estimated to be 45,000 workers per year for the next five years. Tight labor conditions will exist in certain trades and regions. Unemployment is forecasted to be at a level of 43,000 persons because of large in-migration and increasing employment participation rates. The supply and demand situation in Alberta is shown in Appendices D and E.

Because job opportunities favor skilled occupations, the implications for disadvantaged groups are fairly obvious. They must obtain skills to fill the jobs or continue to accept casual employment at the lower occupation status levels. The failure of the Canadian educational system to train young people to meet the shortage of highly skilled labor was recently commented on by the federal Manpower Minister and reported in the national press and media (Lethbridge Herald, January 13, 1979).

The employment prospects for people with some degree of skills in a wide variety of occupations appear to be most promising in the province of Alberta. Several large projects are underway or planned to extract the resources, mainly oil, in the northern part of the province, as well as in the remainder of northern Canada and Alaska. The Metis, along with other Native people, are now in a critical period if they wish to take advantage of the opportunities of obtaining stable jobs with high remuneration. It is also the period where they can shed their poverty, dependency and generally poor employment history if they prepare themselves for, and are permitted to participate in, an apparent period of significant development for Alberta. The Metis can eliminate many of their present difficulties without losing their culture and thus preserve their pride and heritage.

Self Concept

In order to examine the problems of Metis, a framework is needed to understand their behavior and their attitudes and aspirations concerning skilled jobs. Fitts (1972b) contends that self concept studies

can provide such a framework for understanding groups of people with specific problems. Furthermore, this type of research can lead to possible means of assistance for people with particular needs.

Knowledge of the self concept has been greatly enhanced by an increasing number of recent studies, theories and scholarly articles. There are strong indications to support the basic concept that behavior and self perception are directly related and the centrality of the self as a major aspect of an individual's personality (Rogers, 1951; Fitts, 1965; LaBenne and Greene, 1969; Combs, Avila and Purkey, 1971; Fitts et al., 1971). According to Patterson (1961), Rogerian client-centered theory is viewed by many authorities as self-theory. The self, as the determinant of behavior, provides the only reality for individuals through their perceptions of themselves and their environments. Combs, Avila and Purkey (1971) reinforce this view by their emphasis that the self concept is the most important factor affecting behavior and what people do is a result of their perceptions of themselves and their situations. Behavior, both effective and ineffective, can be identified in a variety of ways, but the self concept appears to be consistent in the association with behavior competence (Bennett, 1975). According to Fitts et al. (1971), the self-concept "... somehow cuts across, condenses or captures the essence of many other variables" (p. 2).

Occupational Perception and Choice

Korman (1966, 1970) pointed out that the selection of occupations and rejection of others depend on self-perceptions. Oppenheimer (1967)

found that self-esteem was positively related to agreement with occupational preferences. Super et al. (1963) extended this idea in stating that the measurement of the self concept could be used in the studies of vocational decisions, implementation of occupational choices and adjustment to the world of work.

The self concept, once it is differentiated and structured, remains reasonably stable. Throughout life, however, it undergoes continuous development and possible change (Fitts et al., 1971). Fitts (1972a) also believes that no amount of assistance will enable persons to make adequate life adjustment unless they utilize their own resources.

This section on the problem background can be appropriately closed by quoting the words of Gordon Allport (1958):

Ask yourself what would happen to your own personality if you heard it said over and over again that you were lazy, a simple child of nature, expected to steal, and had inferior blood. Suppose this opinion was forced on you by the majority of your fellow citizens. And suppose nothing you could do would change this opinion - because you happen to have black skin. (p. 138)

Statement of the Problem

A high growth rate and a low unemployment rate in a province with a potential for significant economic expansion provide excellent opportunities for skilled employment and training. In this environment there are large numbers of Metis people living a life based on social assistance dependency. Many of these people have a history of low educational attainment, limited employment periods, sub-standard housing and general poverty conditions. The major problems of this

study are what is the self concept and what is the perceptions of skilled occupations for Metis in rural northern Alberta.

Significance of the Study

There are many organizations, agencies and concerned groups interested in initiating constructive action to alleviate the poverty and employment problems of Canada's Native people. Problems must be better defined because a history of hasty "benevolent action" has proven to be of little assistance to Native people but has often pushed them farther into the dependency syndrome. O'Neill (1978) stressed the need for more local Canadian contextual studies since much of the existing research has been conducted in the United States. Grambs, writing in Kvarceus et al. (1965), stressed the lack of self concept research into racial factors. Research on occupational choices and perceptions of occupations will also further the understanding of this important field (Fitts, 1972a; Barrett and Tinsley, 1977). Examining the various problems of rural Metis is necessary for an understanding of the urban dilemma (Sealey and Lussier, 1975; Dosman, 1972). The need for a study of a group such as the disadvantaged rural Metis is well established and long overdue (Slobodin, 1966). Although the problems are generally well known there is little basic research on the self concept and perceptions of rural Native people. This study offers some insight, findings and recommendations that may be of assistance for Native, government and other agencies in formulating their plans for short and long range remedial action. The study should create further interest in research of Native problems.

It will also produce new research findings in the areas of self concept and occupational perception.

Delimitations

Northern rural Alberta was selected from various Canadian regions for this study because it provides three major elements essential to this study. These elements are:

1. Development. Economic development and employment opportunities have generally stabilized or are at lower levels in other northern regions where there are significant numbers of Metis who can be distinguished as such. Several very large projects involving construction and skilled labor are either underway or planned for development in the next four to eight years in northern Alberta.

2. Training Centres. In the northern region there are three Vocational Centres serving the disadvantaged of the North. There is a good representation of Metis at these Centres, and certain necessary standards for the study could only be met in this type of environment.

3. Rural Area. Metis are originally rural people, and the situation can best be examined in their natural setting. Urban problems for Native people migrating to city areas originate from their rural background.

Definition of Terms

Academic upgrading. A remedial program for persons who have less than high school graduation. The major purpose of the program is to provide students with the academic qualifications needed for employment

or further training. Programs are available from grade 0 to grade 12 levels. There are generally no formal classes, and students are provided with course material and are assisted on a tutorial or individual basis by an instructor and/or aide, who are always present during regular class hours. The curriculum can be oriented toward the provincial education examination system (with fully accredited instructors and grades) or towards an equivalency level, which provides more flexibility in tailoring the program to the student's background and objectives.

Colonies. Alberta is unique in Canada in that it passed the Metis Betterment Act in 1938 which sets aside land for the sole occupancy of its Metis population. These areas are called "colonies." There are presently eight colonies dispersed throughout the province. The provincial government provides services and funds for the colonies through a variety of agencies. The trend is to make these colonies completely autonomous. A variety of ventures from farming and forestry to small business is operated by the Metis. Metis who wish to join a Settlement Area must be at least 18 years of age and have not less than one-quarter Indian blood. Their applications for membership and land are reviewed and decided by the local Settlement Office. There are over 3,000 Metis living in Metis colonies.

Disadvantaged. This term includes all those who have difficulty adjusting to the requirements of the dominant culture because of physical, mental, educational, financial, or social handicaps or ethnic differences.

Metis. A French name for mixed blood persons that is applied

specifically to Canadians who are descendent of Indian and non-Indian parents. The English term for the original Metis was "half-breed" or "breed," but the French word is used because of the mixture of the races over the years and also because of the historical background of Metis people. Although many organizations include non-Status Indians as Metis, this study restricts the term to include only those of partial Indian descent who consider themselves to be Metis.

Native people. This term denotes the person with Indian or aboriginal ancestry, including Status Indians, Metis and Inuit (Eskimos).

Non-Status Indians. Indians who originally had legal Indian status but through selling lands (enfranchisement), by being illegitimate children not recognized by the Indian band, by having a non-Indian father or for other reasons have given up their legal status as Indians.

Skilled occupations. For the purpose of this study the term means any job that requires one or more years of training at a post-secondary institution, on-the-job and classroom training, or apprenticeship but excludes positions requiring advanced degrees or involving professions such as nursing and certified accountants.

Status Indians. This is the only group of Indians that is legally recognized and administered by the Canadian federal government. The word "Status" reflects legal recognition and denotes both treaty and registered Indians. "Treaty" refers to Indians whose ancestors signed a treaty with the British Crown. Treaties were negotiated with Indians in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and portions of the Northwest Territories. Registered Indians include those residing where

treaties were not signed but who chose to come under the Indian Act as "legal" Indians by means of registration.

Vocational Centres. Alberta Vocational Centres are designed to assist disadvantaged people to enter employment or become eligible for further training. Academic upgrading, life skills, pre-employment and basic employment courses of less than one year are the major programs of these Centres. It is extremely rare for any of the total of 3,000 students to pay any tuition, and nearly all students receive some form of training allowance. There are two Centres in urban areas, one in each of the large cities of Edmonton and Calgary, and two in the rural northern part of the province at Lac La Beche and Crouard. The Vocational Centres at Lac La Beche and Grouard as well as the Community Vocational Centre at Slave Lake (a small campus with several satellites in remote communities) have large Native clientele. The Vocational Centres are fully funded and directly administered by the Province of Alberta.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature pertinent to the essential elements of the problem. The first section provides a historical sketch and description of self concept theories. This discussion highlights W. F. Fitts' theory of the self. Fitts' theory and his instrument were major parts of this study. The next section is concerned with factors that are correlates of the self concept. This review is followed by a discussion of the significant topic, self esteem.

The background concerning the self concept sets the stage for an examination of perceptions and occupation choice with an emphasis on skilled jobs. Finally, a discussion concerning other minorities and Indians is included as a logical transitional step prior to undertaking an analysis of the study's population – the Metis of rural northern Alberta. The chapter is concluded with the statement of research questions and hypotheses.

Self Concept

Historical Summary of Self Concept Theories

Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For if we judge ourselves we should not be judged.

1 Corinthians 11:28,31

The examination of one's self can be traced to the earliest eras of recorded thoughts. Since the development of writing, the awareness of a soul, spirit, or psyche inspired many authors, especially theologians, to develop theories on the superiority and immortality of the self. Purkey (1970) considered the turning point in the thinking about self concept was initiated by Descartes in 1666 in his Principles of Philosophy where he suggests the mind knows itself better than it could anything else, and knowledge of the external world is a result of perceptions. Fitts et al. (1971) stated that the systematic conceptualization of the self originated with William James in the 1890s. James suggested that the self is a combination of the self as the "knower" and the self as the "experiencer."

A major contribution in the search for internal understanding was made by Freud in his voluminous writings between 1900 and 1938 which gave importance to the concept of the ego (Combs and Snygg, 1959; Milliken, 1976). Mead (1934) suggested that the self is developed through transactions with the environment and that the self is essentially a social structure.

The first half of this century, however, was dominated by the behaviorists who stressed the observable stimulus and response in their writings (Purkey, 1970; Wylie, 1974). In the beginning of the latter half of this century, several theorists [such as Maslow (1954) and Allport (1961)] redirected attention to the importance of self and self-actualization. One of the strongest opponents of the behaviorists was Rogers (1951) who postulated that the self was the central aspect of personality. Combs and Snygg (1959) theorized that the self

is the individual's basic frame of reference. In recent years there has been a significant growth in interest and studies of the self. This increase is very evident in the number of instruments developed and studies reported. Fitts (1973) recorded over 500 users of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale since it was introduced in 1965.

A direct linkage between self concept and behavior is extremely important as any valid measure of self concept will provide significant information in understanding behavior. Fitts et al. (1972a) contended that there is no more consistent variable associated with behavior competence than the self concept. Several theorists believe that the motives underlying all behavior is the maintenance and enhancement of the perceived self (Rogers, 1951; Coopersmith, 1967; Combs, Avila and Purkey, 1971; Fitts, 1971). LaBenne and Green (1969) cited several studies that appear to indicate the relationship between behavior and self perception. The self concept, according to Gilmore (1971), is the most significant element in differentiating between productive and non-productive individuals. The relevance of experience to perceptions would appear to determine the behavior concerning that experience. Fitts' (1972a) position was that "[t]he self concept is a significant variable in human behavior and, as such, is at least a partial solution to the criterion problem in behavioral science" (p. 2). Fitts (1972b) concluded that self concept studies assist in the understanding of groups with special problems and can provide indications of the types and means of assistance to alleviate these problems.

Self Concept Theories

The self concept is defined in various ways but most of the definitions contain the elements of beliefs individuals have about themselves and the traits they believe they have (Webster and Sobreszek, 1974; Fink, 1962). Purkey (1970) after reviewing several definitions proposed a composite definition of the "self" "... as a complex and dynamic system of beliefs which an individual holds about himself, each with a corresponding value" (p. 7). Fitts et al. (1971) preferred the term "self concept" because persons are not always aware of their actual self but can only identify the concepts and perceptions of themselves.

Theory on the self is largely phenomenal in nature. People react to their phenomenal world from their perceptions of the environment. Wylie (1974) referred to "phenomenology" as the study of direct awareness. This stress on awareness is of paramount importance if self concept is construed as a self picture and not the self as seen by others (Super, 1963; Purkey, 1970). The theory of Combs and Snygg (1959), which utilized the theories of Adler, Lewin and Rogers, can be classified as strictly phenomenological in nature. They concluded that "... all behavior, without exception, is completely determined by and pertinent to the phenomenal field of the behavior organisms" (p. 15). The "phenomenal field" is the sum of experiences a person is aware of which in turn controls behavior. The "phenomenal self" is the experienced self, is the self of which a person is aware and is observed and judged by the individual. The combination of these perceptions is the

individual's self concept. Bennett (1975) provided an excellent summary of the Combs and Snygg theory by noting that the theory describes the self as both an object and a process. It is not the physical self one attempts to preserve "... but the self of which he is aware, his phenomenal self" (p. 56).

Self concept is not one perception but a series of perceptions which Super (1963) described as a "self concept system." Jersild (1960, 1965) supported this composite concept and proposes the self has three components. The first is the perceptual component which is viewing oneself from outside the body and imagining what others see. The second is the conceptual component which consists of a person's concept of her/his unique characteristics. The third component is the "attitudinal" and comprises the thoughts individuals have about themselves.

Fitts et al. (1971), similar to Jersild (1965), divided the self into three internal dimensions, namely: the "Identity Self," the "Behavioral Self" and the "Judging Self." The Identity Self or self-as-object answers the "Who am I?" question is probably the basic aspect of the self concept. It includes the labels and symbols the individual attaches to describe himself such as a hockey player, an intelligent person or an introvert.

The Behavioral Self or self-as-doer has many kinds of interactions with the Identity Self. To establish an identity, a person generally has to do something and in so doing will have the appropriate identity. As an example, introverted persons tend to keep to themselves. The behavioral school of psychology has little or no concern for the

Identity Self, and the adherents of psychoanalytic theory emphasize the Identity Self. Fitts et al. (1971) believed that both are important and that integration requires interaction between the two. The Judging Self or self-as-observer relies on the capacity of awareness and is the standard-setter, dreamer, observer, and evaluator and mediates between the other two selves.

Fitts acknowledges there are many other sub-selves and in his Tennessee Self Concept Scale lists five external sub-selves: the "Physical Self," "Moral-Ethical Self," "Personal Self," "Family Self," and "Social Self." Each of these external sub-selves contains elements of the three internal selves previously described. Consistency of variability between and within these sub-selves reflects the degree of an individual's effectiveness or personality integration (Fitts et al., 1971). Fitts hypothesized that the self concept is most affected by experience, competence in the areas valued by the individual and by self actualization.

Correlates of the Self Concept

The following major factors affecting the self concept are relevant to this study.

