Appendix A

METIS OF THE LAC LA BICHE AREA

COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITY ASSESSMENT

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EXECUTIVE COUNCIL - GOVERNMENT OF ALBERTA

Edmonton, Alberta
March, 1967

PREFACE

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance given us in the preparation of this report. Much of our information has been provided by the Alberta Bureau of Statistics and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch of the Department of Public Welfare. In addition, the Regional Office of the Department of Public Welfare in Lac La Biche and the Lac La Biche School Division have been most helpful in providing us with information.

Miss Ann Minoose, Mrs. Leona White, Mr. Henry Thompson and Mrs. Ernest Laboucane have played an essential part in helping us gather information from the people of the Lac La Biche area. They also shared with us their perspectives on the situation in and the problems facing the people of Lac La Biche.

A special acknowledgement of gratitude is due to Judy Hatt, the Research Assistant's wife, who shared much of the research. She was largely concerned with the examination of "The Process of Education" in the area, bringing both the skills of an experienced teacher as well as a researcher to the project. She served as both "sounding board" and correction factor for many ideas developed here.

Finally, we wish to express our gratitude to the Metis people of Kikino, Lac La Biche, the Mission District and Owl River, Alberta, for their co-operation in making this research possible. Their hospitality and patience was remarkable -- this is especially so for Robin and Rena Thompson, who provided for us during our stay in Kikino.

This report is an attempt to provide information which can serve as a basis for understanding a situation. Our attempt has been to present "the other side" of the situation -- one which those in professional and administrative positions seldom see but must constantly deal with. Admittedly, ten weeks is hardly adequate to do justice to the complexity and ambiguity in the present problem. Nevertheless, our findings support this basic assumption that discrepancy between human resources and the programs designed to serve them -- this includes their structure and the intentions and perceptions of their personnel -- requires a wider view of the situation. We have attempted to present the situation more in its own terms than in the terms of those whose

task it is to carry out some program. It should not, though, be seen as an indictment of programs or personnel. Rather, it is an attempt to present another side of the situation, which must be encountered if programs are to be successful. It is on this optimistic assumption, then, that the report is based: that the exchange of admittedly different perspectives and sensitivity to these differences are the essential prerequisites for effective programs.

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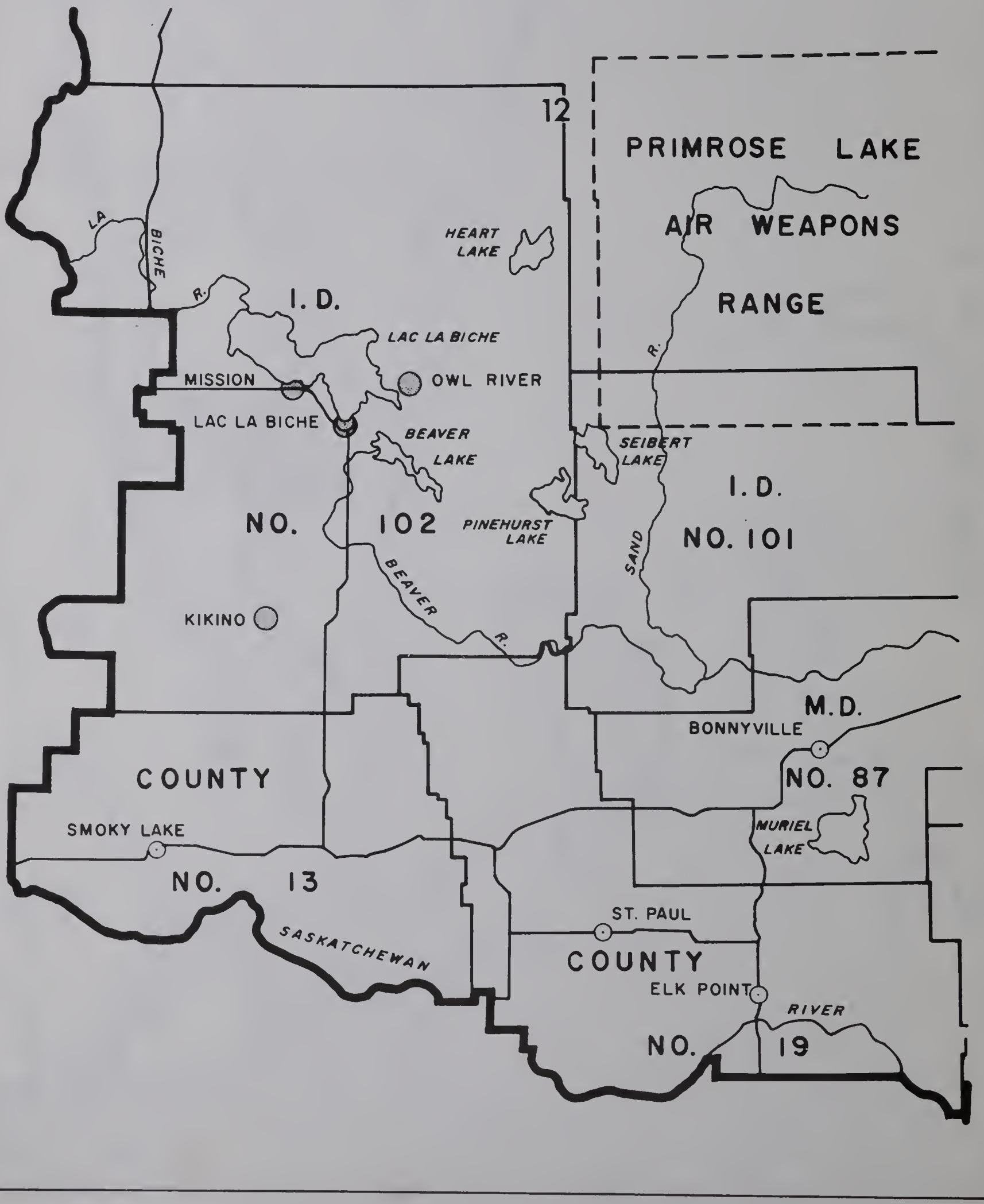

CHAPTER I

THE APPROACH TO THE ASSESSMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES OF METIS IN THE LAC LA BICHE AREA

Meaning Of The Term "Metis"

The present study was designed to explore the nature of human resources as they are related to a socially distinct group -- the Metis. More specifically, we have been concerned with the Metis people who live in the vicinity of Lac La Biche, Alberta.

We consider human resources to be psychological, social and political factors which interact with geographical, economic and other aspects of the environment to produce the way of life of a people. This first chapter deals with our approach to this problem. It is necessary, first, to define the meaning of the term "Metis" as it is used in this report.

The colloquial term most commonly used to refer to the Metis -- "half-breed" -- illustrates their vulnerability to and the complexity of being defined as a mixture between white and Indian. It should be pointed out that the offspring of only these two ethnic groups is commonly known as "half-breed". The term "Metis" is applicable to those who fail to meet the social or legal requisites of either the Indian or the white groups, but are related to both. Professor A.K. Davis, in a study of the Metis of Saskatchewan, suggested that if White-Indian relations can be described as constituting a caste arrangement, then the role of the Metis in this series of relations is most accurately described as "outcast".[1]

The term "Metis" is derived alternately from French and Spanish by different researchers on the topic. Lagasse, in a study of the Metis and Indians of Manitoba, suggests that:

> 'Metis' and 'Mestizo' were originally employed to designate the offsprings of different races especially of Indian and White parents.[2]

Others have suggested that the term is derived from the French and refers to descendants of Indian mothers and European fathers. Apart from the academic question of derivation, "Metis" is generally conceded to refer to people whose parents were some mixture of Indian and European or White.

The definition of the term is far from exact. The "Half-breed Commission" of 1935, after lengthy discussion agreed on the following:

> . . . anyone having Indian blood in their veins and living the normal life of a half-breed comes within the definition of 'Half-breed'.[3]

Following this precedent, the Metis Betterment Act, the only present legal basis for the definition of the term in Alberta, defines "Metis" as follows:

> "Metis" means a person of mixed white and Indian blood having not less than one-quarter Indian blood, but does not include either an Indian or a non-treaty Indian as defined in the Indian Act (Canada).[4]

The difficulties with such a definition are readily apparent. In essence, the definition suggests that what one must do to qualify as a "Metis" is possess at least "one-fourth" of the property, "Indian blood". The calculation usually involves going back for several generations (not nearly to the earliest date of White-Indian contact) to identify those relevant ancestors according to the "amount" of "Indian blood" each possessed. This, naturally, depends on reputation and memory. The particular operation in this calculation involves taking the "amount" of "Indian blood" in each of the parents, and then dividing that "amount" by two in order to ascertain the "amount" of "Indian blood" in a particular offspring. The major difficulty is simply that it ignores the salient features involved in the problem of definition of the Metis.

The legal definition of the term "Metis" has been developed from the social definition of the term "Indian blood", and thus it can best be described as reflecting the more basic social definition. The social definition of the term, "Metis" (or "half-breed") involves a modification of the socially defined terms of "Indian" and "White". It is based primarily on recognizable personal characteristics. An "Indian", then, in terms of the larger society, is a person with whom certain features -- skin color, facial structure, clothing style, name, occupation, and place of residence -- are associated. A "Metis", in terms of the larger society, is a person who does not fit these characteristics exactly, but can be associated with certain standard deviations from this larger pattern.

We suggest that the fact of mixed "Indian blood" does not adequately serve to distinguish a person as Metis rather than Indian or White . For example, there are countless Albertans who are of mixed "Indian blood" who neither appear to be nor see themselves as Metis. And they are not Metis. From the perspective of the larger society, then, the Metis is one who is recognizable in characteristic ways as being part-White and part-Indian.

But the meaning of the term, "Metis", should be defined from <u>two</u> points of view: from that of the larger society which assigns certain characteristics to a category on the basis of recognizable traits, and from that of the group of people who belong to that category or group. It is to the latter that we now turn.

We would expect that the meaning the larger society had attached to the term would, in large, be reflected in the meaning to the Metis. In all, the Metis tended to make a distinction between three types of people: White, Indian and Metis. For example, in discussions of "who one should marry," three categories of responses emerged: "one's own kind," "a treaty," or a white (in Cree: Moon' yow).

Another important clue to the Metis view of himself came from asking what it was that made the Metis a "Metis". By and large, the people agreed that the Metis was a person of parents or other ancestors who were Indian and White. Often they said they didn't know -- as if it were hard to state in definite terms of what a Metis consisted. Often a physiological distinction was mentioned. Physical characteristics that distinguish the Metis from the White are high cheekbones and color of the skin. Often, however, color of the skin was the basis for the distinction between Indian and Metis. Some thought the Metis was light -- like the white; others thought he was dark -- like the Indian. But the Metis was seen as a product of mixed blood -- sometimes as a result of the White man's rape of the Indian.

The Metis does distinguish between himself and the Indian and the White. One suspects that his distinction is a finer one than that drawn by the White about White and non-White. The Metis dislikes the word "half-breed ", even though his origin may be derived from a mixture of relationship between the Whites and Indians. He sees the term "half-breed" as referring more to animals than men. As one man said, "After all, we're not half-men, we're full men."

The comments in response to our inquiries suggest that the Metis is unable or unwilling to say what makes him a Metis. Some see themselves as more like Whites in contrast to Indians. Others see themselves as different from the Whites, but yet different from the Indians as well. Our conclusion is that the Metis is distinguished from both White and Indian and that he accepts this distinction. Yet, he can tie this only to the idea of mixture of blood or differences in facial or skin characteristics.

The Metis uses the phrase "your own kind", probably largely in response to his designation as such by the larger society, and that of the Indian population. If, then, the Metis is defined by the larger society in terms of recognizable features, he defines himself through an

awareness and identification with those who possess the various characteristics of his "own kind". In both cases, however, the source of definition is a negative one: he is not an Indian and he is not a White. That's essentially who the Metis is. He is distinguishable as not White, by certain features designated "Indian". Yet he is distinguishable as not Indian by certain features which are defined as "White".

We have discussed the term, "Metis" in its generic, more general and specific senses. We have pointed to two bases for the term, "Metis". It is from that definition of the larger society that the legal definition appears to be drawn. When the term is used in this report, it applies to a group of people who are offspring of both White and Indian parents. But this aspect is of little help. The same could be said of countless Albertans who neither appear to be nor admit to being "Metis". Truly, they are not. The term is used to refer to people who are probably recognizable (in the broadest sense) as both "Indian" and "White"; and who tend to identify themselves as Metis rather than Indian or White. It is these two factors, then, which from the basis form the present definition of the term, "Metis".

Methodological Procedure

Selection of the Area for Investigation

The area selected for investigation had as its center the Town of Lac La Biche, some 136 miles northeast of Edmonton. Four factors made the area relevant for study. First, one of the highest concentrations of Indian and Metis people in Alberta reside in this area. If the prevalence of people who speak Native languages as a mother tongue is any index to the concentration of Metis in the area, certainly the Lac La Biche area would qualify as representative. Although Cree is rapidly diminishing in use in this area, Census Division 12 has the highest proportion of residents who speak a Native language of any Census Division in Alberta, as Table I shows. This high concentration of Metis -- as represented by language -- provided one basis for selection of this area for investigation.

CHAPTER I TABLE 1

PER CENT SPEAKING NATIVE LANGUAGE AS A MOTHER TONGUE, BY CENSUS DIVISIONS

Census Districts Number	Population 1961	Number Native Mother Tongue	Per Cent Native Mother Tongue
1	39,140	37	.09
2	83,306	547	.65
3	30,967	3,683	11.89
4	15,020	30	.19
5	38,115	1,497	3.92
6	317,989	526	.16
7	40,837	23	.05
8	76,533	1,363	1.78
9	20,274	1,365	6.73
10	70,177	129	.18
11	410,679	2,852	.69
12	47,310	6,319	13.35
13	45,431	1,057	2.32
14	19,282	203	1.05
15	76,884	8,297	10.79
TOTAL	1,331,944	27,928	2.09

A second reason for selecting Lac La Biche was that it presented the opportunity to interview people in four communities which have basic differences in economic and social structure. In the Town of Lac La Biche there is a distinct Metis population living in several segregated areas. To the south of Lac La Biche, about 30 miles down Highway 36, is the Hamlet of Kikino. Kikino is located on one of eight Metis colonies, under the supervision of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. To the west of Lac La Biche, along the southwest shore of the lake, is a district around the old Lac La Biche Mission. In this area, a number of Metis families have lived for generations. Finally, to the northeast of Lac La Biche, on the northeast shore of Lac La Biche, is another district settled for generations by Metis. This is referred to as the Owl River District. Selection of Lac La Biche as an area for investigation meant that we were able to compare four different settlements of Metis: Lac La Biche - a small urban setting; Kikino - a provincial Metis colony setting; Mission - a rural fishing district; and Owl River - a rural fishing-trapping district.

A third reason for selecting the Lac La Biche area and using Kikino as one settlement was the availability of a family with whom the author and his wife could stay during the ten-week period of field work. This afforded first-hand experience and better exposure to the topic. Living with this family served as a necessary supplement to our usual sources of information.

A final reason for selection of the Lac La Biche area was proximity to Edmonton. It was assumed that proximity to Edmonton would be related to the amount of contact the people in the area had with urban metropolitan life. This, we thought, would facilitate an examination of the problems and experiences Metis had in metropolitan areas.

Description of the Four Settlements

Each of the four Metis settlements can be considered as a unit, or a whole existing within a larger society. In three of the areas -- Kikino, Mission and Owl River -- the people live in an area which has almost no non-Metis people. In the Town of Lac La Biche, the Metis tend to live in two areas which are spatially distant from the rest of the town. The Metis community is segregated in both the ecological and sociological senses.

Owl River is a settlement along the northeast shore of Lac La Biche, some 17 miles from the town. It is connected by a partially graveled road. Here, separation from the Whites seems most complete. In the Fall of 1966, schools will be transferred to the Town of Lac La Biche, but in the past only high school students had attended there. There is a general store in this area as well as the school which is now closed. The people there are quite dependent upon the larger society for transfer payments as a source of income, yet they have their own sources of income: fishing, trapping, and general labor. They are dependent upon the town for a market for their fish and furs and for jobs as laborers or fire-fighters.

The Mission district is about eight miles west of Lac La Biche along the south-west side of the lake. The people there tend to do more fishing and to make a little more income from it, than those at Owl River. Their contacts with town are more frequent due to the shorter distance and the more frequent ownership of cars and trucks. The children have previously attended school in Plamondon, a small village to the west, but in 1966 they will begin at Lac La Biche.

The Hamlet of Kikino is about thirty miles south of Lac La Biche on Highway 36. Distance and less frequent ownership of cars tend to make it more isolated from town. Nevertheless, daily life is influenced by the fact that the Metis Branch Supervisor is in charge of many daily activities in the colony. Thus, in some senses, the penetration of the White man into the life of the Metis here is more intense and personal. The people are quite dependent upon the Supervisor for employment as laborers. Their children have been attending school in town for three years now.

In Lac La Biche, the people live in two major sections of town, dubbed by the whites as "Moccasin Flats" and "Stovepipe City". A third area, "Moonlight Hill", is not prominently Metis. Since supplementary forms of income such as gardens are not possible in town, the people are more dependent upon the assistance of transfer payments. One source of income for the men is work during the summer as laborers on construction and paving of the streets of Lac La Biche. Very few women have employment as maids or waitresses. The contact between Metis and Whites is more intense and frequent here than in any of the other three settlements.

Method of Sampling

An attempt was made to contact every Metis family living in each of these four settlements. A population enumeration was made, using a list of families from the Lac La Biche Department of Welfare Office. Interviewers lived in each settlement with local families and by this personal contact were able both to augment the list of families and to increase rapport with the community.

We attempted to interview every family in the settlements rather than select a sample. Table 2 shows the number of families in each community, the number interviewed and the resulting percentage of the population thus covered.

CHAPTER I TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF KNOWN FAMILIES INTERVIEWED, BY SETTLEMENT

	Number Households	Number Interviews	Per Cent
Kikino	61	45	73.8
Lac La Biche	49	44	89.8
Mission	21	20	95.2
Owl River	18	15	83.3
TOTAL	149	124	83.2

Rationale for Assessment of Human Resources

The assessment of the human resources of a community requires a rationale regarding both what a resource is and how one is to discover it. The present study attempted to view the human resources within four Metis settlements from the inside as much as possible. That is, we view a resource or a deficiency in terms of the Metis frame of reference or outlook on life where possible. This assessment consisted of three phases. First, we tried to make a series of descriptive statements about the conditions or nature of human resources in the settlement. That is, we tried to discover the kind of housing, the standard of living, the health, the income and the needs of the area. Second, we attempted to see the world through the eyes of the people themselves. Without the second phase, the first is almost impossible to interpret. For example, it is important whether or not the Metis consider having a child who has diarrhea or upset stomach three times a month as a

symptom of the need for improved sanitation in the water supply. The question of the number of bacteria in the water is a different, but closely related question. Seeing the world through the eyes of the Metis would hopefully help us interpret the statistics we collect about his daily life. It should be admitted that attempting to achieve such a task in six weeks is bordering on foolhardiness. In order to do this, we tried to spend enough time participating in the life of the settlement to be able to see the local conditions in some framework of regularity. The third phase or part of the assessment involved attempting to compare the four communities on the basis of our observation.

Each interviewer was encouraged to live and silently participate in the daily and weekly round of life in the community. One interviewer spent seven weeks in the town of Lac La Biche. Each of the other three interviewers made frequent short trips to town and were familiar with it. A second interviewer lived in the Mission district for six weeks and, because of her distant kinship to a majority of the people, was quite familiar with it. Since Tuesday and Friday were days when the entire village fished, the second interviewer spent those days assisting in Lac La Biche where the Metis population was much higher. The writer and his wife lived and interviewed in Kikino, where the Metis population was as large as that in Lac La Biche.

A different procedure was followed in Owl River. There, a local housewife who had Grade 12 education and experience as a stenographer and secretary interviewed 15 of the 18 families. The writer and his wife spent three days in the area, two in individual conversations and the third at a group meeting in which nine of the 18 families were present. This group was generally aimed at discussing problems of people in the area, the conditions under which they lived and the attitudes they held toward topics discussed in the other three settlements. The group was split into a men's and women's group after the first few minutes and a group summary of interview questions was made in each. Fifteen of the 18 families were then interviewed in more depth during the following two weeks.

The Interview Schedule

The bulk of the assessment information came from the interview. An interview schedule was prepared for use in all four settlements. Table 3 lists the major sections of the schedule, with a brief explanation. The questions, of necessity, were usually open-ended and often required rephrasing by the interviewer. The average interview lasted two hours in Lac La Biche and the Mission district, an hour and a half in Owl River (due to a slightly abbreviated schedule) and three hours in Kikino.

Special Problems and Difficulties

A White interviewer attempting to communicate with a Metis or Indian respondent will run into more difficult problems than those normally facing an interviewer talking to fellow whites. For this reason, we were fortunate to have as interviewers one Metis girl and one Chipewyan girl, both students at the University of Alberta.

Four major sources of methodological concern should be mentioned:

1. Language. While almost all of the younger people interviewed spoke English quite well, the older men and women had much difficulty. Occasionally, a neighbor would serve as interpreter. In all, the problem was minimal. The Cree language is rapidly diminishing from use and in the next generation will probably have disappeared from all but occasional use in the area. Only a minority of children under 21 speak Cree fluently in the Lac La Biche area.

2. Conceptual Difficulties. Often we found that some of the information we were seeking was of such a nature that it was almost impossible to obtain. For example, how can one discover much about one's attitude toward the city if one has never been to the city? Or how can one find out attitudes toward consumption if a person only goes to the city rarely and gets most of his supplies via a Social Assistance voucher? In short, we found

CHAPTER I TABLE 3

LAC LA BICHE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE, MAJOR TOPICS

HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION FOR KIKINO, LAC LA BICHE, MISSION AND OWL RIVER

This was the information typically gathered on the family, the residential history of the parents, and their education.

EDWARDS' HOUSING SCALE FOR KIKINO, LAC LA BICHE AND MISSION

This is a rating of the conditions of a house developed for use in the rural Prairie Provinces.

MEDICAL INFORMATION FOR KIKINO, LAC LA BICHE, MISSION AND OWL RIVER

Information on the medical condition of each member, insurance, infant and adult mortality.

OCCUPATION A AND B FOR KIKINO, LAC LA BICHE AND MISSION

These questions concerned occupational preference and attitudes toward work. They were asked primarily to the men in families.

URBAN A AND B FOR KIKINO, LAC LA BICHE, MISSION AND OWL RIVER

There were questions concerning attitudes and experience in urban areas. The Urban A was primarily for men and Urban B was developed and used for both men and women.

EDUCATION FOR KIKINO, LAC LA BICHE, MISSION AND OWL RIVER

Questions on attitudes toward school and problems encountered by school children were covered in this section.

INCOME AND CONSUMPTION FOR KIKINO, LAC LA BICHE AND MISSION

This section consisted of questions about credit, monthly payments, the amount of income required per family and supplementary forms of income.

that often the experience of respondents and the subject of our investigations were so completely removed that creating some means to "bridge" them took too much time and yielded little specific content. As a result, our information is often somewhat fragmentary.

3. Rapport. Although rapport on the personal level is important in each interview, it is also important on the community level. Quite often a person who misunderstands or dislikes the interviewers who come into his community can do untold harm. We prepared our arrival by contacting both the Village Council and the Supervisor, telling them of our purpose and asking their opinions. A public meeting was arranged with the Kikino residents in which the Research Director described the purpose of the research and sought to stimulate and answer questions.

The idea of a White couple living in the village and connection with the provincial government raised many fears and rumors regarding our intentions. Several of the many rumors were told us during our stay. Six main rumors can be mentioned. The first was that we were inspectors who had come to inspect people's houses and land. One respondent stopped us on the road and said: "You can come visit me now, I've got my yard cleaned." A second held that the writer was an undercover agent. What was worth uncovering was never suggested. A third rumor was to the effect that we had come to see who was not taking care of children and take those children away from their parents. A fourth rumor circulated was that we were coming to give everybody a new house. A fifth rumor was that we had come to sterilize the people, and a sixth stated that our purpose was to win votes for the political party in power.