Academic Achievement

Direct relationships have been found between academic achievement and self concept (Fink, 1962; Brookover et al., 1965; Williams and Cole, 1968; Epps, 1969; Frerichs, 1970; Purkey, 1970). High positive self concept does not assure high academic achievement, but indications

are that it appears to contribute to successful achievement (Brookover et al., 1965). In a review of research, Campbell (1967) noted that overachievers are likely to give themselves higher ratings than underachievers. The low achievers who expect low grades and receive them appear to be more satisfied than those who receive good scores but did not expect them (Aronson, Carlsmith and Merrill, 1962). The evidence of the linkage between self concept and academic achievement led Shavelson et al. (1976) to the conclusion that the self concept, whether used as an outcome or moderator, is a critical variable in educational evaluation and research. An implication for educators is provided by Milliken (1976), who, after examining various studies, concluded that good performance tends to have a positive effect on the self concept and that the reverse appears to be likely for poor performance. Development of the self could be enhanced by providing opportunities for successful performance. Fitts (1972a), in summarizing 90 studies using the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, was more cautious and stated there is a slight relationship between one's self image and academic achievement.

Years of education apparently has no significant relationship with the self concept. Monson (1969) in studying unemployed adults and the research of Corregan (1970) on American Indians found no significant difference between those who graduated from high school and those who did not complete high school. Closer to the population area for this study, Bennett (1975), utilizing the Tennessee Self Concept Scale with students from an Alberta college, found no significant difference in the self concepts of graduates and those who entered

college on adult status or with less than high school graduation. The apparent lack of relationship between educational level and self concept is pertinent in this study of Metis people because of their generally low level of education achievement.

Failure

If achievement can be associated with a high self concept, failure should reflect low self esteem. "Failure" is a familiar concept for many Metis who have encountered it in the educational system, in employment, and in adjusting to the dominant society. Allport (1961) stated that: "A strong sense of failure in one department of life may leave a person with a general feeling of insecurity and lack of confidence" (p. 132). Bennett (1975) cited several studies supporting the association of failure with low self concept, but the question of cause and effect remains unanswered. Gibby and Gibby (1967) told an experimental group they had failed a first test. This group, confronted with failure, regarded themselves less highly than previously and believed they were not regarded as highly by others. Flaherty (1968) found that there were limitations in using self prediction for identifying potential problem students. He stressed the heavy cost of failure both to the individual and to society.

Age

Bennett (1975) noted that age appeared to be a relevant factor in the self concept. He supported this contention in citing Grant's study of 500 individuals using the Tennessee Self Concept Scale which

showed persons tend to report more positively on themselves with age. Thompson (1972), in reviewing many studies using the TSCS, found that age is a factor in the self concept. He also believed that over the last two decades there have been significant differences within age groups. His finding indicated that: high school and younger students have a lower self esteem and are more critical of themselves, the elderly were more defensive and had high self esteem, and the college and older groups remained at a norm level during the period of review. A study of junior high school students in Alberta revealed that both White and Indian students varied positively in self concept with age (Clifton, 1971).

Aspirations and Self Actualization

Combs and Snygg (1959) stated that aspirations really depend on the degree to which people can see their goals as "... contributing to the maintenance and enhancement of the self" (p. 111). Baron and Bass (1969) stated that there is a direct relationship between persistence and the self concept. Fitts (1972a) generalized the idea when he stated that effective functioning is related to the level of the "optimal self concept" (p. 5). Self-actualization is the utilization of potential resources of a person in the process of achieving aspirations and goals. Maslow (1954, 1970) considered this drive to achieve one's aspirations or attain potential as a basic element in much of people's motivation and behavior. The inability to achieve can only lead to frustration and low self esteem.

Experience

There is no doubt that one's experiences affect the self concept, and the self concept in turn provides a basic influence on new and subsequent experiences (Fitts et al., 1971). The sum of one's experiences, according to Combs and Snygg (1959), is the process, and the self is the product. If the concept stated in the theory section is accepted that the maintenance and enhancement of the phenomenal self is the motive behind all behavior, then behavior in new experiences will be governed by perceptions that will provide enhancement and protection of the perceived self.

Lynch (1968) in research on intense human experiences discovered that those with high self esteem were inclined to report more pleasurable experiences than those with low self concepts. The people with high self concepts also appeared to recognize and report negative experiences that assisted them in positive growth.

Of particular interest to this study was Fitts' et al. (1971) analysis of the self concept of persons with adjustment problems such as potential dropouts, emotionally disturbed adolescents and juvenile delinquents. The findings suggested that individuals with certain kinds of experiences who have distinctive background categories such as delinquency display specific patterns of self concept. Patterson (1961), in his analysis of Rogerian self theory, provided an appropriate connecting link to the following topic by observing that the need for positive self esteem is generated from experiences of positive regard by others.

Interpersonal Factors

Individuals cannot remain isolated and their perceptions are subject to the influence and development from a variety of sources. The major significant others for individuals during developmental years are the family or those who have assumed parental and familial responsibilities. Positive and supportive parental behavior tends to influence favorably the child's self concept (Sewell, 1957; Zentner, 1963; Gordon, 1972). The close association and strength of parental influence are clearly depicted in a study by Coleman and Owens (1972). This study of emotionally disturbed children and their parents revealed that parents themselves had deviant and negative self concept, and, furthermore, the specific nature of the parent's self concept was related to the kind of emotional disturbance in the child. Parental expectations and aspirations concerning higher education tend to have greater influence on adolescents' attitudes than socioeconomic factors (Sewell and Shah, 1968; Breton, 1972).

As the child grows older, and certainly in adolescence and adulthood, the peer group can be as important or more important an influence as the family on a person's behavior and self concept. Studies have revealed the importance and high correlation of the peer group with achievement, aspirations and self evaluation (Combs and Snygg, 1959; Pavalko and Bishop, 1966; Kemper, 1968; Bain and Anderson, 1974; Webster and Sobieszek, 1974; O'Neill, 1978). Kemper (1968) added that achievement striving will be seriously hindered if reference groups are not available. Living on social assistance in government or

substandard housing, as is the case for many Metis, the types of peer groups available are often restricted and can inhibit aspirations or achievement because of a complacency created through a lack of alternative models. Wax and Dumont (1964) observed from their study of Dakota Indians that peer groups would reinforce any negative attitude. Acceptance of a group that has a negative stereotype by a peer group from the dominant class can have beneficial effects. This can be particularly effective in the early school years. Parminter (1964) critically examined opinions and observations of key personnel involved in the education of Indian children in a British Columbia community. Parminter concluded that the acceptance of the Indian students by other Canadian students in the school had attenuated the usual feelings of inferiority and produced improvements in appearance, in attitude and in the personality of Indian youth. The importance of the peer group was summarized by Dai (1952) who placed the self concept developed in an individual's immediate social group at the base of the hierarchical structure of self concept.

The importance and possible impact of role models cannot be neglected. A model can be a member of the peer group, an outsider, a "hero" or successful person. The feelings towards a model can range from admiration to alienation depending on the individual's perceptions of the model. O'Neill observed that the environment should provide the conditions where certain kinds of action appear worthy of emulation by an individual. It would appear that role models, both Native and non-Native, could have significant influence on the aspirations of Metis.

Socioeconomic Factors

The Metis have been described as the forgotten or in-between people who are neither Indian nor White. A life of poverty and stereotyping that is debilitating is a legacy for many Metis in rural areas and for those migrating to the urban ghettos.

Bischof (1969) in his analysis of studies of the self concept discovered large differences which evidence indicated were attributable to social class. He stated there was substantial data to support the finding that emotional stability and social effectiveness were positively related to social status. Aspirations for high status jobs and post-secondary learning are higher among students from middle class households than for those from working class socioeconomic households (Marsden and Harvey, 1971; Breton, 1972; Gordon, 1972; Anisef, 1973). Middleton (1963) stated that the hypothesis relating conditions of deprivation to alienation is generally supported.

Super (1963) emphasized the important socioeconomic discrepancies in the stabilization process. The influence of environment has its greatest significance in the pre-school years and thus efforts to combat the negative environmental effects must be initiated early. Dockrell (1959) considered the correlation between social status and intelligence is mainly attributable to environmental factors.

Stability of the Self Concept

The self concept, after it is clearly structured and differentiated, is a fairly stable entity (Combs and Snygg, 1959; Jersild, 1960;

Strong and Feder, 1961). Fitts et al. (1971) supported this view. They believed that the self is the most stable feature of a person's phenomenal world. Studies by Engel (1959) and Hamner (1968) revealed that the self resists modification and is not readily changeable. The age at which the self concept is established as an identity is not known. Allport (1937) considered that this could not happen until the child realized independency and could conceptualize a relationship to the environment. At the age of 11, which is the earliest the Tennessee Self Concept Scale can be used, the self concept is relatively well established (Fitts et al., 1971).

Although the self concept appears to be relatively stable, Fitts et al. (1971) suggested that most theorists agree that the self concept is continually developing and changing throughout one's life. It is extremely difficult to delineate the differences in development from those of change. Further research on either development or change will add to the knowledge and understanding of the other. Bennett (1975) and Milliken (1976) both utilized the Tennessee Self Concept Scale in their research and concluded that it is possible for adults to develop or change their self concept in a positive direction. Bennett's study, which included a group who had not completed high school, showed that if one has failed or is unable to cope then the self esteem is low. His research indicated that these dropouts by the time of re-entry into the educational system have a self concept similar to high school graduates. He theorized that experiences other than education have permitted these people to enhance their feelings of self worth. It follows then that the stigma of dropping out of school may be

overstated. It may even be beneficial when failure or low achievement in school is lowering the individual's self evaluation.

Self Esteem

The term "self esteem" implies self worth or self evaluation, and this section examines some of the findings concerning the levels of the self. Fitts (1972a) strongly affirms "... that a person's current behavior is a strong influence on his present self concept" (p. 69).

Persons with high self esteem seem to be more confident in their aspirations and decisions. High esteem individuals are more certain about their choice of college majors than those of low esteem (Resnick, Fauble and Orspow, 1970; Bailey and Anderson, 1973; Maier and Herman, 1974). Korman (1966) and Gelfand (1962) characterized persons with high self esteem as having a sense of personal adequacy and as having previously achieved need satisfaction. Fish and Karabenick (1971) considered persons with high self esteem as more internally oriented. People with positive self concepts give evidence of being able to use good and bad experiences to enhance growth (Fitts et al., 1971). Fitts (1972b) pointed out that persons with extreme scores at either end of self concept were more likely to show deviant behavior and greater adherence to peer pressure. It is difficult to determine why persons with high concepts of their ability are not successful in their endeavors. Purkey (1970) speculated that disadvantaged students with high academic ability but fail find school irrelevant and/or threatening. In translating these findings to the occupational field it appears that a good self concept facilitates good

job performance and job satisfaction (Fitts, 1972a).

In general, it would appear that the findings for high esteem persons can be reversed for low esteem persons. It is relevant to note that research indicates that people who are dissatisfied with themselves will accept and be satisfied with occupations that are consistent with their self concept (Oppenheimer, 1966). This has implications for motivating low esteem persons towards learning and employment in skilled occupations.

Sex

In addition to the findings on low and high levels of self esteem there are also some differences because of sex. The relationship between academic achievement and self concept may be less for females than is evident for males (Fink, 1962). Male students are, on the average, much more likely to have higher educational and occupational aspirations than female students (Marsden and Harvey, 1971; Anisef, 1973; O'Neill, 1978). Mason (1971) in a study of self concept of junior high school students of Indian, Mexican and Anglo ethnic backgrounds found that there were more negative responses by females, regardless of ethnic background, than by males. Westrum (1974) in a study of employed women in Washington concluded that married women had the highest self concept scores and that there was a direct and positive relationship between length of time in the present position to the level of self concept.

Perception and Occupational Choice

Perception

Rogers (1951) contended that there is no reality other than what an individual perceives. Phenomenological theory is based on the principle that reaction to one's environment is governed by the way the individual perceives this environment. There is also significant evidence relating self perception to social perception (Fitts, 1972b). The perception of the opinion of significant others is extremely important and related to self evaluation (Webster and Sobreszek, 1974). If one perceives significant others as hostile, disapproving or derogatory then one will tend to view the environment in similar terms. It will be difficult for a person to perceive things without some derogatory bias and whether expressed openly or not, the individual will have a self depreciatory attitude towards others and self (Jersild, 1960). In rural communities where there are numerous Metis without steady jobs and business is controlled by unsympathetic non-Natives, it is understandable that envy and a self depreciatory attitude could easily be assumed.

The degree of certainty of self perception concerning vocationally relevant aspirations, abilities and attitudes is called "vocational self concept crystallization" (Barrett and Tinsley, 1977). It would follow from the findings on aspiration that a person with a high self concept would tend to have a higher crystallized vocational self concept than a person with a low self concept.

Occupations and Occupational Choice

The self concept is a major determinant in occupational choice (Super et al., 1957; Fitts, 1972a; Barrett, 1977). The level of it is related to the congruence of the two (Oppenheimer, 1966), and high self concept is linked to the prestige of the occupation (Reiss et al., 1961; Oppenheimer, 1966; Clark, 1968, Bedian, 1977; Faulkner et al., 1977). Persons with low self concepts would therefore be less concerned with job prestige and job satisfaction as their needs are different from high aspirers. Reiss et al. (1961), reviewing results from a survey by the National Opinion Research Center, found that rural people, in contrast to urban raters, were more likely to stress the pay factor than job prestige when rating occupations.

Fitts (1972a), in reviewing research on occupational choice, concluded that evidence supports the assumption that esteem is higher for those with a definite career choice than for those who are undecided. Fitts cited another example, very relevant to this study, that showed changes in the self concept of unskilled youth undergoing training that were significantly different from a similar group who were not participating in a training program.

A study of Indian students in grades 10 and 12 was conducted by Clark (1968) who found that most subjects were aware that their interests, abilities and motivation would generally restrict them from attaining high prestige jobs and were willing to settle for a lower level occupation. The Indian students related pay and years of training with the prestige level of the job. An alternative in explaining

response patterns was postulated by Clark who stated that Indians could be saying that they were unwilling to invest in education and training necessary for the high paying and prestige positions. Faulkner et al. (1977) used a Modified Rosenberg Scale on a national sample of community college vocational students who were seeking sub-professional or skilled jobs. Data did not show any consistency between the self concept and prestige attributed to skilled occupations. Faulkner believed that prestige may improve when a person takes skilled employment and this prestige deficiency is probably a factor in the recruitment and dropout problems of community college vocational programs.

Korman (1966) stated that the advice and hopes of family and friends can influence occupational choice and that self concept is not the only factor involved in selecting a career. Korman's findings support others who observed that persons of low self esteem give the highest ratings to information which confirms their low esteem level. There are two critical periods in the occupational choice and implementation that are of importance to the study. Allport (1961) stated that: "The core of the identity problem for the adolescent is the selecting of an occupation or other life goal" (p. 126). Super (1957) viewed the period from age 20 to 45 as a time of establishment where the tendency is to get located and seek advancement.

Summary

The previous sections provide a theoretical framework and research background of the two major elements of the study, namely the self concept and perceptions of skilled occupations. The centrality of the

phenomenal self as a determinant of behavior is a basic premise of this study. Reaction to one's environment and experiences is directly related to the individual's self perception of his environment and experiences. The major determinant of occupational choice is the self concept.

Other Minorities

Research on the Metis, the population of this study, is limited. To alleviate this deficiency and to broaden the theoretical background, it is appropriate to examine minority groups of the United States such as the Blacks where the research is more plentiful.