In order to combat these and build rapport, the first step in the research procedure was to visit each home, telling why we were there, and what we were interested in, and then attempting to answer any questions that they may have had concerning our study. The initial interviewing also served as a period of mutual familiarization. Many informal visits were made. The same procedure was followed in both Lac La Biche and Mission. One result of this

procedure was that much time was spent in creating community rapport and familiarity with our presence. In retrospect, this seems to have been a wise procedure. Formal interview sheets and questionnaires were not used until later in the study.[5]

4. Free Time of Respondents. A fourth problem encountered was that of finding people with free time to be interviewed. The early summer is the major time for work in the settlements. On the colony, many of the men are employed for two or three days a week. During the period when we were there, most of them were employed more than is usual. One respondent told us: "Since you been here everybody had lots more work than usual. You should come again next summer." It was common consensus among a large part of the population that there had been much more work issued by the Metis Branch during the period we were in Kikino than in summers past. Those who were working could only be contacted between 6:30 and 10:00 in the evening.

CHAPTER 1 FOOTNOTES:

[1]Arthur K. Davis, Edging into Mainstream, Unpublished Manuscript.

[2]Jean H. Lagasse, A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba, The Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1956. Vol. I., page 50.

[3]Half-breed Commission: Evidence and Proceedings, Published by the Department of Lands and Forests, Provincial Government of Alberta, 1935, page 477.

[4]The Metis Betterment Act, R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, S. 1, Provincial Government of Alberta.

[5]For assistance and helpful suggestions in some of the problems being dealt with, we are grateful to Dr. Anthony Fisher, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta.

CHAPTER II

THE AREA OF THE STUDY: LAC LA BICHE, ALBERTA

Geographical and Geological Information

The Town of Lac La Biche is located 136 miles northeast of the City of Edmonton and is on the southern shore of a lake of the same name. Its position is 54° 46' longitude and 111° 58' latitude. It is 1,735 feet above sea level. The following maps serve to indicate the geographical features of the area in relation to the province and the four settlements studied in relation to each other. Map 1 shows the location of Census Division 12 and the Town of Lac La Biche in Alberta. Map 2 shows the four settlements in the present study.

As with much of Alberta, the surface outcrop in the Lac La Biche area is Early Cretaceous, dating back about 55 million years. Perhaps the most distinctive geological feature of the area is the fact that it is at the southern tip of the area known as the Athabasca Oil Sands. These sands are impregnated with oil and outcrop in the Athabasca River valley near Fort McMurray, some 100 miles north and slightly east of Lac La Biche.

Climate

The local climate can be summarized in terms of three different kinds of information: temperature, precipitation, and frost data. Data from collections of the past 30 years by Alberta weather stations is presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3.[1] This includes comparative data for Lac La Biche, Edmonton, Fort Chipewyan and Medicine Hat. Perhaps the major factor to note is the mean duration of the frost-free period. Lac La Biche compares favorably with both Fort Chipewyan and Edmonton, but -- as would be expected -- has a considerably shorter frost-free period than does Medicine Hat.

CHAPTER II TABLE 1

STANDARD THIRTY-YEAR (1921-1950) NORMALS
OF TEMPERATURE FOR SELECTED LOCATIONS

Station	Lowest	Highest	January Mean Daily		July Mean Daily	
			Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
Edmonton	-55	99	17	-1	75	51
Fort Chipewyan	-56	93	-3	-19	75	51
Lac La Biche	-55	92	10	-8	74	51
Medicine Hat	-49	106	24	4	85	56

CHAPTER II TABLE 2

STANDARD THIRTY-YEAR (1921-1950) NORMALS
OF PRECIPITATION FOR SELECTED LOCATIONS

Station	Mean Annual Precipitation	Mean Annual Snowfall	Mean Monthly Total Precipitation			
			April	May	June	July
Edmonton	17.63	52.9	1.10	1.82	2.97	3.11
Fort Chipewyan	12.00	44.0	0.66	0.90	1.38	1.84
Lac La Biche	17.30	56.0	0.80	1.80	2.47	2.92
Medicine Hat	13.55	41.6	0.99	1.53	2.28	1.38

CHAPTER II TABLE 3

STANDARD THIRTY-YEAR (1921-1950) NORMALS
OF FROST DATA, FOR SELECTED LOCATIONS

Station	Mean Last	Mean First	Frost-Free Period, Number of Days		
	(Spring)	(Fall)	Mean	Longest	Shortest
Edmonton	May 29	Sept. 6	100	144	44
Fort Chipewyan	June 10	Aug. 23	74	118	less than 31
Lac La Biche	May 26	Sept. 9	106	125	75
Medicine Hat	May 15	Sept. 18	126	152	98

Soil and Land Use

The typical landscape in the Lac La Biche area includes rolling land which is dotted with sloughs, ponds, bush, and occasional stands of timber. The only detailed soil survey which has come to the attention of this writer is that of the Research Council of Alberta's Preliminary Soil Survey Report of 1962. This survey was carried out by helicopter for the area due east of that of the present study. It included that region of the study which is Owl River, and the southwest side of Lac La Biche.

The area of the present study consists of land which has been classified in this soil survey as "potential arable land". It consists primarily of sand and clay loam. Of more specific concern are the following comments:

> The topography in Area IIA is extremely variable, consisting essentially of gently rolling to rolling knolls with short steep-sided slopes. Moss bog does not occur to a significant extent in this section of the map sheet and comprises less than 20% of the total area.
>
> The soils in Area IIA are principally Grey Wooded soils developed on glacial till. The soils developed on the coarse-textured outwash material in this area are generally Podzol soils.
>
> ... the scale of mapping employed for this survey was such that the smaller areas could not be delineated. A more detailed soil survey would enable the separation of the coarse-textured sandy soils so that they could be given a lower rating than the remainder of the area.[2]

A second soil classification study was made in the proximity of the area of our study. Essentially, this was the area which spreads out around Beaver River -- about 20 miles directly south of Lac La Biche. This land is described as clay loam and meadow clay loam. Some of this land is representative of the land around Kikino. The Soil Survey states:

> The topography...consists of essentially undulating to gently rolling till ridges that show a distinct northwest-southeast lineation. The interridge depressional areas are characterized for the most part by Meadow soils and sedge bog.[3]

The basis for distinguishing these two slightly different soil areas lies in the fact that in the latter a "fairly common occurrence of Dark Grey Wooded soils" can be found.

The area lies in what has been classified as "15% bog" according to a more general report quoted by the Statistical Report of Census Division 12.[4] It may also be noted that the area is littered with rock and small stone.

Information concerning the nature of land use in the Lac La Biche area is scanty. It is to be found only for the Alberta Census Division in which it is located. From this source we learn that as of 1961, the farm population of C.D. 12 comprised 39.63 per cent of the total population of that Division. Since the Lac La Biche area is in the southern and more farmable section of the Census Division, it can be assumed that the extent to which the land is farmed is much higher than the figure above.

The recent trend in cultivation of land involves a decrease in the number of farms, but a corresponding increase in the average size of the farm. Table 4 shows this tendency of the past five years for I.D. 102, in which Lac La Biche is located, and for C.D. 12.

CHAPTER II TABLE 4

NUMBER, AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS AND PER CENT CHANGE, BY CIVIC DIVISION IN C.D. 12 - 1956, 1961

	NUMBER OF FARMS			AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS		
	1956	1961	%	1956	1961	%
Smoky Lake (County 13)	1,227	1,093	-10.9	317	354	+11.7
Bonnyville (M.D. 87)	1,113	941	-15.5	350	401	+14.6
St. Paul (County 19)	1,562	1,374	-12.1	573	438	-23.6
I.D. 101	427	325	-25.9	380	446	+43.7
Lac La Biche (I.D. 102)	784	632	-19.4	321	413	+28.7
Indian Reserves	58	110	+189.7	860	397	-46.2
I.D. 85	37	19	-49.7	794	2,700	+240.1

CHAPTER II TABLE 5

FARM SIZE DISTRIBUTION, C.D. 12
BY CIVIC DISTRICT - 1961

Farm Size Class	Unit	Smoky Lake County 13	Bonnyville M.D. 87	St. Paul County 19	I.D. 101	Lac La Biche I.D. 102	Indian Reservations	I.D. 85
				(Per cent of all farms)				
10	Acres	1.4	1.1	0.7	1.5	5.1	6.4	0.0
10 - 69	"	1.7	1.5	2.1	0.9	3.0	25.5	5.2
70 - 239	"	29.6	21.5	19.8	19.7	22.5	42.7	36.9
240 - 390	"	35.1	34.1	32.5	28.9	25.1	10.0	10.6
400 - 559	"	19.0	21.7	19.0	23.4	22.0	6.4	5.2
560 - 759	"	8.3	11.6	13.7	12.3	11.1	6.4	5.2
760 - 1119	"	3.8	7.2	8.9	9.2	7.9	0.9	5.2
1120 - 1599	"	0.5	1.2	2.3	3.4	2.5	0.9	0.0
1600 & up	"	1.3	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.9	31.7

The average size farm is about 413 acres and the distribution of the various sizes in I.D. 102 and C.D. 12 are given in Table 5.[4]

Figures on a smaller basis are not available, but for C.D. 12, some 945,854 acres or 50.6 per cent are improved while 922,137 acres or 49.4 per cent are unimproved. Tables 6 and 7 show the amount of land in field crops and the number of livestock on farms in this area.[5]

CHAPTER II TABLE 6

PER CENT OF IMPROVED LAND UNDER CROPS
IN ALBERTA, C.D. 12 AND CIVIC DIVISIONS - 1961

	ALBERTA	C.D. 12	I.D. 85	COUNTY 19	M.D. 87	I.D. 101	I.D. 102	COUNTY 13	INDIAN RESERVES
Wheat	37	30	20	29	33	36	19	31	33
Oats	17	22	17	24	20	20	22	23	26
Barley	19	16	4	12	15	15	11	25	24
Mixed Grain	2	8	0	11	10	10	5	5	1
Tame Hay	16	17	25	16	17	19	35	11	8
Oats for Hay	3	3	33	3	3	3	2	2	7
Other	6	4	1	5	2	1	6	3	1

CHAPTER II TABLE 7

LIVESTOCK ON FARMS, CENSUS DIVISION 12
AND IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT 102 - 1961

	Cattle					Hens and Chickens	
	Total	Milk Cows*	Pigs	Sheep	Horses and Ponies	Total	Hens & Pullets**
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
C.D. 12	98,631	20,478	128,548	15,802	8,166	493,517	108,339
I.D. 102***	12,636	2,010	12,538	3,154	1,056	46,643	12,869

* Cows and heifers, two years and over, milking or to be milked
** Six months and over
*** Includes data for one farm in I.D. 143

CHAPTER II FOOTNOTES:

[1]Alberta Industry and Resources, Alberta Bureau of Statistics. Department of Industry and Development, Government of Alberta, 1964, pages 6-7.

[2]Exploratory Soil Survey, J. D. Lindsay, et al, Research Council of Alberta, 1962, pages 46-47.

[3]Ibid., page 47.

[4]Statistical Report of Census Division 12, Department of Industry and Development, Alberta Bureau of Statistics, 1966.

[5]Agriculture: Census Division 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, 1965, Victor Janssen, Ken Svenson, Randall Meeks, page 4.

CHAPTER III

THE METIS OF THE LAC LA BICHE AREA: THE CURRENT SETTING

In this chapter we will discuss the current setting of the Metis settlements in the Lac La Biche area. We will describe the population, housing, diet, health, and water supply in the settlements.

Population

Since 1941 there has been no way to estimate the Metis population from Census data. Although population figures for Metis colonies are fairly accurate, a majority -- a large majority -- of the Metis in Alberta do not live on colonies. Metis Rehabilitation Branch figures show that the population of Kikino and its immediately surrounding area is 385. A recent Census enumeration of the Kikino area showed 221 living in the hamlet itself and 461 living in the general vicinity.[1] A report by the Board of School Trustees of the Lac La Biche School Division No. 51 "...estimates (that) anywhere from 40% - 50% of the population to be "Indianness" (sic) at this time."[2] This is based on the assumption that "in most situations the Metis family arrangement dictates that offsprings (sic) claim the paternal side of French, which discolors the ethnicity picture."[3] It is also based on the fact that 1,919 or 39.65% of the population of I.D. 102 was listed as French ethnic origin; and that 599 or 12.38% of the population of I.D. 102 was listed as Native, Indian or Eskimo ethnic origin. This would place the "Native" population at a maximum, in 1961, at 2,518 for I.D. 102.

Table 1 gives an estimate of population for the four settlements we interviewed. It is based on number of household members in each family interviewed, plus a correction for the number of families in each settlement not interviewed.

Our estimation of the population in these four settlements, projecting from the averages of households interviewed, and correcting for the number of families known but not interviewed, leads us to suggest that there are approximately 938 Metis people in the four settlements.

CHAPTER III TABLE 1

ESTIMATED METIS POPULATION FOR FOUR SETTLEMENTS IN STUDY

	1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*
Kikino (East Kikino only)	45	316	7.02	16	112	428
Lac La Biche	44	261	5.93	5	30	291
Mission	20	105	5.25	1	5	110
Owl River	15	91	6.07	3	18	109
Total	124	773	6.23	25	165	938

*1. Number of households interviewed.
*2. Total population of households interviewed.
*3. Average population of households interviewed.
*4. Number of households known but not interviewed.
*5. Estimated population of households not interviewed.
*6. Estimated population of households interviewed and not interviewed.

A second important consideration concerning the population of this area is the distribution of various ethnic groups. Table 2 gives a summary of major ethnic groups which populate Census Division 12, as of 1961. The major ethnic groups with which the Metis in the area may come in contact are the French, Ukrainian, and British ethnic groups, in that order. The fact that many Metis have French names, and the high distribution of Native population in the area, suggests Metis and Native population in this Census Division could range anywhere from 11.72% to 36.3% of the population, or from 5,532 to 17,174 people.

CHAPTER III TABLE 2

MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS IN C.D. 12 AND ALBERTA - 1961

	C.D. 12		ALBERTA	
	No.	%	No.	%
British Isles	9,964	21.10	601,775	42.12
French	11,642	24.60	83,319	6.25
German	2,030	4.29	183,319	13.75
Polish	1,975	4.17	40,539	3.04
Scandinavian	1,978	4.18	95,879	7.47
Ukrainian	10,849	22.93	105,523	7.94
Other European	2,593	5.49	157,119	11.79
Asiatic	350	.73	12,503	.94
Native	5,547	11.72	28,554	2.14
Others	377	.79	49,036	3.68
TOTAL	47,310	100.00	1,331,944	99.12*

* Due to rounding

Housing

One of the most obvious discrepancies between the Metis of this area and the larger society of Alberta lies in the area of housing. A large number of the families in the area live in cabins or shacks that are one or two rooms large. One measurement designed for the comparison of housing facilities in Alberta is the Edwards' Housing Scale. This scale ranges from 0 to 27 with points being given if the house has flooring, certain facilities, or a certain structure, etc. Three points were added in the present study -- for deep freezer, refrigerator, and television. Each of the houses in which people were interviewed was scored on a scale which ranged from 0 to 30. Table 3 gives the distribution of these scores by each of the three settlements in which the scoring was done.

CHAPTER III TABLE 3

RESPONDENTS' SCORE ON EDWARDS' HOUSING SCALE,
BY SETTLEMENT

SETTLEMENT	SCORE ON EDWARDS' HOUSING SCALE									
	0 - 5		6 - 11		12 - 18		19 - 24		25 - 30	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kikino	38	86.3	5	11.4	1	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Lac La Biche	20	51.4	12	30.8	5	12.8	2	5.1	0	0.0
Mission	2	11.2	5	27.8	11	61.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTAL	60	59.4	22	21.8	17	16.8	2	2.0	0	0.0

The differences in housing conditions by settlement as measured by this scale are statistically significant. In Kikino, 86 per cent of the people rank in the 0 to 5 point category. It should be noted that several new houses in the colony are being constructed by the residents with the assistance of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. Nevertheless, it is most common to go into a one-room cabin which houses a family of six to 12 people. Beds are placed around the room and several will sleep on the floor on pallets of blankets which are put in the corner during the day and spread out in the middle of the floor at night. The stove and a table are in one corner of the room. The flooring is poor, usually resting right on the dirt and the ground shows below in the occasional crack or slither.

Often light can be seen through the walls or where the ceiling is attached to the walls. The roof will consist of tar paper tacked over rough boards. If there is "insulation" -- and often there is not -- it will be either mud plastered between logs or butcher paper tacked on the inside.

The only water facility is a basin which is usually used both for dishes and hands.

The housing facilities -- foundations, floors, construction -- all contribute to health and social problems. In interviews with health and mental personnel in the Lac La Biche area, the contribution of poor housing to health problems was almost always mentioned. Often the problem of keeping school children clean can create additional social problems. This is discussed more completely in Chapter VII on education.

The differences in housing facilities in settlements appear to be related to differences in the amount of income. By common agreement among welfare staff, the people in Mission earn much more income and are able to support themselves much better than the people of Kikino or Lac La Biche. In Lac La Biche, many of the houses have been built by Whites who rent them directly to the Public Welfare Department. Perhaps this factor accounts for the better houses in town in comparison with those in Kikino where people have had to build their own. The factor of proximity to town no doubt plays an important part in transportation problems and cost of supplies.

Many of the people feel badly about living in these cabins, but have little choice. One man, who moved to the colony because his house in another area had burned down, built his house from another house which he bought and tore down. Since it was Fall, he had to hurry and was dissatisfied with the result. Yet, he had little choice, given the limitations on time and resources available. People often said, "This house isn't fit to live in." One pensioner was insistent on moving. He said that the house he lived in "had sickness in it" and that if he lived there much longer, he would soon die. One family in Kikino is living in an old school house that has been condemned.

In all, the housing in these settlements contributes to many of the problems which these people face. Even where new houses have been constructed in Kikino, problems remain. For example, two families living in new houses showed us the stains on their walls where ice had covered the inside walls during the past winter. One said that the new houses were colder than some log cabins he had lived in before -- there wasn't money for the necessary insulation. None of the new houses are being wired for electricity. Another told us that in his new house, due to improper use of roofing and insulation, the roof had begun to leak.

A second index of housing conditions is the person-per-room ratio. This is simply the ratio of people living in a house to rooms in that house. Table 4 shows the information of persons-per-room for three of the settlements visited. About the same pattern is found for the three settlements as on the Edwards' Scale scores. In Kikino and Lac La Biche, over half of the families have more than two persons per room, while this figure is slightly under half for the Mission District. In Kikino, however, almost 18 per cent of the houses have more than five persons per room in a house. Conditions approaching one person per room are not only standard for most middle-class areas, but may be related to an important factor of privacy. One girl told us that often she became tired of being around everybody and would take long walks out in the bush just to get away from people. Crowding tends to increase the communication of disease and forces all the family to a common situation. Another consequence is that there is no place for children to have a quiet place to study.

CHAPTER III TABLE 4

PERSONS-PER-ROOM RATIO FOR METIS HOUSES,
BY SETTLEMENT

SETTLEMENT	NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM								TOTAL
	0 - .99		1 - 1.99		2 - 4.99		5.0+		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	6	13.4	15	33.3	16	35.6	8	17.8	45
Lac La Biche	7	18.0	11	28.2	20	51.3	1	2.6	39
Mission	3	16.7	10	55.6	4	22.3	1	5.6	18
TOTAL	16	15.7	36	35.3	40	39.2	10	9.8	102

These housing condition estimates can be compared with an earlier study in the Lesser Slave Lake region.[4] In that study, Metis houses were rated higher. For example, in that study 11 per cent were given scores of 0. An average of 11.9 per cent of the present population had scores of 0. In the present study, 37.6 per cent of the houses scored between 1 - 4 points, while the figure for the Lesser Slave study was 27 per cent. The scores are not directly comparable from this point on, but it is quite clear that even the average housing distribution of the present study rates below that of the previous study in the Lesser Slave Lake area, while the scores for the Kikino colony are lower yet.

In summary, then, two measures of poor housing, the Edwards' Housing Scale and a persons-per-room ratio, have been used to suggest the nature of facilities and extent of crowding. It can be seen that in both cases, our settlements are far below acceptable standards. We have suggested that poor housing contributes to medical, social, educational and other problems which the people face. Living in conditions such as these has been romanticized as the "good old days" of pioneer life. But it penalizes and imposes severe hardships upon those who try to compete with the majority of our citizens who refuse to return to the standards of those "good old days".

Diet

This section will describe briefly the diet of the Metis of these settlements and present a rationale in terms of which it may, perhaps, be better understood.

The diet of the Metis varies somewhat according to the season and the results of hunting and fishing, but is is essentially quite meagre. The present information is based on two months of living and eating with a Metis family; on visiting and eating with other families; and on the basis of informal interviews in which food was discussed.

In the family with which we lived, breakfast consisted of tea, bread, lard, and sometimes jam or jelly. Lunch was usually the large meal of the day. During the school year, the children are not home for this meal.

Lunch consisted of boiled potatoes, bread, lard, a canned meat product or garlic sausage, occasionally a raw onion, and tea. Occasionally a duck which had been shot or drowned in fish nets may be served. Some families fish and obtain jackfish and other local fish for food. They may eat fish once a week. In winter, deer or moose are occasionally shot. During our stay, whitefish was available once. The evening meal during the school year begins as soon as the children get off the school bus, about 5:00 p.m. It is eaten almost immediately -- the children are always hungry. Almost any amount of food taken into a household is eaten within hours. This happened whenever this writer tried bringing some food in. Very few of the people are overweight. When they are, one doubts that this is a direct result of the diet. Most families are lucky to have meat once a day. Often there will be no meat. The meal stays essentially the same. One can count on the same diet every day.

The diet seems seriously lacking in certain nutritive elements; for example, vegetables, fruit, milk and eggs are conspicuously absent. In the summer, more vegetables are available and occasionally the family has access to eggs, which may be mixed with leftover food from lunch for the evening meal. Berries, too, are available in the summer or, as with some other vegetables, may be canned. The cost of jars sets a limit on the amount of canning.

Perhaps these meals should be considered somewhat above average for the residents of Kikino and about average for the rest of the residents in the sample. The reason for the better diet in the latter places is a wider variety of selection, the proximity to fishing, and a slightly higher income in some areas.

It is understandable that the diet may well affect the health of the community. Lack of fresh fruit and vegetables may lower resistance to colds and flu. Another associated phenomena is the high percentage of adults who smoke. In our residence in Kikino, fewer than ten adults were found who did not smoke. Most of these told us that they didn't smoke because of tuberculosis.

It is worthwhile perhaps to suggest a rationale which concerns the diet and eating habits of the residents in the area. This would take the form of three types of eating habits. One would be the "eat to get filled" pattern. A second would be the "eat for health" pattern. The third, which seems appropriate to the present study, could be described as eating to "deter or forestall hunger." To return to the first briefly, one is probably aware of those who eat to "get full". Perhaps the rural farm eating habit exemplifies this type. Emphasis is placed on eating as much as one can, because one works hard. This presumes that there is enough food upon which to get full. A second type has become rationalized and presumes capability to pay more for food. Here, one "lives to eat" instead of "eats to live" -- as the latter may characterize itself in opposition to the former. In contrast to these two is the third. The basic assumption here is that there is simply not enough food to "get filled" on. After some time on this diet, one's stomach shrinks. One does not eat so much but one may tend to emphasize a more immediate gratification of taste. Thus, one's diet may often consist of candy, soda pop, or potato chips. And this may be closely related to the fact of one's not engaging in heavy labor. Presumably if one is performing heavy labor, one will want sufficient food to restore one's energy. But, if one cannot get it, or if one is not working hard, one may turn to supplementary sources like candy, soda pop, potato chips, or smoking. Eating habits in this typology, then, are seen as being directly related not only to the resources available, but also to the related conditions and activities in which one is involved. So, perhaps it is easier to go across the street to buy a candy bar than 30 miles into town for an apple. But, in addition, if there is no work to be done, if there is little food, at least what food there is can be tasty.