A minority group is a group whose race and/or culture differs from the one of dominant society and whose members are disproportionately or not represented in decision-making agencies. The minority group is also aware of its position and a "we-they" distinction exists to classify the minority and dominant society respectively (Elliott, 1971). A group's culture, to varying degrees, determines the attitudes, beliefs and values of the group (Breer and Lock, 1965).

The component of the minority groups whose situation is similar to the Metis is those at the lower socioeconomic spectrum. Lower classes generally have the following characteristics: do not desire as much success because they know it is not available; emphasize education less; not as willing to take risks; emphasize money; and less desirous of professional over skilled work (Hyman, 1953). A French-Canadian study (Lamarche, 1968; Fitts, 1972a), using the Tennessee Self Concept Scale reported findings similar to those from Israel,

Korea and Mexico. The results suggested that persons with antisocial and delinquent behavior, regardless of culture or language, tend to have poor self concepts. Mason, studying American Indians, Mexicans and those with Anglo ethnic backgrounds, found a consistent negative response from male and female Indians. The predominant Mexican-American view of their self-worth was as negative as that of the Indians.

The research is certainly not conclusive but many studies suggest that there is a general low self concept in younger Blacks (Kvarceus et al., 1965; Gordon, 1972; Millikin, 1976). Opportunity must be provided for interaction between minority group children and middle and higher class children from the dominant society. If this does not happen the minority children will be hampered in acquiring the skills and values that will ease their full entry into society as they grow into adulthood (Goslin, 1965).

Baron (1970) found that Blacks were more likely to develop a more negative self image and that poor Black children receive a smaller gross amount of reinforcement than White children. Milliken (1976) in his review of studies concluded that few young Black students have positive self concepts and evidence points to the school as the major constraint in their development.

Two studies revealed no significant differences in self concept among Black and White adult students (Gaier and Wambach, 1960; Renbarger, 1969). Bartee (1967) using the Tennessee Self Concept Scale with disadvantaged Black and White college students in Texas achieved results which were confirmed by other similar studies. The

scores between the groups were very similar except Blacks had significantly lower "self criticism" scores and higher "conflict" and "variability" scores. The findings on social status that indicated lower self concepts for persons in poverty conditions were applicable to all ethnic groups.

Literature on vocational and skilled occupations concerning Blacks indicate there are problems of attitude towards, and entry into, these occupational groups. Kelly and Wingrove (1975), in their study of Black and White students in grades 6 to 12, supported Stephenson's theory (Stephenson, 1957) that social class and race produced discrepancies in aspirations and expectations. Kelly and Wingrove confirmed this gap but also found that it began to grow wider for Black male students from the 9th to 12th grades. A similar gap became evident for Black females commencing at the grade 10 level. King (1977) postulated that a large part of Black resistance is attributable to the view that Blacks have poor academic performance, alienation from some occupations, a push by some educators for manual training for Blacks, and the difficulty in obtaining employment after graduation. King recognized a situation very similar to the situation in this study as he observed the dilemma of the unskilled person in a society whose labor demands were increasing mainly in skilled sectors. King also noted that Blacks were well represented in unskilled occupations and have made inroads into the professions but have little participation in skilled occupations. Fitts (1972a) attributed the poor employment record of Blacks to factors of discrimination and lack of opportunities and not to any maladjustment of Blacks.

Canadian Indians

Any examination of Native people cannot ignore certain differences in legal status, domicile, history and culture between Status Indians and others of Indian blood, including the Metis. Bean (1966) in a study of Indian and non-Indian high school students in north-western Ontario concluded that it is not feasible to speak of the Indian culture as a unity in the past or present. Despite these differences all Native people have many common problems such as lack of education, poverty, social assistance dependency and a common stereotype which has led to serious discrimination including employment opportunities.

Bean (1966), using a 50-statement survey with self anchoring and evaluation scales, found that Indians were less democratic, less achievement oriented, less tolerant towards ambiguity but more willing to share, more submissive and more opposed to authoritarianism than non-Indian students. Teachers in the area believed Native families had problems of indifference, lacked future orientation and had poor work habits.

Indians in both rural and urban southern Alberta have positive self concepts and aspirations but their self concepts were significantly lower than that of non-Indians (Abu-Laban, 1965; Clifton, 1968; Zentner, 1973). The middle class setting of the school, the general acceptance of the small numbers of Indians as a percentage of school population and positive peer influence appear to be contributing factors to the positive results. Chadwick, Bahr and Stauss, 1977).

concluded that the evidence of their study indicated that Indian and non-Indian self concepts are similar providing that they both come from the same social class.

Hawthorn (1967) in a survey of Indian education in Canada reported that many Indians were alienated from school in their early years and develop a negative self image because of the contrast between the educational system and the esoteric value system of the Indians. Low achievement, high dropout rates in higher grades and a high grade retardation rate are common and to a degree characteristic of Indians in rural locations and who are from lower class households (Lloyd, 1961; Wax, 1964; Coleman, 1966; Chadwick, Bahr and Stauss, 1977). Academic achievement and completion of schooling by Native people were affected by: the self concept achievement motivation, anti-Indian discrimination, culture conflict and family instability (Chadwick, Bahr and Stauss, 1977). Havighurst (1967) stated that Indians require a generation or two to better themselves in their jobs and realize the need for education but will gradually increase their educational levels and grades.

Several studies indicate that Native students are anxious to leave school, often encouraged by their parents and friends, and obtain a job (MacNeish, 1956; Hoyt, 1961; Harkins, 1968). Many of the Indians realize they may have to take some training; however, their knowledge of occupations and vocational training appears to be very limited. The results are obvious when one examines the extremely high and continuous rate of unemployment for Natives and that the bulk of them are in the unskilled and general labor categories.

Metis

How many Metis and Indians are in positions where they are meeting the public, such as sales clerks, bank tellers and bus drivers? Hardly any and this explains a great deal about Canada's racial society and is a major reason for unemployment among natives. White people use the excuse that native people are not qualified for the job but the native people feel there is little use in taking training as they won't get the jobs and will only be further frustrated, discriminated against and disappointed.

Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass*, p. 146

Metis have been called half-breeds, and the proud call themselves "double-breeds." The fact is they are neither. Many have failed to adjust to the modern world that has pushed into the North. Furthermore, they live apart from the Status Indians but share in the discrimination and stereotypes common to the Native people of Canada.

Card, Herabayashi and French (1963) conducted an extensive study of Metis in the Lesser Slave Lake area of Alberta. They strongly believed that Metis were quite different in many dimensions from Indians and that Indian traits were not a factor in the plight of Northern Metis. French suggested the hypothesis that Metis have passed from an aboriginal value system into a lower class Euro-Canadian value system appears adequately supported. He believed many sociologists concur with the view that once this lower class value system is established it tends to perpetuate itself. The Metis of this northern region seemed to have internalized the lower class norms which include poor self concept, feelings of unworthiness and apathy toward the external environment. Walter (1971) stated that the Metis and Indians were the lowest socioeconomic level group in the nation. This, he considered, has important bearing on their outlook on life and on

their aspirations.

Knill and Davis (1963) in a study of youth in northern Saskatchewan found that educational upgrading of Metis and Indians is a problem and that a social class based on race was emerging. They observed that adverse home and community influences had serious implications for Metis youth and that among Metis there was a hard core of dependency, delinquency and apathy. Social factors were observed as adversely affecting attitude. Strong (1963), in his study of Metis, Indians and rural and non-rural children in Alberta, found linkages between social class and both achievement and levels of aspiration. Card, Herabayashi and French (1963) found that Metis' low self concept, lack of knowledge of jobs, lack of achievement orientation necessary for successful adjustment and unfavorable motivational patterns may be largely attributable to their poverty conditions, lack of adequate role models and the influence of norms and values learned from lower class Whites. The application of these 1963 findings to other communities without similar conditions, however, could be misleading.

The Metis have shown mixed results in handling their own affairs in business ventures in the colonies. They have shown promise of assuming more responsibility and should be assisted in their efforts. Lussier (in Sealey and Kirkness, 1973) described an example of how Natives can provide better results in assisting their people than government agencies. The Manitoba government sponsored a program to move Metis to a mining town, and after two years three of the original 37 families were still in the community. A similar program by a Metis organization using Metis with transitional experience as facilitators

resulted in 35 out of the original 42 families remaining in the mining town after a two year period. Similar success has been achieved by Metis employment agencies (Outreach Program) and with "half-way houses" located in urban areas.

Although there are few Metis in skilled positions, many in northern regions have learned skilled work on their own. Bowd (1973) found that Metis had the same level of mechanical ability to that of similar aged White children. Metis who completed training at a vocational school in Fort Smith had twice the successful employment rate of Indians and Eskimo students attending this school. Programs must be geared to employment or only negative results will be obtained. A program operated in the city of Saskatoon, designed for young men from isolated communities, had a 75 percent dropout rate, and 50 percent were unable to obtain jobs appropriate to their training.

Similar conditions of low self concept, low educational achievement, poor employment records and general social dependency exist for ghetto Blacks and lower level Native people. The skilled occupational fields are largely ignored and under-represented in membership by American Blacks and Native people of Canada.

Research Questions

The previous information provides the background for the two questions and five hypotheses that this study attempted to answer. The first question was: What is the self concept of the Metis? The two hypotheses related to this question were:

1. There are no significant differences among the mean scores for self concept of adult Metis, Indians and non-Natives in rural northern Alberta.
2. There are no significant differences among the mean scores for self concept of adult Metis in four locations (three regions) of rural northern Alberta.

The second question was: What are the perceptions of skilled occupations of Metis? The two hypotheses related to this question were:

3. There are no significant differences among the mean scores for perceptions of skilled occupations of adult Metis, Indians and non-Natives in rural northern Alberta.
4. There are no significant differences among the mean scores for perceptions of skilled occupations of adult Metis in four locations (three regions) of rural northern Alberta.

Since the literature review indicated a relationship could exist between self concept and occupational perceptions, the following hypothesis was tested:

5. There is no significant relationship between self concept scores and perceptions of skilled occupation scores among adult Metis in rural northern Alberta.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Population and SamplePopulation

The census of 1941 was the last year that Metis were counted separately by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. At that time it recorded 8,808 Metis residing in Alberta (Sealey and Lussier, 1975). Current estimates of the Metis population in Canada range from 300,000 (Employment and Immigration Canada, undated) to 500,000 (Sealey, 1977). The current estimate for Metis and non-Status Indians for Alberta is 45,000. The Metis Association of Alberta estimates that there are approximately 70,000 Metis in the province (Litke, 1979). The wide discrepancy between estimations is of concern when defining the population for this study. The lack of a formal census is only one cause of the discrepancy. The "identity" factor is a major element in computing the total or segments of the Native population. This point is well supported by a current comprehensive study on an employment policy for Native people conducted by the federal government (Employment and Immigration Canada, undated). In the analysis of the population, it was stated that over 3.5 million Canadians could trace some Indian ancestry. Two-thirds of this total basically neglected this identity or were unaware of it, and Canadian society did not consider them as constituents of the Native population. About half of the remainder, although cognizant of their Indian background, were generally assimilated

into the dominant society. They are not perceived as Natives. They were thus excluded from available statistics on Status and non-Status Indians, Metis and Inuit. Indian Affairs has accurate records of Status Indians and showed 280,000 Indians living in Canada at the end of 1975. The Metis and non-Status Indian population as estimated by Canadian Manpower in conjunction with native organizations is shown as 300,000 as at the end of 1975. Employment and Immigration (undated) is the source for the previous data, and their estimate of 45,000 Metis and non-Status Indians for Alberta is accepted for this study. The 70,000 figure quoted by Metis organizations appears to be inflated to include many Metis who have fully assimilated into the dominant society and generally have foresaken their Native identity.

The history of the Metis (Appendix A) in the latter half of the 19th century is one of western migration. This migration was due to their unsuccessful attempt in retaining and securing land claims during the influx of European settlers. The Metis settled throughout Alberta but for many there was a natural tendency to retain their traditional heritage of hunting, fishing and trapping. The northern part of the province was a logical location for these Metis to live and pursue their traditional ways.

The population for this study is the adult Metis of rural northern Alberta. The term "adult" is used to restrict that segment of the Metis population to persons 18 years of age and older or who have been out of the public school system for at least one year. This age restriction parallels the general requirements applicable to eligibility for federal or provincial financial assistance to attend post-

secondary institutions. Rural, for the purpose of this study, refers to communities with populations of less than 3,000. The geographic description of northern Alberta restricts the area to the large portion of the province north of the metropolitan area of Edmonton.

Sample

The selection of a representative sample capable of and willing to participate in this study was crucial. The lack of education, certain conditions associated with poverty such as alcoholism, alienation and non-availability, and the problem of identifying Metis and obtaining non-Metis that could be used for comparison groups required careful consideration in selecting a sample. The factors of regional differences, types of Metis (described in Appendix B) and ethnic background of both their Indian and non-Indian ancestry made it necessary to obtain samples from more than one location. The above criteria were all considered in selecting subjects that would fulfill the study objectives of measuring the self concept and perceptions of skilled occupations of Metis within the prescribed population restrictions.

Academic upgrading for disadvantaged Albertans, particularly Native people, has been active and growing since the establishment of the former Newstart Incorporated program in the rural northeastern part of the province in 1967. Discussion with senior Vocational Centre officials reveals that a significant proportion of the adult students attending academic upgrading classes in many communities are Metis. It is estimated that province-wide there are at least 300 Metis currently enrolled in academic upgrading, life skills training

and other programs not directly emphasizing technical employment skills. Accurate data were not available, but it is estimated that close to 3,000 Metis in Alberta have been enrolled in academic or life skills courses since 1967 (estimate based on available data and discussions with post-secondary educators). Thus, a substantial number of Metis are undergoing or have taken academic upgrading either to enhance employment and further training opportunities or to use the subsidization provided as another form of social assistance (Alberta Newstart, Inc., 1971a). The adults taking the academic upgrading courses generally have the skills, characteristics and perceptions that appear to be representative of a large number of rural Metis.

The sample was chosen from the students attending these academic upgrading classes. The formal classroom setting provided an excellent opportunity to explain the objectives and advantages of the study for the Metis. Anonymity was assured, and the procedures outlined for guidance to their responses strongly encouraged the reporting of actual perceptions. If unwilling to do this they were asked not to complete the instruments. The setting, the explanation of the objectives and the presence of people they trusted were used in an attempt to overcome potential reluctance to respond to questionnaires currently prevalent among Native people. Dosman (1972) suggested that the days are gone, if they ever existed, for gathering data from Natives using detailed questionnaires. He added that a century of unsympathetic analysis has led Native people to reject surveys whether conducted by Whites or Indians. Gue (1967) in his study of values of Natives in northern Alberta found extreme reluctance from parents asked to respond

to a survey designed to test their knowledge and values of occupations. Several of his initial limited samples refused to answer the questions, and some subjects abruptly terminated their participation after only a few responses. The problems of obtaining responses to surveys were also acknowledged by many authorities associated with research on Natives (Newstart, Inc., 1971; Sealey, 1973; Adams, 1975).

There are three Vocational Centres with satellite operations covering the western, central and eastern regions of northern Alberta. These Centres meet the rural stipulation of the study and serve the disadvantaged population. All students at these Centres are subsidized for their attendance, and the Centres have a significant number of Native students. In order to cover any regional and background differences an additional location was added to the relatively large Native population in the western region. Classes at the Centres were randomly selected, and all students in these classes were subjects for the study. A mixture of large and small classes and academic grade levels was achieved. The total useable number of subjects was 154. A total of 180 surveys were collected but some instruments were destroyed because one instructor failed to keep some of the instruments paired by respondent. The remainder were destroyed because it was obvious the respondents could not understand the questions. There was no feasible method of obtaining randomness in ethnicity for the sample. However, a good balance was reflected in the ethnic breakdown. The sample consisted of 73 Metis, 37 Status Indians and 44 claiming other ethnicity. The average age of the sample was 21 and the completed academic grade level average was grade 9. Approximately 37 percent of the Metis subjects were males and 63 percent were females.