Health

A discussion of the general health of the Metis in this area is based on interviews with health and medical officers, on some data collected from the people, and on personal observation.

The people of the Lac La Biche area are served by one of the largest hospitals in C.D. 12. This hospital, in 1961, had a capacity of 57 beds

and 14 bassinets.[5] The community is served by three doctors and a sub-unit of the Athabasca Health Unit. There is no dentist in Lac La Biche. Many people qualify for medical care in conjunction with the Public Health Department. It is clear that a minority of the families interviewed carried any medical coverage. The people are dependent upon medical care from the funds of the Public Welfare Department.

A contrast can be noted between the medical care offered to Indian citizens and the Metis. Since the Metis have no such arrangement as treaty Indians, they are under some obligation to provide for themselves or turn to welfare for assistance in the matter.

We will treat first the topic of infant mortality, then permanent disability, serious disease and minor illness and, finally, attitudes toward sickness and health in the settlements.

The occurrence of stillbirths occurred to about 18.3 per cent of the families. Table 5 gives this distribution, by settlement. This rate was affected somewhat by the absence of any report of stillborn children from Owl River. The figures for children who die before the age of 12 are slightly higher. Table 6 presents these results. Over 30 per cent of these families have had at lease one child die before the age of 12 and 16 per cent have had two or more die. Again, the distribution between settlements tends to be rather balanced. Infant mortality is a phenomena which is not unusual to these families.

CHAPTER III TABLE 5

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN STILLBORN TO FAMILIES, BY SETTLEMENT

SETTLEMENT	NONE		ONE		TWO		THREE		TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	22	78.6	4	14.3	1	3.6	1	3.6	28
Lac La Biche	28	77.8	4	11.1	4	11.1	0	0.0	36
Mission	15	78.9	3	15.8	1	5.3	0	0.0	19
Owl River	15	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	15
TOTAL	80	81.6	11	11.2	6	6.1	1	1.0	98

CHAPTER III TABLE 6

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN WHO DIED BEFORE THE AGE OF TWELVE, PER FAMILY, BY SETTLEMENT

SETTLEMENT	NONE		ONE		TWO		THREE		FOUR		TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	19	70.4	4	14.8	2	7.4	1	3.7	1	3.7	27
Lac La Biche	23	69.7	5	15.2	2	6.1	2	6.1	1	3.0	33
Mission	13	68.4	3	15.8	3	15.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	19
Owl River	10	66.7	2	13.3	2	13.3	0	0.0	1	6.7	15
TOTAL	65	69.1	14	14.9	9	9.6	3	3.2	3	3.2	94

We asked the families interviewed about the extent of personal disability. As we used the term, we referred to someone who was not able to perform normal daily activities adequately. Table 7 shows these results, by settlement. In 7.1 per cent of the families, one of the parents was handicapped by disability. Typical disabilities included arthritis and physical injuries due to accidents. The major differences between settlements in disabilities lie in the high rate of reported disability in Kikino in contrast to those of Lac La Biche and Mission, and Owl River. A major cause of this difference seems to be the security and the cheaper land and housing available on the colony, which is attractive to families who find this disability an added burden.

In addition to this measurement of disability, information was collected concerning tuberculosis. Table 8 shows these results, by settlement. Over one-third of all the families included one member or more who had had tuberculosis. It should be noted that this is probably a low estimate because of the fear of being hospitalized again, which probably caused underreporting of actual former cases. Another important fact is that in over one in four families, one parent had had tuberculosis. In 13.1 per cent of the families, BOTH parents had had tuberculosis. Several families currently have members in a sanitorium.

From interviews with doctors, nurses, health workers and other staff in the Lac La Biche area, the following description of common illnesses and health conditions in general has been obtained:

CHAPTER III TABLE 7

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FAMILIES HAVING DISABLED PERSONS IN FAMILY, BY SETTLEMENT

SETTLEMENT	NO DISABLED PERSON		ONE OR MORE DISABLED PERSONS		TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	18	35.7	10	64.3	28
Lac La Biche	6	83.8	31	16.2	34
Mission	6	68.4	13	31.6	19
Owl River	2	86.7	13	13.3	15
TOTAL	32	67.7	67	32.3	99

CHAPTER III TABLE 8

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FAMILIES REPORTING TUBERCULOSIS IN THE FAMILY, BY SETTLEMENT

SETTLEMENT	TB IN FAMILY		TB IN FAMILY OTHER THAN BOTH PARENTS		BOTH PARENTS HAVING TB		TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	18	64.3	9	32.1	1	3.6	28
Lac La Biche	27	73.0	7	18.9	3	8.1	37
Mission	13	68.4	1	5.3	5	26.3	19
Owl River	7	46.7	4	26.6	4	26.7	15
TOTAL	65	65.7	21	21.2	13	13.1	99

Public health nurses: Tuberculosis, pneumonia, diarrhea, scabies, and impetigo are common among the Metis people in Kikino, around Lac La Biche, and in the Mission District. These diseases seem more common among the Metis as opposed to the Whites of the area.

Major causes of this are to be found in diet, sanitation, and lateness in bringing children to medical facilities. Other problems are the nonchalant attitude of some families, unsanitary water supply, and the inaccessibility to some areas by nurses.

Lac La Biche doctors: Tuberculosis, gastroentritis, respiratory infections, inner ear infections, scabies, and impetigo are common. The latter two are especially common to Metis in comparison with Whites. Most of the illnesses can be

attributed to living conditions -- overcrowdedness, lack of sanitation. This is probably the same in all Metis areas. Remedies suggested may be better housing and improvement in sanitation facilities.

Local hospital staff: Skin infection diseases are more common due to unsanitary, crowded home conditions. In comparison to Kikino and Lac La Biche, the Mission District has fewer people entering the hospital. "The majority of the children in the hospital are Metis."

From our personal experience in Kikino, some comments concerning the health situation can be made. Minor illnesses -- diarrhea, upset stomach, colds -- were very common in Kikino. Any communicable disease which comes on the colony is probably caught by almost every child living there. Most of the children have had typical childhood diseases before they begin school. This is probably most dangerous for the smallest children who may catch, for example, measles.

If a Public Health Nurse finds out about measles, she may come to inoculate others in the colony. But, by the time she gets there, most of the children have already been exposed. Thus, after she has inoculated the children, they soon get the disease. The parents, who were told that "the needle" would keep the child from getting measles, are now confused because their fears have been fulfilled. And the connection is made between "the needle" and the disease. This makes it only more difficult to obtain parental cooperation in inoculation of children next time.

Attitudes toward illness among the people we visited were of contrasting intensity. Only on one occasion did we see a sick child in bed. Usually sick children were kept indoors, though children with fevers and stomach illnesses would play until they got quite sick, rest, and then get up to play again. Things which may be seen as an illness to the nurse or teacher, are common occurrences to the Metis family. Gastroentritis, for example, is so common that it is taken almost as matter-of-fact. We asked one mother if her children were sick very often. She answered that they were not. We asked

her if they had diarrhea very much. She answered, "Oh yes, they have it all the time."

Medical personnel sometimes feel that Metis people make excessive demands. It is hard to say to what extent the "demand" for medical care by Metis is excessive. It is true that they are subject to more illness. It is also true that many health and medical staff members often seem quite nonchalant about the health situations of Metis. The inadequate understanding which each has of the other contributes to the situation.

Finally, many of the Metis families are apparently quite wary about "the needle", and talk about the hospital as not too good for one -- even if a trip there was enjoyed and successful. We drove people in on three occasions to pick up babies which were being released from the hospital. In each case, the local verdict was the same: the baby had lost weight and "looked pale".

Most people generally see the medical care of doctors as the only effective source of help when medical care is needed. A few still rely on herbs like "rat root" -- for sore throat and coughs; or "Seneca root" -- for colds; or boiled strawberry roots -- for diarrhea. Some feel that the services rendered for the amount charged and the cost of a trip into town are worthless if one can do the task oneself.

In summary, the attitudes of the Metis on health matters may appear inconsistent and confusing, but the state of their health in relation to the larger society is not. One in every four families has one parent who has said that he had tuberculosis. These families have a much higher rate of minor and serious illnesses than the larger society. Medical and health personnel attribute this directly to housing and water conditions, among other things.

The attitudes of the people on health issues are difficult to assess. They admit the efficacy of modern medicine. It appears they see medical service as a luxury -- perhaps to be enjoyed -- even though they deny the value of many <u>preventative</u> efforts and reject its total beneficence. It is almost as though they accept medical care in principle, but reject any

extension of its social effects. Thus, their view of treatment outside the hospital seems to have been rejected even though inside the hospital this care is tolerated or even enjoyed. For example, even though the newly-released babies may look "thin and pale" from hospital treatment, the parents did take them in for treatment. Perhaps the significance of the phrase "the needle" is symbolic of extension of the White's medical power outside his clinic or hospital, where they feel it should legitimately be kept. Often the extension of the White man's medical power is justifiably seen as penetrating and damaging. When the nurse comes to inoculate, disease may follow because of contagion which she has inadvertently imported.

Water

Getting a daily supply of water is an urgent problem faced by the Metis people of these four settlements. If one lives along Lac La Biche, or by a stream or spring that runs all year, one only has the problem of hauling it and insuring that it is not contaminated. But often the water which is accessible is contaminated. In Kikino the problem is most severe. To serve the hamlet itself, there is a lone covered water pump. However, most of the water consumed by people in the hamlet comes from Lone Pine Creek, which skirts the southern edge of the settlement. Those who live in outlying areas get water from small lakes, streams, springs, sloughs, or wells. In the hamlet there are three wells in use, in addition to the pump.

Purity of water can be examined in at least two major ways: by a bacteriological analysis, which yields a test for E. coli and a bacteria count; and by a chemical analysis. The chemical analysis tells the content of the water and the presence of Nitrogen Nitrates and Nitrogen Nitrites. Tests of these kind were taken in Kikino and other tests have been taken in the past.

Dr. MacKay, of the Athabasca Health Unit in Athabasca, gave the following results of tests taken in Kikino between 1960 and the present.[6]

In October, 1960, a chemical test showed a trace of Nitrogen Nitrite and a Nitrogen Nitrate count of 7.9. According to the Provincial Laboratory, Nitrogen Nitrate and Nitrogen Nitrite in water is significant for two

reasons. First, a high Nitrogen Nitrate score contributes to cyanosis, a condition extremely dangerous for babies. The Provincial Laboratory suggested that any water with a count of 5.0 or over is extremely dangerous for children and water containing a count of 10.0 is condemned. Second, the presence of both Nitrogen Nitrate and Nitrogen Nitrite indicated contamination by human or animal feces. The test aforementioned, in 1960, showed both kinds of contamination from one sample of water in Kikino.

In October, 1961, another chemical analysis from another source of water in Kikino showed a trace of Nitrite, and a Nitrate count of 2.1.

The bacteriological analysis supplements the chemical analysis. In October, 1962, one bacteriological analysis was made for some source of water in Kikino. This showed negative count of E. coli -- signifying no contamination by that index of contamination. The count of bacteria was over 3,000 per milliliter. The Provincial Laboratory said that for a water system such as the City of Edmonton, a bacterial count of 10 would be extremely high -- due to the fact that the water is treated. A score of 3,000 or more in a water test indicates some contamination, but Health Department officials apparently do not feel that such a count is cause for alarm. This statement is based on four conversations with Health Unit staff of various levels.

While we were in the Kikino area we collected water samples from different sources in use by colony people. These were sent to the Provincial Laboratory for chemical and bacteriological analysis. These analyses showed that the main sources of water for Kikino were more or less contaminated. The covered pump has not been used much lately because the cribbing is rotting and the people do not like the smell and the taste of the water. A bacteriological examination showed that this public supply of water had a count of over 3,000 bacteria per milliliter. The chemical analysis showed that there was a trace of Nitrogen Nitrite and 1.7 parts of Nitrogen Nitrate. The second source of water for the hamlet is Lone Pine Creek. A sample from this source showed that there was an E. coli positive count and over 3,000 bacteria per milliliter. These two sources serve over 225 people and are the main source of water in the hamlet.