Instruments

Two instruments and a personal data sheet were utilized in the study. The instrument used to collect data on self concepts was the Tennessee Self Concept Scale. An instrument was developed to measure perceptions of skilled occupations.

Measurement of the Self Concept

The proliferation of studies and instruments on the self concept has created a debate which has continued for almost a decade, on the ability to measure the self concept. Wylie (1961, revised 1974) presented a comprehensive criticism and analysis on the topic of self concept measurement. She was mainly concerned with the lack of validity of the instruments. Validity was questioned and the need for further research was emphasized in the analysis of self concept measurement by Shavelson, Burstein and Keesling (1977). Shavelson, Hubner and Stanton (1976) pointed out three major problems in interpreting measures of self concept. First is the problem of definition of the self concept. Their review revealed 17 different classifications of conceptual dimensions. Second, data are not available on the equivalence of many self concept instruments. Third, there is a lack of data to test alternative interpretations. As an example, the respondent may choose a socially desirable answer over a self descriptive response.

Rogers (1951) considered self reports as valuable, and Allport (1966) stated that individuals should be believed on reporting their

feelings. Super (1963) was of the opinion that the self concept could be measured and be valid. Fitts et al. (1971) supported the ability to measure self reports and provided data on the validity and reliability of their instrument. There is no doubt that there are contaminating variables and distortions in the measurement of self. There is significant evidence to indicate that the value of the self report and understanding of the phenomenal self can only be advanced through further self report research. Research into the validity and reliability of self report must continue, and progress must be made in standardizing terms, measures and the various instruments associated with self report.

The 1975 revision of Clinical and Research Computer Scoring form of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) was used. A copy of the form is shown in Appendix G. The TSCS consists of 100 equally divided positive and negative self-descriptive statements. Ninety of the statements provided the Self-esteem score, and ten were derived from the L scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and provided a Self Criticism score. Respondents rated each of the 100 items on a five point scale ranging from "completely false" to "completely true."

The questionnaire yielded 29 scores. The scores were derived from a three by five score matrix. The three internal frames of reference were the rows and consisted of the Identity Self, the Judging Self and the Behavioral Self factors. The five external frames of reference were the columns and comprised the Physical, Moral-Ethical, Personal, Family, and Social Self subscores. These internal and

external frames of reference were discussed in the section on the Fitts' self theory in Chapter II. This three by five scheme provided a variety of scores revealing significant information relevant to a person's self concept. The types of scores are explained in Appendix H in the sequence they appear on the Profile Sheet summary produced by the computer.

The TSCS has been widely used and is standardized. Test statistics were derived from a broad sample of 626 people from various locations, ethnicity and age levels. All socioeconomic, intellectual and educational levels were represented in the sample of subjects (Westrum, 1974). Fitts (1965) used four types of validation procedures, namely:

1. Content validity,
2. Discrimination between groups,
3. Correlation with other personality measures, and
4. Personality changes under certain conditions.

Content validity is based on the method used in selecting the questions. Ten of the questions were derived from the MMPI L Scale. The remaining 90 questions were drawn from a pool of items from other tests and from written self-descriptions by a variety of persons. Selection of the edited items was made by a panel of seven clinical psychologists.

Bentler, in reviewing the TSCS for Buros (1972), reported positive correlations from .60 to .90 with various scales of the MMPI and from .50 to .70 with the Cornell Medical Index. Bentler also reported a -.70 correlation with the Taylor Anxiety Scale.

Fitts (1972a) cited numerous studies that indicate the TSCS can

discriminate between groups. Suinn, reviewing the instrument for Buros (1972), concluded that the TSCS was one of the better measures of group discrimination.

Test-retest reliability coefficients ranging from .60 to .92 were reported by Fitts (1965). Bentler in Buros (1972) reported coefficients in the high 80s.

Perceptions of Skilled Occupations

A review of available tests failed to produce an instrument that would meet the study's objectives and the limitations of the population involved. An instrument was developed to measure the perceptions of respondents of jobs that require one or more years of training, but excluded professions and university programs. A copy of the instrument is provided in Appendix I. There are 24 statements with three response categories: "Agree," "Disagree," and "Don't Know." Eleven of the statements were positive and 13 were negative. The statements were worded so that they were readily understood by the members of the population.

The questions in the survey form were divided into two categories to measure:

1. The value of skilled jobs to the respondent and his/her family and associates.
2. How accessible the skilled positions are as perceived by the respondent.

A pool of questions was developed and several possible directions and emphasis were inherent in the initial draft. A modified Delphi

Technique (Hostrop, 1973) was used to develop and select items. Ten chief executive officers (and/or their senior officers) of technical institutes/colleges/vocational centres, three senior government education officers and two university faculty reviewed the instrument. A copy of the letter to the participants is included as Appendix J. The comments from this first review were considered in the major revision of the instrument. Three government vocational experts were involved in the second revision. During the third and final review only the researcher and one other person, a Metis with expertise in test construction, designed the survey instrument concerning Perceptions of Skilled Occupations.

The Perceptions of Skilled Occupations was pilot tested with 32 persons undergoing training and receiving some form of subsidization, similar to the subjects in the sample. The test group represented a cross-section of age categories, ethnicity and backgrounds. The test group was attending academic upgrading classes in an urban vocational centre. After completion of the survey, the respondents were interviewed as a group, and the instruments appeared "reliable" and had face validity (Crombach, 1960).

Procedures

Permission was obtained from the Assistant Deputy Minister (Field Services) of Alberta Advanced Education and Manpower to use Alberta Vocational Centres for obtaining data from the population. Concurrence for the study was obtained from the Supervisors of Alberta Vocational Centres at Grouard and Lac La Biche and the Supervisor of

the Community Vocational Centres at Slave Lake. The requirements and objectives were explained to the supervisors, and they provided full support during the preparatory and collection periods. Contact persons were named by the supervisors and complete information was provided on class numbers, locations and optimum periods for data collection. Classes and locations were chosen, and firm dates for testing were established. All sites used in the study were visited.

Highly structured procedures were followed during the period the respondents completed the instruments. Care, however, was exercised to ensure that the environment was informal and that the subjects felt at ease and free to ask questions before, during and after responding to the instruments. The usual classroom instructors were present and, whenever possible, Native educational technicians (teachers' aides) were available for the entire collection period. The instructors and aides were previously briefed on the purposes of the study and the instruments to be used.

The purpose and possible benefits of the study were carefully explained to the prospective respondents. No names were to be recorded on any of the instruments as the study was only interested in group results. Anonymity was thus assured. Considerable effort, although brief in nature, was directed toward the need for sincerity in responses as the validity of the results depended on this factor. Respondents in all classes accepted the need for openness in self-reporting. From questions and later discussions with them and their instructors it appeared that the results should be generally reliable indicators of their self-perceptions. Students who did not wish to

participate in the survey were asked to continue with their other work and return the blank forms at the end of the session. Only two persons refused to participate in the survey, and this was significant observing the questionnaire reluctance by Natives noted previously. Instruction on completion of the data sheet and instruments was thorough. The respondents attention was drawn to the wording of statements as the instruments contained both positive and negative items. Examples of positive and negative statements were given. Assistance was provided during the completion phase and although several questions were asked (respondents raised their hands and were answered individually) the tenor of these was of clarity as the general understanding appeared to be high. A few persons had obvious difficulty with the instrument, despite assistance, and their forms, most of them incomplete, were later destroyed.

It was essential that the Personal Data Sheet, Tennessee Self Concept Scale, and Perceptions of Skilled Occupations be collected and remain as a set for each individual until an identifying number was allocated and noted on the instruments. A brief lapse in collection supervision by one instructor resulted in forms being mixed, and they had to be destroyed. The forms were collected and placed in containers according to geographical location.

Analysis

A unique identification number consisting of a randomly assigned two digit sequence number and geographic location number was assigned to each subject. During the process of assigning an identification

number to the data sheet and the two instruments a check was made of completeness and acceptability. A few TSCS forms that were completed in ink (unacceptable to the response scanner) were transcribed to another form and rechecked. The sets were separated into six classifications with four of these representing the Metis by location (Lac La Biche, Slave Lake, Grouard and McLennan), the fifth for all Status Indians and the sixth for all other groups.

The TSCS tests were forwarded to Knoxville, Tennessee, for scoring and production of self concept profiles of each of the six groups and a deck of punched cards. On receipt of the material a comparison was made of the numbers in each group received against the numbers sent. There was no discrepancy between the two figures.

Each of the 24 questions of the Perceptions of Skilled Occupations survey form was scored with three points being awarded for a correct response, two points for "Don't Know" and one point for a wrong response. The few questions that were left blank were scored as "Don't Know." The scores for the 24 questions were transcribed with the nine digit identification number onto summary forms. The summary form was used to produce a deck of computer cards for the Perceptions of Skilled Occupations instrument.

The two decks of punched cards were combined by identification number. The Perceptions of Skilled Occupations card was placed first and the two TSCS cards with the same identification number were inserted immediately behind the first card.

The analysis procedures included an analysis of individual and group scores of both tests for Metis, Status Indians, other groups and

for Metis in the three regions (four locations) of the study area. An analysis was also conducted to determine any interaction effect between groups and the two instruments. The Control Data Corporation CYBER 70 computer at Oregon State University processed the data utilizing the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) program (Nie et al., (1975).

Descriptive statistics were compiled on all scores concerned with self concept and perceptions of skilled occupations. A one-way analysis of variance was used to determine whether or not differences in self concept exist among the Metis subjects residing in four locations. Where significant differences were found the Student-Newman-Keuls multiple comparisons test was used to determine where they actually existed. The one-way analysis was used with scores on levels of perceptions of the Metis from the four geographical areas. A one-way analysis was also used to compare the self concept and perceptions of skilled occupations scores of Metis, Status Indians and non-Native subjects. Finally, a Pearson product moment correlation was computed and the correlation tested with a t-test in determining the strength of the relationship between scores made by Metis subjects on the two instruments. The .05 level of significance was used for all tests.

CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings of the study concerned with the self concept and perceptions of skilled occupations of adult Metis in rural northern Alberta. The results of the two questions and five associated hypotheses of the study are discussed in three sections entitled: "Self Concept," "Perceptions of Skilled Occupations," and "Relationship Between Instruments."

Self Concept

Question 1 of the study was: What is the self concept of the Metis? The mean score by Metis subjects on the total Positive (P) score of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) which measures self esteem was 309.9 (Table 1). The standard error was 4.13 and the standard deviation was 34.81. The median (Fitts, 1965) for the total P or Self Esteem Scale for the norm group was 345.6. The Metis subjects scored substantially lower than the norm group, and the "average" Metis scored approximately on the border between the "subnormal" and the "deviant" categories established by Fitts (1972a). Fitts, in establishing the categories considered that approximately ten percent of the population would be in the lower or upper deviant categories.

Thompson (1972) has charted five studies of disadvantaged adults on a profile sheet. All the studies used the TSCS. The mean score of the Self Esteem Scale for Metis was almost identical to the lowest mean score reported in these five studies. These comparisons indicate

Table 1. Means and standard deviations of total and selected subscores of Metis subjects (n = 71) and the means of the same scores for the norm group (Fitts, 1965).

Scale	Metis		Norm \bar{X} *
	\bar{X}	S	
Self concept (total)	309.9	34.81	345.6
Self criticism	34.3	4.55	35.5
Total conflict	42.2	13.8	(30.0)
Distributions	103.9	25.9	(120)
Self satisfaction	96.9	13.48	103.7
Behavior	100.7	12.06	115.0
Moral/ethical	61.5	7.61	70.3
Personal self	61.2	9.45	64.6
Social self	60.8	7.60	68.1
Variability (consistency)	47.3	13.81	48.5
Net conflict	13.2	23.7	(-0.5)

*Numbers reported within parentheses are approximations taken from a table reported in Fitts (1972a).

that the Metis from this sample have a relatively low self esteem or negative self image. The mean and the standard deviation for Metis subjects on the Self Criticism Scale were 34.3 and 4.55, respectively, and the standard error was 1.54. The Metis were in the optimal range and were considered to be honest and open in self description.

Metis mean scores were compared with the optimal, normal and subnormal categories for two other important subscales. The "Net" and "Total Conflict" scores place the Metis in the subnormal and deviant categories. These scores indicate a tendency to "overrespond" to positive statements, and conflict or confusion appears evident. The Metis "Distribution" scores were in the high subnormal category and indicate that their self images were somewhat poorly differentiated and uncertain. Table 1 shows the disparity of varying degrees between Metis mean scores on selected subscales with the established norm scores.

It is interesting to note that the Metis mean score on "Variability" (Total V) was just below the norm and is considered to be the optimal level. It suggests internally consistent, well-integrated self concepts.

In summary, the Metis subjects had a low self concept and were below the norm group in various factors. They frequently scored in the "deviant" categories.

Two related hypotheses were concerned with whether Metis' self concept was similar to other ethnic groups and whether the self concept was pervasive among the three northern regions. The first hypothesis tested was: There are no significant differences among the mean

scores for self concept of adult Metis, Indians and non-Natives in rural northern Alberta. Table 2 shows the results of the analysis of variance between the three ethnic groups.

Metis, Status Indians and other subjects were not significantly different in Self Concept Scores ($F = 1.01$, $ndf = 2$, 151 , $p > .05$). All of the respondents were from the same geographical area (rural northern Alberta) and all were recipients of some form of subsidization by the federal or provincial governments. The total sample was enrolled in the same program. The results tend to support the findings of Wambach (1960), Barteo (1967), and Renbarger (1969) that self concepts were lower for persons in disadvantaged or poverty conditions regardless of ethnicity. The findings of this study confirm the findings of the study conducted by Lamarche (1968) and those cited by Fitts (1972b) on the effect of culture, language and country on self concepts.

The second related hypothesis tested was: There are no significant differences among mean scores for self concept of adult Metis in four locations (three regions) of rural northern Alberta. This null hypothesis was not supported by the findings of the study. Table 3 displays the results of the analysis of variance of Metis' self concept scores by geographical location. Metis attending academic upgrading programs differed significantly ($F = 13.28$, $ndf = 3$, 67 , $p < .05$) on the Self Concept Scale. Student-Newman-Keuls multiple range tests indicated that subjects in geographic location 1 (Table 4) scored significantly lower ($p < .05$) than the other three locations. Subjects in site 1 had very negative self images situated relatively far down

Table 2. Analysis of variance of mean self esteem scores on the TSCS by ethnicity of subjects (n = 154).

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	Probability
Between groups	2	2,360.02	1,180.01	1.01	.3652
Within groups	151	175,715.75	1,163.68		
Total	153	178,075.77			

Table 3. Analysis of variance of Metis self concept (self esteem) by location.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	Probability
Between groups	3	31,639.80	10,546.60	13.28	.00
Within groups	67	53,198.51	794.01		
Total	70	84,838.31			

Table 4. Means and standard deviations for self concept scores of Metis attending academic upgrading programs in four geographic locations in northern Alberta (n = 71).