A recent bacteriological analysis of the water from Lone Pine Creek by Dr. MacKay of the Athabasca Health Unit showed a positive E. coli count of 9.2 (anything positive indicates contamination) and over 3,000 bacteria per milliliter.

Families living on the outskirts and outer area usually can find some water, but the water is an unreliable supply. To the west, the bacteriological examinations showed a relatively lower count on bacteria and a negative count on E. coli. To the east, however, along Lone Pine Lake, families are using water which has bacterial counts of 3,000 per milliliter, and the water in Lone Pine Lake itself becomes stagnant and highly odorous in the summer.

The people living along Highway 36, south of Kikino, are desperate for water. Occasionally a family can find a spring, but commonly water is taken from a slough. In one such case, I interviewed a man who told me he had left notice for the Public Health Nurse in the Athabasca Sub-Unit (who visits weekly) to drive south to his place to check the water. He told me that he had done this about four times but she had never come. I took a water sample and had it tested. In the meantime, he had been borrowing a cousin's car and driving four miles for water. The bacteriological test showed a bacterial count of 3,000,000 bacteria per milliliter and a positive E. coli test of 2.2 parts per milliliter.

Families in the hamlet use about two or three barrels of water (for drinking or washing) -- about 100 gallons of water a week. Water costs $1.00 a barrel. At this rate, water is costing the hamlet over two hundred times the city rate for Edmonton.

One of the effects of the water supply is on the health of the residents; for example, the prevalence of gastroentritis among children. Although this is hard to measure and assess, it appeared to this researcher that these Metis children suffer more often from this than other children with whom he was acquainted professionally.

To summarize, one can say that water is a basic necessity which no resident of Kikino and hardly any Metis can take for granted. He expends much effort, money, and apparently some of his health because of miserable water

conditions. In Kikino, a majority of the people are served by a water supply which is contaminated and shows the presence of potential typhoid infection.

A subsidy of $25 offered by the Metis Branch toward cribbing for men who dig their own wells seems like only a token effort at safeguarding a water supply quite inadequate, in view of the number and seriousness of water problems on the colony.

The problems of bathing, of body cleanliness, of tooth brushing, of washing dishes, of feeding the children are all complicated by the water conditions in the village. It is trite but true that many cattle in Alberta have better water than the people of Kikino. What can be concluded? Health authorities in the area have known for more than six years that the water is often severely contaminated. Medical, health, welfare, educational and Metis Branch officials who are in the area know it. The people know it. But to date nothing has been done.

Summary

This discussion of the present setting of the life of the Metis has emphasized the physical factors affecting the way in which life is carried on. In numbers, the Metis are part of a Native population which is about ten per cent of the region. Their standard of living is far below that of the larger society of Alberta. Housing, health, diet, and water supply all contribute to a picture of increased physical vulnerability to disease and discomfort.

CHAPTER III FOOTNOTES:

[1]From information forwarded by the local Census Taken for the Kikino area, for the present year.

[2]Educational Programing as a Solution to the Imminent and Crucial Problem of the Metis, a brief submitted to a committee of the cabinet of the Government of the Province of Alberta on Thursday, January 13, 1966, by the Board of School Trustees of the Lac La Biche School Division 51, Lac La Biche, Alberta.

[3]Ibid., page 5.

[4]The Metis in Alberta Society by B. Y. Card, G. K. Hirabayashi and C. L. French: University of Alberta Committee for Social Research, University of Alberta, October 1963, page 231.

[5]Statistical Analysis of C.D. 12, op. cit., Table 14

[6]Telephone interview, July 23, 1966.

CHAPTER IV

FORMS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social relationships of a group of people may be significant resources in times of transition and crisis. These relationships can be seen as existing on several levels. Four such levels are discussed in the present report, with a fifth constituting a special type. These are the extended kinship circle relations; nuclear family relations; peer-group relations; and community social relations. The Metis Colony constitutes a special type of social organization which has been imposed, as it were, upon the local social organization.

Kinship Relations

The extended family plays an important part in the life of the Metis settlement, although this role is changing. In the Owl River settlement, over half of the males have grown up in the area. Their fathers did the same. As a result, three or four family names account for a large proportion of the population. Likewise, in the Mission District, the population consists of one major kinship group. Eleven of the 20 families in the Mission area have the name Ladouceur and at least three of those who do not are wives whose maiden names were Ladouceur. In Kikino, the Ladouceurs, Prudens, Thompsons, Cardinals, Callioux, and Whites account for over 80 per cent of the population. Some of these names can be traced back to the earliest Hudson Bay Company and North West Company traders. In Lac La Biche, these names and others are frequent. Many have first and second cousins living in each of the four settlements. In this section we shall discuss the effect of kinship on residential patterns, work patterns, and child rearing.

Residential Patterns

As might be expected, the effect of kinship on proximity of residence is most pronounced in the rural areas. Both Owl River and Mission contain

areas in which a high proportion of all families are related. Houses are usually a quarter mile to a mile apart. In Kikino, the setting is different. The hamlet itself is surrounded by three "arms" of settlement which are composed of extended family groupings. The Prudens live along the "arm" running west from the hamlet around the lake. The Cardinals live southeast along the south side of Lone Pine Lake. The Whites have moved along Highway 36 which is somewhat removed to the southeast of the hamlet. There is some grouping by families in the hamlet. Three families of newcomers have moved on the southeast end of town. The old-timers occupy positions along the central road. Another group of newcomers lives on the northeast end of the hamlet.

Work Pattern

In work, those families who live on the outskirts are closely tied. One group of newcomers -- with urban skills in carpentry -- work together to build some of the new houses which are being constructed in the area. Another extended family runs its cattle together and has likewise logged and sawed lumber together for its new houses which are being built by the family aforementioned. This isn't always seen as desirable by some of the residents who are more oriented to mobility and the urban occupational choice. Said one: "Every morning the boys report to the old man for their orders for the day. It's more like a Hutterite Colony than anything else." The family criticized is concentrating on a rural sufficiency -- they have centralized the care of their cattle, thus freeing some of the younger ones for work in logging, sawing, gardening and clearing land. One son owns the tractor they share, another bought a pickup -- which has broken down and is waiting for repair. This was to be the common means of transportation for the family, but now the wagon is used, both to take the children some three miles to meet the school bus and for getting into the hamlet occasionally. They are three miles from the school bus stop and four from the center of

the hamlet -- the general store. With the exception of the mutual help afforded in these three extended families, most others rely on less help from their kin. This may be help in cutting wood, use of tools or animals, rides into town, babysitting, etc.

Kinship does play an important role in the work structure of these settings, but there is often conflict between those who have used this to strive for self-sufficiency in rural terms and those whose kinship ties are not so strong and have rejected the idea of rural self-sufficiency and prefer instead working for wages.

Child Rearing

Another aspect of the role of wider kinship is the care of illegitimate children or children born out of wedlock. Often the extended family affords at least some security to the mother and her child. This is an alternative to the mother's living alone and becoming solely dependent upon transfer payments, and becoming alienated from the wider social support that relatives can provide. There are contrasts between the rural hamlet of Kikino and the town of Lac La Biche in this regard. These will be discussed more thoroughly in the following section. Note, however, that in the urban setting, a large segment of Metis households are headed by females who have probably not been married but have had children by white fathers. These women are financially dependent upon welfare, and wider kinship ties -- if yet strong -- are of less daily significance. In Kikino, there is a sense in which the family allowance and social allowance which the mother receives is of more advantage to the larger family which takes care of her. Also it is less expensive for the mother to care for her child within the larger family than if she were living alone with her baby. Living together as a large family often helps compensate for the privation which these families in rural settings suffer. It is possible in this rural setting of Kikino that the wider kinship group does not see the additional child as a burden, since there is hardly enough to eat and an extra

child brings more support than he consumes in that setting. This helps one to understand the lack of resentment against an additional child, since children are still not considered a burden.

The situation of the father is also relevant. With a smaller demand for laborers, and with the increasing rejection on the part of many young men of the ideal of rural self-sufficiency (i.e. to clear one's own land and live by producing and eventually owning some means of rural support), their desire to begin support of a new family is almost nil. This, then, increases the likelihood that the children born in this relationship will be taken into the wider kinship group. One specific aspect of the role of the wider kinship group is the use of the grandparents as babysitters. In the rural settings, a trip into town for groceries, or to take a child to the doctor, takes a full day. On these occasions, and on the odd trip to a picnic or rodeo, the wider kinship relations serve as a stabilizing factor.

In perspective, however, it is clear that the role of the wider kinship relations is diminishing. Families appear to be living and working together less and less. Where a father has a large number of sons who remain to live and work in the immediate area, earning what they can from farming, raising cattle, hunting, fishing and logging, this wider kinship structure is preserved. But many sons see that it is impossible to support themselves from the land with equipment which is at least 40 years outdated. Many refuse to spend long hours at back-breaking work which could be done by a modern machine in minutes. And many realize that this support requires more than two or three men working together -- it calls for five or six adults -- which is less possible as some brothers leave for the city. Kinship then, of the wider type, still plays an important role in stabilizing the social organization in a rural setting; but that role is diminishing as the migration to urban centers takes place, thus weakening the one final source of stability in the Metis settlement.

The Nuclear Family

In this section on the nuclear family we shall describe three various kinds of family organization. These three major forms of family social organization can be described as the complete family where there is a male, female and children; the incomplete family where there is only one adult but children are in the household; and the elderly family where there is one or two aged adults with or without children. The distribution of these family types, by settlements is found in Table 1.

The Complete Family

The complete family is the dominant form of family organization. Often the adults are not married, but are living in a common-law relationship. At least two contributory factors to this relationship can be noted. First, Roman Catholic views on divorce often make the only possible second union a common-law relationship. Second, if the wife is a treaty Indian, she loses her treaty rights by marriage, but a common-law relationship maintains some of the medical and more financial benefits for herself and her children. If the wife is a treaty Indian, then it is certainly a wise decision to keep this one slight source of security, from a materialistic perspective.

The Incomplete Family

One feature of family organization which shows up clearly is the number of the urban Metis females who are unmarried and not living with a man, but have children. When we were surveying the town of Lac La Biche, we were told about one section of town known primarily to the Whites as "Moccasin Flats", where a large number of unmarried females lived. This is on the east side of town and is obviously a segregated group of little shanty houses of piece-work construction. In each of the communities investigated, the percentage of attached males and females was about 86 per cent, with the notable exception of Lac La Biche where the average is 61 per cent. There, the remaining 34 per cent were of adult age but unattached, and five per cent were unattached pensioners.

CHAPTER IV TABLE 1

CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES BY AGE, ATTACHMENT, CHILDREN AND SETTLEMENT

	UNDER 55				OVER 55					
	ATTACHED		UNATTACHED		ATTACHED		UNATTACHED			
	No Children		No Children		No Children		No Children		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kikino	33	73.3	1	2.2	2	4.4	0	0.0	45	100.0
Lac La Biche	21	47.7	1	2.3	11	25.0	4	9.1	44	100.0
Mission	13	65.0	2	10.0	1	5.0	1	5.0	20	100.0
Owl River	13	86.7	0	0.0	1	6.7	1	6.7	15	100.0
Total	80	64.5	4	3.2	15	12.1	6	4.8	124	100.0

	UNDER 55				OVER 55					
	ATTACHED		UNATTACHED		ATTACHED		UNATTACHED			
	No Children		No Children		No Children		No Children		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kikino	5	11.1	0	0.0	1	2.2	3	6.7	45	100.0
Lac La Biche	3	6.8	2	4.5	1	2.3	1	2.3	44	100.0
Mission	1	5.0	1	5.0	0	0.0	1	5.0	20	100.0
Owl River	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	100.0
Total	9	7.3	3	2.4	2	1.6	5	4.0	124	100.0

These women do not all live in the one section of town which apparently has a reputation for having unmarried mothers. They live in both major areas of Metis residence in Lac La Biche. Since there is little prospect that they will be married in the future, judging by past experience, they will continue to draw Social Allowance. Many boast that their children have white rather than Metis or Indian fathers. Although any judgement on this point is questionable, one interviewer who lived in Lac La Biche felt that the fathers may well have been white, but were "drifters" from the area northeast to Fort McMurray. Another interviewer and resident of the Lac La Biche area for over 40 years feels that many "big shots" in the community may have involvements with Metis women. In any case, a significant difference between the rural and the urban Metis can be seen in the family organization of the Metis in the town of Lac La Biche. Exploratory research into this difference would begin with the fact that these women, unlike others, failed to get married, were not prostitutes, but did have children. This situation probably has become cyclical and will most likely not change until the women pass child-bearing age.