Geographic location	n	Self Concept score	
		\bar{X}	\bar{S}
1	15	274.5	11.06
2	13	313.3	28.41
3	26	331.7	33.55
4	17	305.2	33.09
Average		309.9	34.81

in the low deviant zone. Subjects in sites 2 and 4 were not statistically different, but those in site 4 who scored in the upper part of the deviant category of the norm group were different in self esteem from those in site 3. Subjects in sites 2 and 3 did not differ. The Self Esteem scores were somewhat below average at site 3 and bordered on being deviant. The extremely low Self Esteem scores at site 1 when compared to the scores of the other subjects may be partly accounted for by environmental differences. Site 1 is close to a proposed major oil development and relatively close to a large petroleum operation. Site 1 is also the nearest site to a large urban area. A staff member of the Vocational Centre at site 1 stated that a recent Statistics Canada Report had reported the area to have the highest violent crime rate of any town of its size in Canada. The eastern location may also have a more entrenched welfare dependency and poverty than the other locations.

On the True/False Ratio Scale (Appendix K), there were no differences in scores between sites 2, 3 and 4, but a large difference was very evident between these three sites and site 1. Subjects at sites 2, 3 and 4 were in the high subnormal zone to very deviant zone. Average scores for the subjects in site 1 were extremely deviant. The subjects showed a strong set to define self by agreeing with the content of items rather than rejecting things they were not. Subjects in sites 1 and 4, which were both highly deviant on the True/False Ratio Scale, also had the lowest self concept scores of the four locations. Extremely high True/False scores or response sets for subjects in site 1 were probably a factor in their very poor Self Esteem scores.

There were significant differences ($F = 4.86$, $ndf = 3$, 67 , $p = .004$) in the Net Conflict scores among Metis in different locations. These scores measure the direction of conflict (see Appendix K). Subjects in site 1 again were different from those in the other locations. Scores from sites 2 and 3 were in the mid-area of the upper subnormal zone. Subjects in site 4 were somewhat deviant although relatively close to the cut-off area of the high subnormal group. There appeared to be a tendency for all groups to affirm contradictory statements with site 4 being the most prominent in this trend. Subjects in site 1 had very strong indications of consistency to overconfirm contradictory statements. This direction of conflict was generally confirmed in the strength of the conflict (Total C Scale) with subjects in sites 2 and 3 in the lower area of the high subnormal zone. There were statistical differences between sites 2 and 3's Total Conflict scores and those of sites 1 and 4. Subjects in sites 1 and 4 were deviant in showing evidence of strong inclinations to contradict. They therefore appeared to be internally inconsistent in self reporting. The differences in the direction and strength of conflict probably reflected the level of low self concept. It would appear that groups with highly negative self images tend to affirm rather than deny contradictory statements.

There were significant differences ($F = 24.77$, $ndf = 3$, 67 , $p < .05$) between groups on Row 1 (Identity) scores by Metis when locations were considered (Appendix K). Table 5 shows the results of Student-Newman-Keuls tests. There were three levels of means of Identity scores with one site (site 2) in an interlocking position where it was

Table 5. Significance levels of identity scores for Metis by location.

<u>Level A</u>		
Location	Site 1	
Mean	93.06	
SD	5.13	
<u>Level B</u>		
Location	Site 4	Site 2
Mean	113.00	117.23
SD	12.3	10.11
<u>Level C</u>		
Location	Site 2	Site 3
Mean	117.23	119.80
SD	10.11	11.10

represented in two of the levels. Table 5 shows that subjects in site 1 were following a pattern in that they scored significantly lower than subjects in the other three locations. Subjects in site 4 scores statistically lower than those at site 3.

The Identity Self is probably the fundamental aspect of the self concept. It is the "Who am I?" concept of the self and includes all the labels and symbols that the individual perceives and reports on (Fitts et al., 1971). The identity factor is a confusing one and is a major current problem for the Metis (Appendix B). The lower level of the bottom subnormal category for this scale is approximately 117 for the norm group. This placed the subjects in site 4 slightly into the deviant category, and subjects in site 1 were in the extreme low area of the deviant zone. Subjects in sites 2 and 3 just exceeded the lower limit of the subnormal category. In comparing the Metis' mean Identity scores with the five studies of disadvantaged adults cited

by Thompson (1972) it was found that scores for sites 2 to 4 were very similar to the lowest reported group. Site 1 was well below the levels of other locations, and the bottom group of the disadvantaged adults charted by Thompson. Fitts et al. (1971) stated that the influence of the identity self on behavior is clear. The implications of this interaction are serious for the Metis subjects of this study. The large deviancy of subjects in site 1 would have to be examined in relation to pertinent factors that contribute to low self concept and perceptions of self-as-object in particular. Discrimination (Adams, 1975; Card, Herabayashi and French, 1963), stereotyping (Allport, 1958; Sealey and Lussier, 1975), significant others (Kemper, 1968; Sealey and Kirkness, 1973) and socioeconomic factors (Kvarceus et al., 1965; Bischof, 1969) are major influences on self concept and identity. The very low scores for Identity and other subscales including the major one of Self Esteem would indicate that one or all of these major influences could have adversely affected the Metis at site 1. To a lesser but significant degree this assumption concerning site 1 is applicable to Metis in the other three locations.

Other subscales of the TSCS revealed significant differences for Metis when location of the sample was considered. A summary of the pattern of these subscales revealing significant differences appears in Table 6.

The rejection of null hypotheses and acceptance of the alternative hypotheses concerned with self concept of Metis by geographic location cannot be fully explained by examining independent variables concerned with sex ($X^2 = 6.18$, $ndf = 3$, $p > .05$), marital status ($X^2 =$

Table 6. Pattern of significant differences among selected subscales of TSCS for Metis by location.*

Subscale	Pattern
Self Satisfaction	Sites 1, 2 and 4 are significantly different and lower than site 3. Site 3 is the only location to exceed the established norm.
Behavior	Significant difference between sites 1 and 3. Sites 2 and 4 are not significantly different from sites 1 and 3. All sites are below the established norm.
Moral-Ethical Self	Significant differences between sites 1 and 3, sites 1 and 2 and sites 3 and 4. The pattern of site 1 with the lowest score and site 3 with the highest is maintained. All sites are below the established norm.
Physical Self	The typical pattern of site 1 as the lowest and significantly different from other sites is maintained as is the difference between sites 4 and 3 and site 3 continues to have the highest score. Site 1 is in the deviant category and the others are subnormal.
Personal Self	The only significant difference is between sites 1 and 3. Site 3 exceeds the established norm. Sites 2 and 4 are in the mid-lower subnormal category and site 1 is fairly deviant.
Social Self	There are significant differences between sites 1, 4 and 3, and between sites 4 and 3. Site 1 is the lowest and site 3 the highest in scores. Site 3 is mid-subnormal. Site 4 is subnormal and sites 1 and 2 are in the deviant category.
Family Self	Site 1 is significantly different from sites 2, 3 and 4. Site 1 is relatively deviant and the others are in the low subnormal category.

*Appendix K contains summaries of ANOVA and means and S.D.

6.18, $\text{ndf} = 3$, $p > .05$), marital status ($X^2 = 1.60$, $\text{ndf} = 3$, $p > .05$), and educational attainment ($X^2 = 0.84$, $\text{ndf} = 6$, $p > .05$). However, there was a significant association ($X^2 = 8.63$, $\text{ndf} = 3$, $p < .05$) between age and location. In order to obtain suitable cell sizes for analysis the seven age categories from the personal data sheet were compressed to two categories (see Appendix K). The first category included subjects between the ages of 16 and 21, and the second category consisted of those 21 or over. The age breakdown by location, using the two compressed age categories, is shown in Table 7.

Table 7 shows that subjects in sites 1 and 3 had similar age components. Site 2 had approximately 85 percent of the sample in the older category. Site 4 had the most balanced age distribution with the majority in the older group. Thompson (1972), in an analysis of various studies using the TSCS, found that there were indications that age was a factor in self concept, and differences were revealed in every TSCS scale. The major differences were in the middle high school years and below and in older people. The college age and adult groups appeared to have clearer self images. In view of the findings by Thompson, age may not be a significant factor for this study because of the relative homogeneity of ages of the subjects. It was also observed that the age breakdown for sites 1 and 3 were similar, yet subjects in site 1 had consistently shown the lowest scores in the subscales of the TSCS while subjects in site 3 had always had the highest or as high score of subjects at any of the sites on the Self Concept subscale. It would then appear that age had limited influence on the significant differences of self concept among the Metis subjects.

Table 7. Age comparison of Metis by location.

Location	% Ages 16-21	% Age 22 or over
Site 1	60.0	40.0
Site 2	15.4	84.6
Site 3	61.5	38.5
Site 4	41.2	58.8

In summary, subjects in site 1 scored significantly lower than subjects in the other sites. Subjects in site 4 were frequently different from those in site 3. These differences, particularly the wide discrepancy between mean scores of subjects in sites 1 and 3, were considered to be the major reason that hypothesis two could not be supported.

Perceptions of Skilled Occupations

Question 2 of the study was: What are the perceptions of skilled occupations of the Metis? The mean score made by Metis on the Perceptions of Skilled Occupations survey was 56.5 out of a possible score of 72. The standard error was 0.67, and the standard deviation was 5.61. The survey measured two types of perceptions, namely, (1) the value of skilled occupations to the respondent and that individual's family and peer group (PSV) and (2) the individual's concept of the availability of that occupation to her/him (PSA). The mean PSA (access) score for Metis was 29.8 ($s = 3.46$) and the mean PSV (value) score was 26.6 ($s = 3.74$).

The third null hypothesis was: There are no significant differences among the mean scores for perceptions of skilled occupations of adult Metis, Indians and non-Natives in rural northern Alberta. The findings of this study (Table 8) supported the hypothesis.

Table 9 shows the percentage by response category for all Metis subjects to the 24 questions on the Perceptions of Skilled Occupations survey form (Appendix I). The distribution of responses shown in Table 9 reveals that results on some key questions are important in considering Metis perception of skilled occupations. Thirty-eight percent of the Metis did not know where to obtain further information on training for technical jobs. This figure may at first appear satisfactory. However, when it is realized that there were extensive guidance and counselling resources at the Vocational Centres, then there is cause for concern that this function, a major one of the Centre, may not be fully utilized. For question 3 over 60 percent of the Metis believed there were short courses available to help people obtain employment. The responses to question 4 showed that 35 percent of the Metis considered that non-Whites had to take unskilled work.

Table 8. Analysis of variance of mean scores of Perception of Skilled Occupations by ethnicity.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F ratio	Probability
Between groups	2	179.03	89.51	3.03	.0515
Within groups	151	4467.37	29.59		
Total	153	4646.40			

Table 9. Response distribution for Metis
Perception of Skilled Occupations.

Question	Distribution of Responses (%)		
	Incorrect	Don't Know	Correct
1	4.2	33.8	62.0
2	11.3	29.6	59.2
3	19.7	19.7	60.6
4	35.2	29.6	35.2
5	32.4	9.9	57.7
6	15.5	22.5	62.0
7	23.9	23.9	52.1
8	12.7	28.2	59.2
9	15.5	11.3	73.2
10	18.3	4.2	77.5
11	4.2	4.2	91.5
12	4.2	25.4	70.4
13	21.1	39.4	39.4
14	26.8	39.4	33.8
15	19.7	32.4	47.9
16	32.5	21.1	46.5
17	32.4	31.0	36.6
18	12.7	45.1	42.3
19	32.4	5.6	62.0
20	25.4	32.4	42.3
21	11.3	12.7	76.1
22	46.5	15.5	38.0
23	8.5	14.1	77.5
24	26.8	35.2	38.0

Approximately 30 percent were unsure whether there was bias in job placement. This is of major significance to this study as it indicates that access to skilled jobs may be perceived as restricted for Metis. This view could affect career aspirations. Almost 40 percent of Metis responding to question 5 considered a "lot of luck" was involved in receiving training and employment in the skilled job areas. Thirty-eight percent of the Metis considered that technical training could be too difficult for them (question 6). Almost three-quarters of the Metis responding to question 9 considered there were few skilled jobs available in their area and approximately the same percentage responding to question 21 indicated a willingness to relocate if they were qualified for skilled jobs. Approximately 70 percent responding to question 12 believed there were lots of jobs for skilled workers in Alberta. In summary, Metis appeared to be aware of the employment opportunities available but significant numbers were unaware of the training, opportunities, requirements, benefits and types of skilled employment available.

The fourth hypothesis was: There are no significant differences among the levels of perceptions of skilled occupations of adult Metis in four locations (three regions) of rural northern Alberta. The analysis of variance shown in Table 10 supported the hypothesis.

Relationship Between Instruments

The responses to the two instruments were the basis for testing the last hypothesis: There is no significant relationship between self concept scores and perceptions of skilled occupation scores among

Table 10. Analysis of variance of mean scores of Perceptions of Skilled Occupations of Metis by location.

Source	DF	SS	MS	F ratio	Probability
Between groups	3	71.86	23.69	.745	.530
Within groups	67	2130.66	31.80		
Total	70	2201.72			

adult Metis in rural northern Alberta. The findings of this study tend to support the hypothesis ($r = 0.25$, $p < .05$). The accounted for variance or r^2 was 6.3 percent, and the unaccounted variance therefore equalled 93.7 percent. The TSCS scores and the Perceptions of Skilled Occupations scores were significantly related, but the strength of this relationship does not justify the use of these instruments interchangeably.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The study problem was two-fold, namely, what are the self concepts and what are the perceptions of skilled occupations for Metis in rural northern Alberta?

The selection of the sample was the most crucial and difficult part of the study. The choice of academic upgrading classes from three Vocational Centres provided representation by location, ethnicity, social assistance and dependency, age and education attainment, as well as an environment offering test control and the opportunity to overcome the "questionnaire reluctance" common among Natives.

The administrative staff, counselors, instructors, aides and subjects at the Vocational Centres were thoroughly briefed on the objectives and requirements of the study. Considerable stress was placed on the need for sincerity and assistance during the completion of the forms. Anonymity was assured.

A personal data sheet was used to obtain demographic information. Two instruments were used in the collection of data. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale, a standardized instrument, was used to assess the self concept of the subjects. The second instrument, Perceptions of Skilled Occupations, was designed for the study using a modified Delphi Technique and was pilot tested with an academic upgrading class in an urban Vocational Centre.

The findings were as follows:

1. The self concept of the Metis subjects was low in comparison to the established norm.

2. There were no significant differences in self concept among adult Metis, Status Indians and non-Natives.

3. There were significant differences in self concept among adult Metis by geographical location.

4. The perceptions of skilled occupations were low concerning the knowledge of skilled jobs among Metis, Status Indians and non-Natives.

5. There were no significant differences in the level of perceptions of skilled occupations among adult Metis, Status Indians and non-Natives.

6. There were no significant differences in perceptions of skilled occupations among adult Metis by geographical location.

7. There was a significant but weak relationship between levels of self concept and levels of perceptions of skilled occupations among adult Metis.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn from the review of literature and the interpretation of the data. The self concept of adult Metis in academic upgrading programs in rural northern Alberta is very low. Other ethnic groups have similarly low self concepts. The observed differences in self concept among adult Metis in different geographical regions could be attributable to type and ethnic origin of the Metis and differing environmental factors.

Knowledge of skilled occupations appears to be very limited among Metis. The apparent lack of understanding of skilled occupations is

not affected by location or different for comparable groups of other ethnic backgrounds.

The Tennessee Self Concept Scale and the Perceptions of Skilled Occupations instrument are independent measures and therefore should not be used interchangeably. The former is concerned with self perceptions and the latter with knowledge.