The Elderly Family

A third type of family organization consists of families which are elderly. Our figures tend consistently to underestimate the number of these families since they comprise the largest part of those we were not able to interview. Often language and age made communication impossible. Nevertheless, the Colony setting at Kikino offers some advantages for the elderly, such as shelter of some sort at a cost of $10 to $30 per month. Old log houses can be purchased, and there are prospects of new houses, when such houses are built. Many of the pensioners at Kikino came from the Sandy Lake area or near Goodfish Lake and bought old houses for about $15. There is apparently much less movement of the elderly into any of the other three Metis settlements studied. A unique feature of their situation is that in several cases the elderly have moved into a Colony but have no relatives there. The role of kinship is

probably most important to the elderly who are now unable to cut their own wood, to hunt, or to supplement a meagre income in any other way. They depend upon their children for this support. When the pensioners move to the Colony -- as has happened in several cases -- they are severing some of the traditional sources of support, such as kinship ties and friends, which keep extremely difficult situations from being disastrous. Thus, on the Colony the severity of the problems of the aged is actually increased. To the extent that mobility into Colonies by the aged continues, one can expect the aggravation of their difficulties.

Parent-Child Relations

Probably one of the thorniest aspects of the complete family group is the pattern of the parent-child relationship. The present discussion is based primarily on experience and observations in the Colony settlement at Kikino.

Since the parent-child relationship is a reciprocal one, it can be viewed from two perspectives: that of the child and that of the parent. From the perspective of the child, the relationship is a changing one, involving increasing development and maturity. From the perspective of the parent, not only does it involve change but also it usually involves a discrepancy or discontinuity between the role which the parent is able to take today in contrast to the role which his parents took toward him. From the perspective of the child who is growing up today, one can detect discrepancies and contradictions which make entry into adult status almost impossible in some senses. From the perspective of the parent -- at least the middle-class parent, which is the way in which both parents and children are judge, whether Metis or not -- these years are an exercise in futility.

There seems to be a distinct difference in the status and treatment of a child according to his present rank in the family; that is, the youngest child is "babied" and given affection. Given a situation in which there are

ten or more children in the family, each child has his first year or so in which affection is expressed freely and he is allowed considerable freedom. This period lasts until the next baby comes, which may be less than a year. It also means that the last child -- who is forever the youngest -- carries this pattern of parental and sibling response with him until he reaches adult status -- and often into his adult years.

We recall talking with a family of men -- the father and five sons who were sawing wood and planing it to build houses for several of the brothers. In the conversation, the father turned to a strapping youth of 18 and said, "This is our baby" -- not in jest as one might expect, but as a matter of identification. Old Mrs. S_____ refers to her last boy, who is 26, as her baby.

But the baby is not always treated with unconditional acceptance. It is mixed with threats concerning someone or some animal who will "get you" or "get your food", etc. An interesting phenomenon in this regard is the role of a family dog. Frequently it is the family dog who will "get you if you cry"; or who will "eat your food if you don't eat it" -- although uneaten food is never left. The dog may "get" the penis if toilet training isn't successful. (In several families, there are two dogs -- one for hunting, and another for the children. Discussion of the dogs often brings a quick distinction between the two.) If there is a White man present, the White serves as a potential punishing agent, openly and in his presence. Or, if one is driving through a town, the policeman in the town may "get you if you cry". The parents do not serve as authority figures; however, these external threats are common.

After one has left the stage of being the favored youngest, one is often subjected only to the threat: the obvious and overt forms of affection appear largely to be dropped. It must be given to the new child. The transition period is often difficult. The child must now adapt to being an object of threats within the family.

In all, the role of parental authority in the complete Metis family appears to be in marked contrast to that in the larger society. Parental authority as such hardly exists: only external threats for control are used.

As will be further suggested, much of the socialization process is taken over by the peer groups, and this contributes to less parental control.

The actual amount of control is in contrast with superficial appearances. There is a constant yelling at and threatening of the child, but he soon learns that the threat is only a threat which is seldom followed through. Thus, he comes to do as he pleases. For example, the boy comes running in, grabs his swimming trunks and says, "I'm going swimming." Both mother and father yell that he is not to go swimming. The boy continues on out of the house with the parents muttering a few epithets. When the boy gets back from swimming -- having missed a snack -- the mother says, "You like that water so much, you can eat that." But he goes to the cupboard, finds what he can and eats.

One village has had some difficulty with slingshots. Lights and windows have been broken. The Council recently passed a motion banning slingshots and providing a $5 fine for the parents of any child being caught breaking a window. This has slightly decreased the problem, but some breakage is still going on. In a recent public meeting, the issue came up of what to do with parents who can't control their children. Two events in the meeting reflected the topic of parental control. First, there were accusations and counter-accusations between families about not being able to control their children. It seemed clear that all the families were having trouble in this regard, but instead of discussing it as a mutual problem, the emphasis was laid on blaming each other for this condition. Second, the only recommendation to be made at the meeting was that the community appoint a village warden -- someone like a truant officer to go up and down the streets at night to see that there is no mischievous behavior and that children are in by nine o'clock. Here are further notes recorded during the course of this discussion:

> ...it was suggested that it be someone without children and someone suggested _____. _____ said that he was gone quite a bit and wondered who would do it then. No one spoke against (this) idea, but then someone suggested that the person have a vehicle since there was a lot of ground to cover. Someone suggested that the person be a good runner since the kids might get after him... Three things were evident (on this topic): the person should have no children; he should have transportation, not only to get around but to get away; and he should have some kind of protection.

Although much of this was said in jest, it nevertheless reflects an admitted problem of control over their children. These events only point toward a general relationship between parent and child which can be described in middle-class terms as a weakening of parental authority.

One important factor, from the parent's perspective, which contributes to a possible felt loss of authority, can be seen in the statement which one father made: "My children already have more education than I got." In many senses, the parents may feel inferior to their children. The children can read and write better than their parents; and they are in town every day, experiencing a wider life than the parents. The parents are unable to supply their children with what they demand -- clothes and other objects they feel they need. In this sense, they are being compared to the parents of the larger society and it is clear they cannot compete.

In effect, the primary control comes through physical means and when the child becomes physically too strong, control is lost. Even physical punishment is not used very much, however. The means of control is the threat.

Peer Groups

Children begin spending most of their time in peer groups at the age of three or four and these groups seem to supply most of the training of the child as well as much of the emotional support. There is a sense in which the threatening parent and the supportive peer group are in opposition to each other. The peer group is not without its own controls however. One day, after school was out, the children were swimming in water about four to five feet deep for half the day without any supervision. This was in direct opposition to the wishes of most of the parents -- one of which doesn't even know where the swimming hole is. Among the group swimming, informal norms and rules have come into existence which do control the children. There is a sense, then, in which they do not need the parents and carry on without them.

When we asked parents why they prefer to live outside of the hamlet of Kikino, they unanimously said: "So I can control my kids." They would

explain that with the other children running around town, they just couldn't control their own, and they would like to be out on a farm where they could make them do what they wanted them to do. Parents who lived outside of the hamlet of Kikino said a major reason they were glad they lived there was so that they could control their children -- they knew where they were. Again, from the field notes:

> The mother R_____ swept the bedroom floors and the daughter S_____ was to scrub them. She wasn't happy about it and grumbled considerably. She finished and two girls came by for her. She started to leave and the mother yelled, "watch this baby." The daughter said "no" and walked off with the girls.

It seems clear that the influence of the peer groups over much of a child's behavior is also related to the large families in which these children grow up. With many children in the family, parental control is more difficult. This, with other factors, helps account for the structure of parental authority and helps us understand that the problem of "controlling one's children" is not the same as it may be in the larger society.

Wider Social Organization

The forms of social organization of adults on the community level can be discussed rather briefly. They consist exclusively of religious activities and recreational activity groups.

Religious Activities

The religious activities of the community are, for the most part, not indigenous of the community; that is, the three representatives of the religious groups drive into the community on Sunday -- and occasionally other times -- for services or visitation. The Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church have church houses, while the United Church holds meetings in private houses. The general distribution of religious organization in the other settlements is probably more decidedly Roman Catholic.

It seems quite clear that the religious life of the community is not of central importance for a majority. Perhaps two examples will illustrate this. One conversation was overheard concerning a religious service on the previous

Sunday. It was said that the (Roman Catholic) Father had come into town, rung the bells in the Church, but no one had come, so he left. On another occasion, I asked about the baptizing of the baby. The lady told me that she was going to have the baby baptized in one faith, but when the time came for the event, a representative of another faith was in town so she had him baptized into that faith.

Recreational Activities

Recreational activities play a larger part in the life of the village. The main ones are dancing, bingo, card playing and baseball. Dances are held about ten times a year in the village and there is light attendance. The music alternates between the "jigging" type music and the modern pop music. Several local fellows bought electric guitars several years ago and started their own band. In Lac La Biche, they won a local talent contest and were eligible for the finals in Edmonton. On the way to the contest, the car they were driving broke down and they were unable to compete. This group provides the pop music for the dances.

More exciting to people is bingo. Local bingo games are held periodically during the year, and often weekly during the summer. The proceeds from the weekly games go to different causes. These are: the baseball team, the Metis Association and the Roman Catholic Church. A good indication of community support for these organizations can be seen from the bingo attendance. During our stay, the first was quite successful and the other two -- especially the Metis Association -- were very lightly attended. Games are also held about twice a month in Lac La Biche and some people go, hoping to win big money. One man told us he goes to Edmonton once a year or so for the big bingo games. He hopes to win several thousand dollars so he can pay for some cattle and equipment.

Card playing is one of the most significant forms of recreation for the people. A game called "50 points" is played. This is a form of rummy. Small amounts are bet for a game which lasts two or three hands. There are rumors that much money can change hands during the games. Usually 25 cents is bet on a game. There are generally three major families that hold the

games -- each with regular attendants. It should be pointed out that only insiders at Kikino play and this is an interesting form of redistribution of income among the residents.

The most important form of social organization for the community is the Kikino baseball team. This is the only one of the four settlements included in this study which has a team. Several families tend to dominate the team, but it is the primary recreational activity engaged in by the adult males. In terms of social organization, baseball clearly serves as a main concern and it highly motivates them socially. There seems to be a direct relation between community status and membership on the baseball team. It will be suggested in the section on "Relations with the Larger World" that this plays an important role in the relations between the people and other towns. Perhaps one indication of the importance of this is the fact that for important tournaments, the ball team regularly hires as players several to play for it. Hiring outsiders is not unusual -- every team in the area does this. What is important is that the players use their own baseball fund money to invest. To my knowledge, this is not done for any other event. We have only hinted at the importance of the team for the village. It remains, later, to suggest why this is so -- as an almost ritualistic enactment of the relations between Metis and White in which Metis has a chance of scoring and winning.

The Colony as a Form of Social Organization

This section will discuss various aspects of the colony, beginning with the history of the Metis Betterment Act, location of various Alberta colonies, and legal and administrative bases for the colony. Social organization from three points of view will be discussed -- from the point of view of the local supervisor, of the Metis Branch and of the local Board. A brief discussion of Metis on and off the colony will follow.

The History of the Metis Betterment Act

The Metis Betterment Act was the culmination of some 70 years of unsettled relations between the Metis (the common term was "half-breed") and the provincial and federal governments. The major highlights of these years of development need to be mentioned.

In contrast to policy with the Indian, governmental policy regarding the Metis was developed only in response to special situations which demanded decisions.