Implications

Programs designed to make adults more employable should include elements of life skills, career education and basic job skills. Academic upgrading can provide basic educational requirements for further training and successful experiences for students, many of whom have known only academic failure and frustration with the school system. However, academic training alone can add to the dependency problem as basically all students attending Vocational Centres are recipients of some form of allowance. Educational level, as such, has no apparent beneficial effect on the self concept. Objectives for students should be established jointly by students and vocational centre educational and/or counseling staff, and progress toward these objectives must be followed up. Progress should be recognized, and aspirations should be realistically established and encouraged. Education is probably the key factor that will permit Metis to adjust to their environment and obtain suitable employment. The proper selection of educational programs that are meaningful and meet these adjustment needs is critical if dependency on social assistance is to be substantially reduced.

All levels of government agencies need to realize in their planning

to alleviate the high unemployment of Native people in rural and northern areas that it is not just an "Indian" problem. Disadvantaged non-Natives have similar problems and the general negative self image of Native people and the consequences of habitual social assistance dependency are not associated with ethnicity. Planners must also realize that changing attitudes, refining aspirations and training Metis and other disadvantaged people takes considerable time. Corrective and training programs are therefore required to be in place years before major industrial projects are initiated if Metis, Indians and non-Indian disadvantaged people are to reap the advantages of more stable and skilled employment.

Discrimination against and stereotyping of Native people is a reality and is perceived as such by them. Stronger legislation, similar to the Civil Rights Act in the United States, must be enacted and enforced. Industry will need some financial incentives and prodding to increase job opportunities for Native people in jobs higher than the unskilled level. Native organizations are optimum vehicles for implementing and operating self-help programs. The Metis and Natives themselves must also work towards the elimination of many of their own problems which tend to perpetuate the present negative stereotypes of Indians. The identity problem of the Metis can be alleviated by action in this area.

The self concept is formed at an early age, and there is a need to make the Canadian educational system more cognizant of and responsive to the special needs of Metis and non-Status Indians. The change must begin prior to the early school years.

Manpower, educational and other counselors involved with Metis and non-Status Indians in the north should be more aware of the importance of the self concept and its direct influence on human behavior. Counselors also have an important role in bridging the present gap in career awareness of Metis and other Native people. The very low participation rate of Native people in skilled training programs and eventual skilled employment cannot be ignored in a climate of high demand for skilled men and women.

Recommendations for Further Study

In view of the results of the study the following areas are recommended for further study:

1. The Perceptions of Skilled Occupations survey form should be tested with other population groups such as students in technical programs and with groups having wider diversity in self concept levels. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale should be used as a valid additional measure of many important aspects of human behavior and to provide further research on the relationships of the two items.

2. Similar studies using the same instruments with urban Metis and Metis in the northern rural areas of other provinces could indicate whether the results of this study are applicable to Metis in other environments.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE HISTORY OF THE METIS PEOPLE

Product of the intermingling of the native Indian population and Europeans who came to explore, trade and settle in North America, the Metis of Canada have been rejected by both Indians and non-Indians. Their history is one of exploitation by and dependency on the White man's institutions. Possessing no common culture, language or religion to bind them together as a single group, they have been treated over the years with neglect and even cruelty by the dominant society. Despite the pressures of a mixed heritage with an accompanying lack of status and economic opportunities, the Metis have survived and are increasing in number. From the first faint cry in a wigwam on the shores of the Saint Lawrence River some months after the first White men arrived in Canada in the early 16th century, these mixed-blood people have multiplied until they now number somewhere between one-half to one million individuals in Canada. Once a key factor in the fur trade economy of the new land, they are now one of the lowest socioeconomic groups in Canada.

The early history of the Metis is bound to the history of the trade in furs that pushed the frontiers of the land ever westward. This vigorous new hybrid race resulting from the mating of French and English newcomers with the native women became the workhorses of the trade. They were the voyageurs who paddled the cargo canoes up and down the rivers, the coureur de bois or runners of the woods who traversed the woodland routes, the carters who handled the famous Red

River carts and, along with the Indians, the trappers who supplied the furs. They, as well as the White men, left behind in the Indian villages children who carried mixed blood. Not only those engaged in the fur trade but prospectors, adventurers, settlers and farmers took Indian women and founded families called half-breeds by the English and Metis by the French. The biological needs of these men, as well as the need for cheap domestic help, cemented these common law unions in which the father may or may not have sustained a continuing presence in the family. Although some of these family units were stable, many dissolved as the men moved away. The Indian women returned to their people and the children grew up in the culture of the tribe. In some cases the children were placed by their fathers in the White men's schools. Frequently the children were deprived of the benefits of either culture and grew up as the outcasts of society.

During the succeeding years, the Metis have continued to be deprived of the benefits provided to the Status or Reserve Indians and the legal, economic and educational benefits of the non-Indian population. They have in fact been the forgotten people of Canada.

In eastern Canada, the Metis were to some extent assimilated into the culture of French Canada. In the early years of French Canadian history, mixed marriages were accepted and even encouraged so that today countless French Canadians have Indian blood in their veins while many Indians have White blood in theirs (Sealey and Kirkness, 1973). In the west, however, where there was a large percentage of men from the British Isles, mixed marriages were frowned upon, and the offspring of these men were accepted by neither the

Indians nor Whites. They were socially as well as geographically isolated from their parent cultures; so they tended to stay together as a group, intermarrying and developing their own unique way of life. Claiming the heritage of both cultures and owing allegiance to neither, they took what they needed from both to develop their own vigorous life style that was to become the basis of a distinct Canadian ethnic group, the Metis.

The group has had an impact on the course of Canadian history. Sealey and Lussier (1975) suggested that the Metis were the principal determinant in the expansion westward, were instrumental in incorporating the western territories into Canada rather than the United States, and were a prime economic force until their dispersion after the 1870 and 1885 insurrections.

The development of the distinct Metis society in the west coincided to a large extent with the period of expansion of the two great fur trading companies of Canada -- the Hudson's Bay Company and the Company of the Northwest. Although the former company had been granted a charter by the king of England in 1670 which gave them exclusive right to the trade in the northwest area known as Ruperts Land, the Montreal-based Company of the Northwest infringed on their monopoly and an intense rivalry developed. Free trade was banned and Hudson's Bay attempted to control the supply of pemmican, a staple in the diet of traders and trappers made of dried buffalo meat, fat and berries. In 1812 settlers were brought in by Lord Selkirk who acquired a vast area of land from the Hudson's Bay Company. Indian land claims were extinguished by a payment of tobacco, and one-tenth

on the land was retained for use of the employees of the Company. Conflicts over the trade of pemmican to the rival company resulted in what came to be known as the Massacre of Seven Oaks in 1816 during which 20 settlers were killed. Sealey (1977) reported that it was after this battle that the Metis began to speak of themselves as the New Nation multiculturalism.

The merging of the two rival companies in 1821 left many employees, particularly among the Metis, without jobs. Those who tried free trading were punished. In 1849 a group of Metis broke the company's monopoly by releasing an imprisoned free trader and issuing a manifesto of civil rights that demanded free trade, council representation and the use of French in court cases. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, continued to administer the territory in much the old way until the vast area was incorporated into the federation of Canada in 1869.

This transfer of ownership gave rise to considerable trouble as the Metis, who numbered about 10,000 to about 15,000, were not consulted, nor were their needs and rights considered. The one-tenth portion of the Selkirk land set aside for company employees was one of the basic problems as the Metis felt that the land was rightfully theirs and should not have been surrendered to Canada. When the government sent surveyors to the territory prior to the actual date of transfer they were met by Louis Riel and a group of Metis who turned them back. Riel and his men occupied Fort Garry and issued a Declaration of Rights that stated that they had a right to establish their own government since the Hudson's Bay Company had withdrawn. A provisional government was set up to negotiate more favorable terms for their

people. Extremeists from Ontario sent out by Governor McDougall who had been harrassing and assaulting the Metis people were imprisoned, although they were released shortly. One particularly violent man, Thomas Scott, was executed.

Louis Riel, a Metis who had been educated in Quebec, had emerged as the leader of his people. He could speak and write fluently in French and English and had a good knowledge of law and politics. Twice elected to Parliament, he had been unable to take his seat because of his involvement in the provisional government, and the Scott episode forced him into exile in the United States. There he remained until in 1884 when Gabriel Dumont and several others went to Montana to persuade him to return to help solve the Metis problems.

After the transfer of the territory to Canada the Metis of Manitoba suffered considerable hardships. Their old way of life vanished as the buffalo and fur-bearing animals disappeared. Land scripts issued to the heads of families were sold to new settlers or speculators for small sums of money. Those who kept the script were not issued deeds to the land, and the Metis suffered harrassment from the soldiers and new settlers. Most were unable to adapt to the new agricultural way of life and drifted west, leading a nomadic life or squatting on government or railroad land. In their need they looked once again to Riel as their natural leader.

On his return to Canada Riel sent a petition to the government. When this was ignored, the scene was set for the uprising of 1885 which involved both Indians and Metis in a last desperate attempt to retain the old ways. After a series of victories under Dumont they

were defeated at Batochi, Saskatchewan, and Riel was captured and later hanged for treason.

Louis Riel's death gave the Metis a martyr and left a legacy of bitterness between the French and English Canadians which lasted for generations. It did little to alleviate the plight of the mixed blood people who dispersed in fear after the Battle of Batochi. Some fled to the United States, others to the Northwest Territories, northern Alberta, or the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Those who remained lived on the fringes of the White settlements. The old way of life had disappeared. Sealey (1977: 9) states:

Many Metis faced unemployment, social ostracism by whites, spiritual and physical degradation, hunger, long term malnutrition, disease and squalor. In a sense they were a people who had no future and were cheated of the present because their past did not provide them with shields to cope with its problems.

Their recent history has been a struggle to combat the effects of years of neglect and disinterest by the government and to attempt the rehabilitation of these people into today's society and to secure certain benefits that they feel are rightfully theirs. Agitation by Metis leaders led to the Half Breed Commission of 1936 which recommended setting aside certain areas of land for colonies. In 1939 the Betterment Act and later the Metis Betterment Trust Fund attempted to improve conditions by forming farming associations to improve and manage the income from these land tracts. Various associations such as the Manitoba Metis Federation and other organizations through the west attempted to speak for the people. In 1971 several provincial organizations of Metis and non-Status Indians (those Indians lacking legal

government status) combined, and a national body known as the Native Council of Canada was formed. It is their hope that through presentation of a unified front to the various levels of government they will be able to bring about changes that will lead to an improvement in the quality of life for these unhappy people.

APPENDIX B

METIS -- CURRENT CONDITIONS

The problems that plagued the Metis in the historical era of the fur trade, in the main, continue to exist today. The issues of land rights, status, participation in decisions, dependency, seasonal and unstable employment patterns, migration and the consequences and feelings of being neither White nor Indian are current issues as well as historical issues. It is also true that as many Metis were successful in the period dominated by the Hudson's Bay Company, there are many Metis who have adjusted and integrated into the present society. A major difference between these two periods is the fact that the traditional occupations of hunting, trapping and fishing have, to a large degree, disappeared with the diminishing resources and demand. Non-Indians have continued their intrusion by entering into these occupations and thus increase the problems for Metis desiring to live in and make a living in accordance with their heritage.

The concept of identity is of major importance to Metis organizations and those Metis who stress their ethnicity. There is, however, a dilemma in this nationalism because of the half-breed origin of the Metis. This dilemma is aptly described by Stan Daniels (Elliott, 1971), a former president of the Metis Association of Alberta.

The question of my identity is hard for me to understand: on one hand when I consider myself an Indian, and I say this, the Indian says "Who do you think you are? You are nothing but a white man." And when I consider myself a white man, talk or act like one, the white man says to me, "You are nothing but a damned Indian." I am a man caught in the vacuum of two cultures with neither fully accepting me. (pp. 139-140)

McKay (1972) and Sealey and Lussier (1975) believe that most Metis consider themselves to be neither Indian nor White but are a unique people. Metis generally do not seek segregation. They do not have the legal status of the Indians and the identity imposed on Status Indians by the government. Legal terminology does not solve the identity problem, and the issue for Native people is to establish their identity in present day terms (Cardinal, 1969). The present day stress on Canadian unity and nationalism has limited appeal to Native people because it does not give them a meaningful native identity (Adams, 1975).

In western Canada there are two major classifications of Metis (Slobodin, 1966; Sealey and Lussier, 1975). These two types are the Red River or the Historical Metis and the Northern Metis. The Red River Metis are the children of the fur trade, and their origin can be traced to the general area of the present Winnipeg and Red River area of Manitoba. They are of French and English descent and migrated to the southern parts of the western provinces of Canada and northern United States, although many located in the northerly areas of Canada. The Historical Metis, in the main, are those who assimilated into the Euro-Canadian culture. Most of the Historical Metis do not refer to their Indian background but are aware and proud of their half-breed ancestry (Sealey and Lussier, 1975). A number of the Historical Metis, who could have assisted the large number of less fortunate Metis, have generally avoided any involvement (Dosman, 1972; Sealey and Lussier, 1975). Slobodin (1966) found that in the far north the Red River Metis had a more varied and consistent employment record than the

Northern Metis. He considered this factor as perhaps the major distinction between the two Metis types. Slobodin's study revealed that most of the "mixed" Northern Metis were Protestants, and their ties were more familial than one built on tradition. He noted that these attachments led to many of their problems. Slobodin concluded that Northern Metis areas of employment generally excluded those requiring higher educational training.

Sealey and Lussier (1975) estimate that over half of the Metis have successfully assimilated into modern society with few problems. Although a large segment of Metis have adapted well they usually lose their identity and are difficult to trace (Dosman, 1972; McKay, 1972; Sealey and Kirkness, 1973). Dosman (1972) estimates there were about 25 who formed the Metis aristocracy in the city of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Abu-Laban (1965) in his research found evidence that the middle class setting of schools had a positive effect on the aspirations of Native students. Metis who adapted most successfully, according to Sealey and Lussier (1975), are those living in White communities. Adams (1975), who is very critical of society's attitude towards Native people, postulates that opportunities and privileges are in direct relationship to the "whiteness" of the Indian's appearance. Lusty (1973) cites the names of some well known Metis who have succeeded in various fields from politics to show business. These people serve as role models, and several businesses that are prosperously managed by Metis can provide encouragement to many Metis. Lusty believes that the Metis are slowly progressing and that their culture is becoming more favorably recognized and accepted. The traditional

concept of sharing is diminishing because many of the more affluent or successful Metis consider that they are being exploited by a core of Metis who are generally and firmly welfare oriented (Chalmers, 1967). The rewards of the middle class society are reflected in the lifestyle of the affluent Metis family. In contrast the welfare family is characterized by the breakdown of the family unit (Dosman, 1972). Zentner (1973), in his study of the income and occupational data for Native people in southern Alberta, observed that it was striking to note the few professionals, entrepreneurs and skilled persons of Indian ancestry compared to the vast majority whose income category would "clearly place them in the circumstances indicated by the concept of the 'culture of poverty'" (pp. 81-82).

Although admitting that there are variations in the standard of living, Buckley, Kew and Hawley (1963) found that the general level in rural northern Saskatchewan for Metis was very low. They challenged anyone to walk down the streets, talk to the Metis and visit their homes if they wanted proof of the poverty and deplorable living conditions of Native people. McKay (1972) states that Metis and non-Status Indians have the highest birth rate, school dropout rate, and incarceration level and the lowest income and housing standards of any minority group in Canada.

Overcrowding complicates the general poor housing situation for Metis and non-Status Indians. In a 1972 survey, Sealey and Lussier (1975) found that 54 percent of Metis households in British Columbia and 62 percent in Manitoba had five or more persons living in houses that generally averaged four rooms or less. Only 11 percent of the

homes in Manitoba had sewer and water, and 75 percent had electricity versus more than 96 percent for all of Canada. The survey also shows that less than 37 percent of Metis and non-Status Indians in Manitoba and about 31 percent in British Columbia had full-time employment. The remainder were seasonally unemployed, on welfare or partially on welfare, pensions, etc. Welfare and unemployment insurance are often better than the income from sporadic employment. This dependency on social assistance and their history of some sort of dependence on the dominant society are probably the major current problems concerning the adjustment of the Metis. In smaller communities such as in the North, the number of Metis on welfare is very evident. This alienates many non-Natives because of the high costs of social support for a group who pays little or no property taxes (Lagasse, 1959; Buckley, Kew and Hawley, 1963; Smitheram, 1972). This dependency places the welfare Metis in a position of subserviance to bureaucracy. The destruction of aspirations, restrictions on income, associations with welfare or lower class Whites and a serious alcohol problem have major implications on any plans to improve the desparate situation for many Indian families.

The employment and growth of the economy, particularly in the North, offers an opportunity to make some progress in alleviating the situation for the Metis. The key issue here is that the attitudes of both White and Metis must change and high priority must be given to training programs in semi-skilled and skilled occupations for Metis (Employment and Training of Metis is discussed in Appendix C). Poverty, dependency, lack of education and training, cultural differences and

discrimination are current problems for Metis and other Native people in the urban ghettos (Dosman, 1972). The urban problems originate in the rural areas and are often accentuated as Native people increasingly migrate to the city (Fulham, 1972).

Adjustment problems to employment and education are difficult for Northern Metis who have retained the culture of their nomadic ancestors. Kirkness (Sealey and Kirkness, 1975) has outlined several aspects of Native culture which are in conflict with the existing technological culture of the majority. Time is an unimportant factor for the hunters and trappers, and it is difficult for them to accept a rigid eight-to-five work schedule. The Natives may be willing to work but unwilling to accept monotonous work and, like the Whites, have to be trained to accept it (Buckley, Kew and Hawley, 1963). The Native culture stresses the present in contrast to a future-oriented society. Sealey and Kirkness (1973) and Nagler (1975) state that saving money, especially for those in rural areas, is meaningless in Indian cultures because sharing is more important. Other contrasts noted by Kirkness include the patience of Indians versus society's orientation to action, the extended family in contrast to the nuclear family, and the Native's concern for balance with nature as opposed to modern technology's quest for control of the environment.

The current issue on land in Alberta concerns the Metis colonies and the provincial government over oil and natural gas royalties derived from the settlement land. Over 30 million dollars have been collected by the government of Alberta but no funds from this revenue have been deposited to the Metis Settlements Trust Fund. The case is

still being fought in the courts, and the government has directed a careful review of all major program development requests from the Metis colonies pending the settlement of the suit (Edmonton Report, 1978).

A commission was established by the Alberta government in 1935 to investigate the Metis plight, and in 1939 the Metis Betterment Act was passed and land was set aside for Metis colonies. There are currently eight colonies in various parts of Alberta and revenues from the colonies are administered through a Trust Fund (Metis Development Branch, undated). Considerable success has been achieved in assisting Metis in finding employment and settling in new communities by agencies managed by experienced Metis. The Metis have requested more control over their affairs and involving them in future ventures, which appears to be a logical approach (Fulton, 1972; Sealey and Kirkness, 1973).

Recently there has been considerable proliferation of formal Native organizations, as differentiated from the helping agencies noted in the previous paragraph. Funding problems, some with non-Indian officers, lack of coordination, and many potential leaders with little population support have retarded the progress of these mainly political organizations (Sealey and Lussier, 1975). The Metis Association of Alberta was organized in 1961 and has expanded its sphere of operation from the colonies to all Metis communities. It has 85 locals in Alberta and 30,000 Metis and non-Status Indian members. Its aims are to provide all levels of government with the Metis views on legislation affecting their interests and to promote the

identity and culture of the Metis (Daniels, 1977). The Alberta Association is still having support and organizational problems but shows promise of being a viable and cohesive voice for Alberta's Metis.

Some indications of the future trends for Native people are provided by Dyck (1970) in his 35-year forecast for the period 1970-2005. The conclusion of the panel indicated that Native people will have to assimilate in some manner with the White society to achieve equality. The assimilation rate will gradually grow over the period and gains will be offset by loss of culture. Traditionalism will have a resurgence until about 1990 and then level off. Cultural ties will decrease with the loss of language, values and poverty status. A difficult struggle is envisaged for the 1980s during the period the Natives achieve their aims of job, educational and political equality and improved housing. The value of education to Natives should increase in emphasis over the 35-year period. A majority of Native teachers instructing Natives is not foreseen until the end of the century, and the use of Native languages as the language of instruction is not likely to occur in the future. Employment opportunities for Native people are expected to grow at a modest rate until the middle of 1980 and then increase sharply until the end of the century. The reserves and colonies will continue to have segments of poverty and will not likely be self sufficient during the forecast period. Strong political action by Native people will be necessary if the growth of the ghettos is to be stemmed during a period of sharply increasing migration to the urban centers which is expected to occur shortly after 1980.

APPENDIX C

METIS -- EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT.

Buckley, Kew and Hawley (1963) noted that in a mining company in northern Saskatchewan only eight of the over 500 employees were Natives. The mining operation was built with skilled workers from the south. Their conclusion was that more Natives could have been employed if they had the necessary training and assistance. Although the study is 16 years old the problems of training and unemployment have not changed. An increasing number of Metis and Indians are entering the diminishing unskilled labor sector.

The education level of Metis and Indians is extremely low. Sealey and Kirkness (1973) in studying Native enrollments in Manitoba projected that less than 11 percent of the Native students will enter grade 12 which is approximately the reverse rate of other Manitobans who will not enter grade 12. The enrollment rate for Natives in Saskatchewan was even more serious with less than one-half of one percent of the Native students in grade 12 (Dosman, 1972). Grade retardation rates (at least one grade behind) are as high as 75 percent (Chadwick, 1977). The very low number reaching grade 12 is only part of the problem. Employment and Immigration Canada (undated) cites studies that provide a more vivid picture of the serious educational system for Natives. A 1974 study reveals that approximately 30 percent of the Native labor force had never attended school, and only approximately 15 percent had studied beyond grade 9. A 1971 study in northern Manitoba shows that 30 percent of the Native people

completed less than grade 5 and only 20 percent had more than grade 10 education. Semi-skilled and skilled occupations generally require a grade 10 or better education for entrance into training programs. There is an obvious requirement for upgrading courses if this low level of education and employment barrier is to be reduced for Native people. In the decade between 1970 and 1980 the number of Native working age population increased by 131,000 persons (Employment and Immigration Canada, undated). Natives who have jobs are disproportionately represented in the unskilled category jobs.

Although there are many programs to increase Native employment their unemployment rate continues to be high. McLeod (1978) notes that federal statistics show unemployment among Indians at 95 percent in some rural areas and at 68 percent in the cities. Other studies and Native leaders report unemployment rates ranging from 50 to 80 percent. Even if the lower estimates of Native employment are accepted they are still five to six times the national average.

Although many government agencies, some Native leaders and successful Metis claim that education is the key to reducing the unemployment rate, there is still a serious problem of discrimination against Natives. This discrimination is mainly derived from a negative stereotyping of Metis and Indians (Cardinal, 1969; Sealey and Kirkness, 1973; Adams, 1975).

Welfare, social assistance programs, unemployment insurance and subsidized educational programs are alternatives to employment. Unfortunately with a strong historical background of dependency, many Metis continue to choose social assistance. The pervasive influence of

welfare has stifled any move towards obtaining suitable employment and aspirations are therefore generally low. This dependency living style would tend to restrain the development of positive self concepts in childhood and subsequent aspirations for skilled or professional employment.

The problems of low educational levels, discrimination and social assistance dependency are common to both rural and urban areas. Government, industry, Native organizations and Native people themselves cannot ignore these three problems if any progress is to be made to alleviate the desparate living conditions common to many Metis and Indians. Job opportunities for skilled workers in Alberta are plentiful and the potential growth in skilled areas appears to be excellent. Every effort should be made to assist Native people of Alberta to take advantage of and participate in this period of economic prosperity. The access to these skilled job opportunities for Natives can only be achieved by the provision of a combination of academic upgrading and technical programs. In conjunction with educational programs, policies and attitudes that can effectively reduce or eliminate discriminatory proactices against Native people must be developed and implemented.

APPENDIX D

INVESTMENT AND LABOR MARKET CONDITIONS IN ALBERTA, 1973-1982

Year	Investment \$000,000 Current	% Change	Investment \$000,000 Constant*	% Change	Employment 000's	% Change	Unemploy- ment Rate (%)	Net Mi- gration 000's	% Change	Population 000's	% Change	Working Age Population	% Change	Labor Force 000's	% Change
1973	3,080	25.2	2,728	15.4	702	5.1	5.3	15	7.1	1,690	2.0	1,145	3.1	741	4.7
1974	4,012	30.3	2,114	14.1	747	6.4	3.5	37	146.7	1,722	1.9	1,182	3.2	773	4.3
1975	5,203	29.7	3,566	14.5	778	4.1	4.1	39	5.4	1,778	3.3	1,232	4.2	811	4.9
1976	6,554	26.0	4,081	14.4	822	5.7	3.9	42	7.7	1,838	3.4	1,286	4.4	856	5.5
1977	7,436	13.5	4,295	5.2	853	3.8	4.4	40	-4.8	1,900	3.4	1,342	4.4	892	4.2
FORECAST															
1978	7,507	1.0	4,059	-5.5	889	4.2	4.6	34	-15.0	1,959	3.1	1,400	4.3	932	4.5
1979	8,305	10.6	4,191	3.3	928	4.4	4.7	37	8.8	2,018	3.0	1,458	4.1	974	4.5
1980	9,476	14.1	4,469	6.6	970	4.5	4.6	45	21.6	2,086	3.4	1,520	4.3	1,017	4.4
1981	11,432	20.6	5,044	12.9	1,021	5.3	4.0	52	15.6	2,163	3.7	1,585	4.3	1,064	4.6
1982	13,049	14.1	5,378	6.6	1,076	5.4	3.4	56	7.7	2,244	3.7	1,657	4.5	1,114	4.7

*Constant dollar investment in 1971 dollars. The investment figures reflect total investment excluding housing.

Source: Manpower in Relationship to Anticipated Economic Growth, Planning Secretariat, June, 1978.

APPENDIX E

EMPLOYMENT, JOB VACANCIES AND TOTAL LABOR DEMAND,
ALBERTA, 1971-1987 (000's)

Year	Employment		Vacancies		Labor Demand	
	Level	Annual Change	Level	Annual Change	Level	Annual Change
ACTUAL						
1971	643	10	3.1	na*	646	na
1972	668	25	6.2	3.1	674	28
1973	702	34	7.4	1.2	709	35
1974	747	45	12.2	4.8	759	50
1975	778	31	8.2	-4.0	786	27
1976	822	44	9.2	1.0	831	45
1977	853	31	7.2	-2.0	860	29
FORECAST						
1978	889	36	7.5	0.3	897	37
1979	928	39	7.8	0.3	936	39
1980	970	42	8.1	0.3	978	42
1981	1,021	51	8.6	0.5	1,030	52
1982	1,076	55	9.2	0.6	1,085	55
1983	1,123	47	9.4	0.2	1,132	47
1984	1,166	43	9.7	0.3	1,176	44
1985	1,208	42	10.0	0.3	1,218	42
1986	1,248	40	10.3	0.3	1,258	40
1987	1,286	38	10.5	0.2	1,297	39

*na, not available.

Sources: The Labour Force, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-001.
Quarterly Report on Job Vacancies, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-002. Forecast prepared by Planning Secretariat, Advanced Education and Manpower.

APPENDIX F
PERSONAL DATA SHEET

(1) Number _____ (2) Location _____

Please check as appropriate

(3) Ethnic background

Treaty or Status Indian _____

Non-Status Indian _____

Metis _____

Origin other than above _____

(4) Marital Status

Single _____ Married _____ Divorced/Separated _____

Widowed _____

(5) Sex

Male _____

Female _____

(6) Age

16 - 18 _____

19 - 21 _____

22 - 24 _____

25 - 30 _____

31 - 35 _____

36 - 40 _____

Over 40 _____

(7) Highest level of education or taking courses at:

Level - Grade 6 or less _____

Grade 7 or 8 _____

Grade 9 _____

Grade 10 _____

Grade 11 _____

Grade 12 _____

(8) Name of program you are now attending: _____

APPENDIX G

TENNESSEE SELF CONCEPT SCALE

DIRECTIONS: Fill in your name and other information on the separate answer sheet.

The statements in this inventory are to help you describe yourself as you see yourself. Please answer them as if you were describing yourself to yourself. Read each item carefully; then select one of the five responses below and fill in the answer space on the separate answer sheet.

Don't skip any items. Answer each one. Use a soft lead pencil. Pens won't work. If you change an answer, you must erase the old answer completely and enter the new one.

RESPONSES	Completely False	Mostly False	Partly False and Partly True	Mostly True	Completely True
	C	M		M	C
	F	F	PF - PT	T	T
	1	2	3	4	5

TENNESSEE SELF CONCEPT SCALE

1. I have a healthy body	1
2. I am an attractive person	2
3. I consider myself a sloppy person	3
4. I am a decent sort of person	4
5. I am an honest person	5
6. I am a bad person	6
7. I am a cheerful person	7
8. I am a calm and easy going person	8
9. I am a nobody	9
10. I have a family that would always help me in any kind of trouble	10
11. I am a member of a happy family	11
12. My friends have no confidence in me	12
13. I am a friendly person	13
14. I am popular with men	14
15. I am not interested in what other people do	15
16. I do not always tell the truth	16
17. I get angry sometimes	17
18. I like to look nice and neat all the time	18
19. I am full of aches and pains	19
20. I am a sick person	20
21. I am a religious person	21
22. I am a moral failure	22
23. I am a morally weak person	23
24. I have a lot of self-control	24
25. I am a hateful person	25
26. I am losing my mind	26
27. I am an important person to my friends and family	27
28. I am not loved by my family	28
29. I feel that my family doesn't trust me	29
30. I am popular with women	30
31. I am mad at the whole world	31
32. I am hard to be friendly with	32
33. Once in a while I think of things too bad to talk about	33
34. Sometimes when I am not feeling well, I am cross	34
35. I am neither too fat nor too thin	35
36. I like my looks just the way they are	36
37. I would like to change some parts of my body	37
38. I am satisfied with my moral behavior	38
39. I am satisfied with my relationship to God	39
40. I ought to go to church more	40

41. I am satisfied to be just what I am	41
42. I am just as nice as I should be	42
43. I despise myself	43
44. I am satisfied with my family relationships	44
45. I understand my family as well as I should	45
46. I should trust my family more	46
47. I am as sociable as I want to be	47
48. I try to please others, but I don't overdo it	48
49. I am no good at all from a social standpoint	49
50. I do not like everyone I know	50
51. Once in a while, I laugh at a dirty joke	51
52. I am neither too tall nor too short	52
53. I don't feel as well as I should	53
54. I should have more sex appeal	54
55. I am as religious as I want to be	55
56. I wish I could be more trustworthy	56
57. I shouldn't tell so many lies	57
58. I am as smart as I want to be	58
59. I am not the person I would like to be	59
60. I wish I didn't give up as easily as I do	60
61. I treat my parents as well as I should (Use past tense if parents are not living)	61
62. I am too sensitive to things my family say	62
63. I should love my family more	63
64. I am satisfied with the way I treat other people	64
65. I should be more polite to others	65
66. I ought to get along better with other people	66
67. I gossip a little at times	67
68. At times I feel like swearing	68
69. I take good care of myself physically	69
70. I try to be careful about my appearance	70
71. I often act like I am "all thumbs"	71
72. I am true to my religion in my everyday life	72
73. I try to change when I know I'm doing things that are wrong	73
74. I sometimes do very bad things	74
75. I can always take care of myself in any situation	75
76. I take the blame for things without getting mad	76
77. I do things without thinking about them first	77
78. I try to play fair with my friends and family	78
79. I take a real interest in my family	79
80. I give in to my parents (Use past tense if parents are not living)	80
81. I try to understand the other fellow's point of view	81
82. I get along well with other people	82
83. I do not forgive others easily	83
84. I would rather win than lose in a game	84
85. I feel good most of the time	85
86. I do poorly in sports and games	86
87. I am a poor sleeper	87
88. I do what is right most of the time	88
89. I sometimes use unfair means to get ahead	89
90. I have trouble doing the things that are right	90
91. I solve my problems quite easily	91
92. I change my mind a lot	92
93. I try to run away from my problems	93
94. I do my share of work at home	94
95. I quarrel with my family	95
96. I do not act like my family thinks I should	96
97. I see good points in all the people I meet	97
98. I do not feel at ease with other people	98
99. I find it hard to talk with strangers	99
100. Once in a while I put off until tomorrow what I ought to do today	100

APPENDIX H

DESCRIPTION OF TSCS SCORES

Self Criticism (SC) is a scale measuring defensiveness, openness, honesty in self-description and capacity for self-criticism. Low scores indicate defensiveness and high scores extreme self-criticism. The optimal range is in the middle or slightly above average.

True/False Ratio (T/F) is a measure of response set or the tendency to define the self by agreeing with the content of items rather than by rejecting them. An extreme tendency in either direction is deviant, but scores near or below the mean are preferable. Scores in this range indicate that the individual defines his self concept by the dual process of affirming what he is and rejecting what he is not with a slightly heavier emphasis on the latter process.

The Conflict Scores (NETC and TOTC) measure internal consistency in self-description or conflicting and contradictory self-perceptions. If a person affirms two contradictory statements about himself, or if he denies both, then his responses conflict with or contradict each other. The Net Conflict Score measures the directional trend of such conflict and the Total Conflict Score measures the total amount of conflict without regard to its direction. The optimal range for both of these scores is below the mean.

The Positive Scores (P) are measures of self-esteem or the positive-negative level of self-regard. The 90 items which contribute to these scores are divided into a 3 x 5 matrix consisting of three Row Scores (Row 1 - Identity, Row 2 - Self Satisfaction, and Row 3 - Behavior) and five Column Scores (Col A - Physical Self, Col B - Moral-Ethical Self,

Col C - Personal Self, Col D - Family Self, and Col E - Social Self). The Total Positive (Total P) Score, the overall measure of self-esteem, is derived by adding either the three Row Scores or the five Column Scores. High P Scores, on any of these measures, reflect high self-esteem and low scores indicate low self-esteem. Extreme scores in either direction are deviant, and the optimal range is above average but below a line falling at about the 97th percentile of the normal population.

The Variability Scores (V) reflect the variation in level of self-regard within each Column (Col V) and within each Row (Row V), the Total V Score being a summation of the other two subtotals. High V Scores indicate inconsistency, variation and lack of integration among the different subselves. Scores below the norm are optimal and suggest internally consistent, well-integrated self concepts.

The Distribution Scores (D) are purely behavioral measures which describe the individual's approach to self-description apart from the content of his self-report. The number of "5" (completely true), "4" (mostly true), "3" (partly true-partly false), "2" (mostly false) and "1" (completely false) responses which he provides to the 100 test items are simply counted, recorded and treated like any other scores. Together these scores provide a picture of how the individual goes about defining his self concept. The D Score is a composite of the other five scores and, along with them, it enables us to see how certain or uncertain the person is about the self concept he is presenting. A high D Score, which occurs when most of the responses are "5s" and "1s," reflects a very definite and perhaps dogmatic or rigid picture that is sharply

dichotomized into stark blacks and whites. A low D Score indicates a vague, uncertain self-image largely painted in shades of gray - a large number of "3" responses together with "4s" and "2s" and few strong commitments in the form of "5" and "1" responses. Well-integrated people tend to score near the mean on these scores. They produce more finely differentiated self-portraits through a balanced use of all five response categories.

The Empirical Scales,* in contrast to the other scores, have no theoretical rationale but are based solely on empirical data - namely item analysis which utilize whatever cluster of test items that differentiates one group of people from other groups.

(1) Defensive Positive Score (DP). This is another measure of defensiveness or the effectiveness of psychological defenses. Psychologically disturbed and deviant people tend to have deviant scores on this measure - either very high, indicating positively distorted self concepts, or very low, reflecting a lack of normal defenses. Well-integrated people usually score near, or slightly above, the mean on DP.

(2) General Maladjustment Score (GM). This scale measures the kind of personal maladjustment characteristic of psychiatric patients. It reflects degree but not type of pathology. The GM raw scores are in reverse order - high scores mean low maladjustment and vice versa - but the scaling of these scores is also reversed on the TSCS Profile Sheet so that a high profile point for GM is interpreted as indicating high maladjustment.

(3) Psychosis Score (Psy). This scale is composed of items which best differentiate psychotic patients from patients with other psychiatric diagnoses and non-patients. A high score does not necessarily indicate that an individual is psychotic but means that he is describing his self concept in the same ways as psychotic patients describe theirs. Well-integrated people tend to score between the 10th and 50th percentiles on Psy.

(4) Personality Disorder Score (PD). This is an inverse scale, as is GM. A profile high on PD shows self concept similarity to people with one of the many types of personality disorder. Ideal scores on PD are those below the mean.

(5) Neurosis Scale (N). This inverse scale measures self concept similarity to people with various neuroses. High profile points on N indicate neurotic tendencies and often reflect anxiety and depression. Well-integrated people score below the mean on N.

*The empirical scales, although computed, are not included in the analysis of data for this study.

Source: W. H. Fitts, The Self Concept and Performance, Dede Wallace Center, Monograph V, April, 1972.

APPENDIX I

PERCEPTIONS OF SKILLED OCCUPATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

PERCEPTIONS OF SKILLED OCCUPATIONS

Put a ✓ in one of the three columns.	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
1. If I wanted to be a skilled worker I know where to go for information on training programs.	_____	_____	_____
2. Most of my friends and relations can get training for skilled jobs if they want it.	_____	_____	_____
3. There are lots of short courses available for disadvantaged and poor people to help them get jobs. (I know of 10 or more _____, 5 to 10 _____, 1 to 5 _____, or none _____.)	_____	_____	_____
4. Most non-White people have to take unskilled jobs.	_____	_____	_____
5. Getting training and a skilled job involves a "lot of luck."	_____	_____	_____
6. I think it would be too difficult for me to pass all the courses to become a skilled worker.	_____	_____	_____
7. If someone drops out of high school he or she won't be able to take the one, two years or apprentice programs necessary for a skilled job.	_____	_____	_____
8. I know what kinds of skilled jobs and training are available for me.	_____	_____	_____
9. There are very few skilled jobs available in my home area.	_____	_____	_____
10. Generally speaking, the reason people can't get skilled jobs is because they are not trained and not because they are handicapped or poor, or non-White, etc.	_____	_____	_____

2

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
11. If you are over 30 years old you can forget about becoming a skilled worker.	_____	_____	_____
12. There are lots of job opportunities in Alberta for skilled workers.	_____	_____	_____
13. People with skilled jobs are happier in their jobs than unskilled workers.	_____	_____	_____
14. The way things are in the job market I would rather have my children go to university than to take technical training for skilled jobs.	_____	_____	_____
15. As far as I am concerned unskilled and semi-skilled work is better than skilled work. (For example, I would prefer to work as a clerk rather than as an accountant or a highly trained secretary.)	_____	_____	_____
16. I think it is as easy for an unskilled person to get a steady job as it is for a skilled worker.	_____	_____	_____
17. Most people I know are not interested in skilled jobs	_____	_____	_____
18. A skilled worker doesn't earn as much as someone who has just finished four years of university.	_____	_____	_____
19. There are other things which are more important to me now than taking one or two years training to get a skilled job.	_____	_____	_____
20. People who go to university find it easier to get a job (in Alberta) than skilled workers.	_____	_____	_____

3

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
21. If I finished training for a skilled job I would move if I could not get skilled work near home.	_____	_____	_____
22. One good thing about being a skilled worker is that you do not have to worry about taking any more courses or going back to school.	_____	_____	_____
23. I think there should be a lot more vocational courses in high school than there are now.	_____	_____	_____
24. You get more chances to work on your own and away from a boss in a skilled job.	_____	_____	_____

9809 92 Ane.,
Edmonton, Alberta

November 1, 1978

I am writing to several senior personnel involved in post-secondary technical/vocational education and except for two educators from Oregon State University, I am restricting my correspondence to Alberta. I am requesting that you assist me by evaluating the attached survey form.

My name is Andy Nicol, and while serving as President of a small Vocational College in Northern Alberta, I became interested and concerned about the low participation and success rate for rural Albertan Metis in technical programs.

I am presently working on a project entitled "Self Concept and Perceptions of Skilled Occupations of Rural Albertan Metis." The sample will be restricted to adults currently enrolled in academic upgrading programs in rural northern Alberta. It is my intent to have up to 150 Metis and 50 non-Metis as a sample population. The data will be used and analysed in my thesis dissertation for my doctoral degree in Vocational Education from Oregon State University. The project will be summarized in report form for appropriate distribution by a government department. Partial financial assistance is now under consideration by the Alberta government.

I would appreciate if you would review the proposed survey form for gathering data from the sample population on their perceptions of skilled occupations. Please feel free to pass the survey form on to your staff or colleagues for their comments. I particularly want your views on the questions as to their suitability and welcome any amendments, deletions, new questions and comments.

My interest is to ascertain the sample's opinion/perception of technical jobs requiring a lengthy training period either at an institution, or on the job, or a combination of both. I have used the term "skilled occupation" in order to narrow down technical/vocational training and jobs and used the high end of the vocational continuum. It was a term I considered I could best define so that the sample would understand it and be able to respond to the questions. You will note that I have not excluded the use of the terms vocational, technical and trades. I will be administering the tests personally, in at

-2-

least three locations and will give a full explanation of my terms, my aims and assist as necessary. I have defined "skilled occupations," for the purpose of this study, to mean "any job that requires more than one year of training at a post-secondary institution, on-the-job and classroom training, and apprenticeship, but excludes university degrees and professions such as nursing and certified accounts." I want to avoid any dispute over the skilled vs. professional nomenclature. My definition can be debated but some lines have to be drawn and the ones I have delineated should achieve my goal of obtaining the perceptions of a disadvantaged group about positions requiring a long period of training/indenture.

Metis, for this study, will include all those of mixed blood and of native ancestry who are non-Status (not registered or living on an Indian Reserve), and use the word Metis to describe their ethnic status.

In reviewing my proposed survey form the following factors should be considered:

- (a) The purpose of the survey - obtaining the respondent's impressions/concept of technical/vocational occupations. It should give some indication of "what it means to them and their interest in and/or possible entry to a skilled job."
- (b) The survey must be brief as it is being administered in conjunction with the Tennessee Self Concept Scale which has 100 questions and takes about 20 minutes to complete. I would like to keep the survey on perceptions to a maximum of 20 questions.
- (c) The five categories of responding to each statement are the same as those used in the Self Concept test.
- (d) The Self Concept test can be used with adults who are at a grade 7 or better level. I intend to use a sample with at least grade 8 and thus the wording must be as simple as possible.
- (e) I have minimized direct reference to ethnic background.
- (f) The final survey will, as much as possible, have a balance of positive and negative statements.

Your comments will be of great assistance in designing the form to be used. It would be most helpful if you could return your comments to me in the self-addressed envelope within the next two weeks.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Andy Nicol

APPENDIX K

SUMMARIES OF MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, ANOVA
AND CHI-SQUARE TESTS OF ASSOCIATION

Table K-1. Summaries of means, standard deviations of subscales of TSCS for Metis by location.

Subscale	Site 1		Site 2		Site 3		Site 4	
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
Self Criticism	34.2	3.00	35.0	5.98	33.7	4.83	34.5	4.57
True/False	2.7	1.83	1.3	0.73	1.4	0.50	1.8	0.91
Net Conflict	31.1	26.73	5.2	29.40	8.8	19.52	14.6	17.16
Total Conflict	53.5	14.85	48.1	12.65	40.0	13.93	35.1	10.01
Self Esteem (P)	274.5	11.06	313.3	28.41	328.7	33.55	305.2	33.09
Identity	93.1	5.13	117.2	10.11	119.8	11.10	113.0	12.83
Self Satisfaction	89.1	5.13	93.7	15.82	103.7	14.38	93.4	12.07
Behavior	92.4	6.01	102.4	10.35	105.2	11.85	98.8	13.69
Physical Self	56.3	4.07	66.1	7.91	68.8	8.14	61.8	6.34
Moral-Ethical	55.3	4.78	63.8	5.53	64.5	7.05	59.8	8.76
Personal Self	53.8	7.06	61.3	8.50	65.7	8.79	60.6	9.24
Family Self	54.7	5.47	64.1	8.35	65.6	8.30	61.8	8.79
Social Self	54.3	2.92	58.0	7.84	64.5	6.69	61.3	8.10
Total Variation	42.6	11.40	56.7	17.07	46.4	11.61	48.4	16.02
Distribution	94.9	20.50	118.8	28.64	111.2	26.88	93.0	21.15

Table K-2. Analysis of variance of True/False score for Metis by location.

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean of Squares	F Ratio	Probability
Between Groups	3	21.76	7.25	6.75	.000
Within Groups	67	71.98	1.07		
Total	70	93.74			

Table K-3. Analysis of variance of net conflict score for Metis by location.

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean of Squares	F Ratio	Probability
Between Groups	3	7,039.38	2,345.46	4.86	.004
Within Groups	67	32,366.59	483.08		
Total	70	39,405.97			

Table K-4. Analysis of variance of Total Conflict score for Metis by location.

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean of Squares	F Ratio	Probability
Between Groups	3	3,803.77	1,267.92	8.95	.000
Within Groups	67	9,488.06	141.61		
Total	70	13,291.83			

Table K-5. Analysis of variance of Identity scores for Metis by location.

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean of Squares	F Ratio	Probability
Between Groups	3	7,720.60	2,573.53	24.77	.000
Within Groups	67	6,972.35	103.92		
Total	70	14,682.95			

Table K-5. Cross tabulation compressed age categories for Metis by location.

	Age 16 to 21	Over 21	Total
<u>Site 1</u>			
Count	9	6	15
Row Percentage	60.0	40.0	21.1
Column Percentage	26.5	16.2	
Total Percentage	12.7	8.5	
<u>Site 2</u>			
Count	2	1	13
Row Percentage	15.4	84.6	18.3
Column Percentage	5.9	29.7	
Total Percentage	2.8	15.5	
<u>Site 3</u>			
Count	16	10	26
Row Percentage	61.5	38.5	36.6
Column Percentage	47.1	27.0	
Total Percentage	22.5	14.1	
<u>Site 4</u>			
Count	7	10	17
Row Percentage	41.2	58.8	23.9
Column Percentage	20.6	27.0	
Total Percentage	9.9	14.1	

Raw chi square = 8.633; DF = 3, significance = 0.346 < .05.