The Dominion Lands Act of 1883 made provisions for the satisfaction of claims by Metis to the extinguishing of any Indian title in return for scrip which would be redeemable in land. Specifically, this provision allowed for scrip redeemable in land to be issued to heads of families who were residing in the Northwest Territories prior to July 15, 1870. These requirements were widened several times, thus increasing the number of Metis who could claim scrip.

The report of the provincial "Half-Breed Commission"[1] gives the result of this method of apportionment:

> The story of this scrip and its final outcome is still vivid in living memory. The precautions of Parliament were easily circumvented and the scrip passed readily and cheaply into the hands of speculators. The resultant advantages to the half-breeds were negligible.[2]

From that time, then, the Metis had no claim to land, were unable to own it, and at the time of the Commission in 1935, privation among Metis in Canada was apparently severe.

Since complete records of this Commission were not available at the time of writing, little can be said concerning the exact events which brought it about. It can be suggested that the hardships of the Depression were in part responsible.

The Commission made enquiries into health, education and general conditions among the half-breeds. Meetings were held in various parts of the province, and briefs were submitted from various groups. Some 1,100 questionnaires were collected from Metis families. Table 2 gives a brief summary of some data concerning the Metis at that time.

The recommendations of this Commission were influenced by the fact that the economic resources of the country were at a low ebb during the Depression.

CHAPTER IV TABLE 2

RECAPITULATION FROM QUESTIONNAIRE FOR "HALF-BREEDS", JULY 4, 1935

Number of Half-breeds Married	689
Number of Half-breeds Single	312
Number of Half-breeds Widowed	75
Number of Half-breeds not giving above information	13
Total number of Half-breeds	1,087
Number of children	2,577
TOTAL	3,964

Source: "Half-breed Commission, 1935", Volume IV, unnumbered page.

> All we can hope is to submit a relatively inexpensive scheme which would be capable of expansion in better times if time and experience should show such expansion to be desirable.[3]

> The reason claimed for this effort was that the leaders of the Metis Association very frankly based the claim of the Metis to special consideration on the admitted fact that the half-breed is constitutionally unable to compete with the white man in the race of modern life.[4]

The Commission decided that "some form of farm colonies is the most effective and, ultimately, the cheapest method of dealing with the problem."[5] It should be noted that this is in direct opposition to a general observation about the Metis which had previously been assumed:

> ...the scrip issue reveals that the great majority of half-breeds have not the so-called 'land hunger' and are not desirous of becoming land owners or of settling down on land permanently and exclusively as farmers or stock-growers. This important fact must, we think, always be kept in mind in dealing with measures for assisting the half-breed.[6]

That privation was great among the half-breeds was not questioned. It was, rather, a matter of what to do about it. The solution, necessitated in part by a Depression, involved a provincial program which ran counter to what the Commission had assumed to be a basic trait of the half-breed.

It was in this context that the Metis Betterment Act and the program of settlements and colonies was born.

These points were elaborated upon and made quite explicit in a recent interview we held with Mr. James Harvie, former Deputy Minister of the Department of Lands and Forests. Mr. Harvie was responsible for the organization of the department and was Deputy Minister until his retirement in 1952. He made the suggestion in 1933 that a Half-Breed Commission be formed and he was the person in direct contact with Mr. Dion, the most active Metis organizer of that time. Mr. Harvie indicates that the concern over the Metis at that time can be related to three major factors: first, the efforts by Mr. J. Dion, a teacher near Saddle Lake, on behalf of the Metis; second, this was a time of Depression and any problems became especially severe then; and, finally, Mr. Harvie suggested that part of the "trouble" came when the Bureau of Indian Affairs started pushing half-breeds off the reserve. Mr. Harvie says he was aware of the situation, having worked in Ottawa, and that one federal official made a trip to Alberta and found some half-breeds living on reserves and getting treaty money. It was rumored that this became the object of one federal official's personal ambition and the results were the expulsion or threat of expulsion of Metis from the reserves. With this, the half-breeds became concerned and Mr. Dion with them.

Mr. Harvie had several meetings with Metis in the northern part of the province, but found that they didn't know what they wanted: "They wanted something for nothing, but they didn't know what they wanted." Because of the inability to come to any conclusion, Mr. Harvie finally suggested a Commission to explore the problem. In 1933, the Legislature appointed a Commission for that purpose.

Mr. Harvie confirmed that the Commission's suggestions were considered as temporary palliatives during a Depression and certainly not considered as a final solution to the problem. He suggested further that in dealing with Indians and Metis, the federal government looked only to the present and not to the future. It was as though they thought the Indians were going to die off or disappear. Mr. Harvie pointed out that by giving people land scrip, they were dealing with the present people, but not with their sons, daughters or grandchildren. In all, then, he feels that the concern for the Metis as embodied in the Metis Betterment Act reflected a temporary measure.

Present Metis Colonies

Five areas are now set aside as Metis settlement areas in Alberta. Within these five areas are eight colonies. In Table 3 is found the name of each colony, and the population of each colony by preschool, school, adult, and total population.

CHAPTER IV TABLE 3

POPULATION OF METIS COLONIES AND SETTLEMENT AREAS, BY AGE GROUPS FOR 1966

Colony	Preschool	School	Adult	Total
Paddle Prairie	80	116	162	358
Big Prairie	71	100	102	273
Giff Lake	106	79	132	317
E. Prairie	42	55	132	156
Kikino	121	135	129	385
Caslan	80	70	125	275
Fishing Lake	51	89	162	302
Elizabeth	47	94	92	233
Total	598	738	963	2,399

Source: Metis Rehabilitation Branch, 1966

Legal and Administrative Bases for the Colony

The existence and administration of the Metis Settlement Associations, or Colonies, is based on legislation known as the "Metis Betterment Act".[7] This Act was sub-titled: "An Act respecting the Metis Population of the Province". It should more accurately be called, "An Act respecting a portion of the Metis Population of the Province", for only a minority of Metis people in the province actually live on colonies. Essentially, the Act does four things: It provides (1) the terms for formation of a settlement association; (2) for possible inclusion of these rules under the Improvement Districts Act; (3) the form and terms of administration of the areas; and (4) for possible inclusion of the areas as Game Preserves.

The regulations which spell out the terms of (1) and (3) above are known as Alberta Regulation 110/60 (OC 466/60) and this document was filed April 7, 1960. These regulations are concerned with nine areas: (1) the allotment of land to settlers; (2) the constitutions of the settlement associations; (3) administration of the funds of settlement associations (better known as The Metis Fund); (4) taxation of residents and non-residents of the colonies; (5) fishing; (6) trapping-hunting; (7) timber; (8) grazing leases; and (9) animals running at large.

The administrative design is simple. Each Colony has a resident Supervisor of the Metis Branch whose office is in Edmonton. It also has a Council or Local Board which consists of the Supervisor and four residents. Two are chosen by the Metis Branch and two by the residents. Four different roles have thus been created, and there are relationships between each of the occupants of these four positions: Supervisor, Metis Branch; Supervisor, local colony; Council, local colony; and residents of the local colony. The relationships which result from the contact between each of these four positions can be described as reciprocal. That is, the relationship between the people and the Supervisor of the local colony can be considered from the perspective of each party. Examining these relationships reciprocally enables one to see more clearly the social organization which exists on the colonies.

This social organization can be briefly described. Total control over those matters of importance is held by the Supervisor of the Metis Branch, or may be delegated to the Supervisor of the local colony. The Council tends to deal with matters which are of minor importance. If the people want or need anything, they go to the man who handles the daily administration -- the local colony Supervisor. They have almost no power and must abide by his decision. To this statement there is one slight exception and a qualification. If the clamor of complaints against a supervisor becomes extremely strong, there is a possibility that he may be shifted to another colony. The qualification should be made clear: this statement is based on our experience at the Kikino Colony and on discussions with both Supervisors on the local and Metis Branch levels.

A few sections from The Metis Betterment Act[9] serve to illustrate the nature of the role of the Supervisors -- representatives of the larger society as it has been defined legally and administratively.

Three important observations should be noted about this Act and the regulations which put it into effect. First, the Supervisor can have a large amount of power over a colony -- either directly or by delegation. Another way of saying this is that the larger society has tremendous control through its representatives. That the goal of the administrator's effort is for the "benefit of members," implicitly assumes that the members have given up their right or power to act in their own interests. The only part the members play in this scheme is in the Board. But, the Board can be vetoed by the Supervisor of the Metis Branch. Its chairman is the local colony Supervisor, an employee of the Metis Branch, who is subject to the demands of his employer. Further, the local Board consists of five members -- the local Supervisor, two members appointed by the Branch Supervisor and two members elected by the people of the colony. Such an organizational structure is not to be criticized automatically, but it is worth noting that the potential of total control is the dominant theme built into the structure of this Act.

> Section 6. The Lieutenant Governor in Council may
>
> (a) by order set aside out of any unoccupied public lands as defined in "The Public Lands Act" areas that are deemed suitable for the settlement of members of settlement associations and withdraw such areas from disposal under "The Public Lands Act," and
>
> (b) make such areas available for occupation by members of Metis settlement associations
>
> until such time as the Lieutenant Governor in Council is satisfied for any reason that the areas so set aside and withdrawn from disposal are unsuitable or are not required for the settlement of members of any settlement association.
>
> (R.S.A. 1942. c. 329. s. 6: 1952. c. 54. s. 3)

> Section 7. (j) make regulations as to a matter or thing not hereinbefore specifically mentioned that has for its purpose the advancement and betterment of
>
> (i) a settlement association,
>
> (ii) any of the members of a settlement association,

(iii) the administration of the affairs of a settlement association, or

(iv) any land allocated to a settlement association, and

(k) prescribe penalties for the breach of regulations made pursuant to this Act.

(R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 8)

Section 8. With the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council the Minister by order may

(a) out of any lands set aside under section 6, allocate specified lands for occupation by a settlement association and the members thereof,

(b) after allocation of any lands for occupation by a settlement association

(i) prohibit persons who are not members of the settlement association from occupying, residing, sojourning, hunting, trapping or fishing on the lands, and

(ii) prescribe the terms and conditions under which a person or class of persons are permitted to occupy, reside, sojourn, hunt, trap or fish on the lands.

Section 10. Administration for Benefit of Members

The Minister may, for the betterment of the members of a settlement association, take such measures as he deems necessary or desirable to bring about the operation of farms upon any land allocated for occupation by that settlement association, and may prescribe

(a) the manner and extent of the operations to be carried on upon the farm,

(b) the persons by whom the farm is to be managed,

(c) the persons who may be employed on the farm.

(d) the disposition to be made of any produce from the farm, and

(e) the persons to be benefited by the farm and the extent of the benefit for a person or class of persons resident upon the lands allocated for occupation by the settlement association.

(R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 10)

Section 11. The Minister may acquire by purchase or otherwise such farm machinery, farm equipment, livestock and poultry as is required for the operation of a farm of a settlement association, and may

(a) permit the use of the farm machinery, the farm equipment, the livestock and poultry upon the farm on such terms and conditions as he thinks proper, or

(b) sell the farm machinery, the farm equipment, the livestock and poultry to a settlement association or to any other persons at such price and on such terms as he considers proper.

(R.S.A. 1963, c. 329, s. 11)

Section 15. The Minister by order

(a) may reserve from any land allocated for occupation by a settlement association and in respect of which no person has an exclusive right of occupation, a specific part

(i) for the purpose that is specified in order and that, in the opinion of the Minister, is for the benefit of the settlement association, or

(ii) that, in the opinion of the Minister, is required for the administration of the affairs of the settlement association, and

(b) may permit the occupation of such specific part for such term and upon such conditions as he deems proper.

(R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 15)

Section 17. (1) If a question arises as to whether a person is or is not a Metis for the purpose of this Act, the question shall be referred to the Minister, who after making such inquiry into the circumstances as he deems proper shall decide whether the person is or is not a Metis.

(2) The decision of the Minister is conclusive and there is no appeal therefrom.

(R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 17)

Section 22. (1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any other Act, the Lieutenant Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Minister of Lands and Forests and of the Minister may at any time set aside as reserved areas for the rehabilitation of game, fish and fur-bearing animals

(a) any or a part of any lands set aside for occupation by a settlement association, and

(b) any unoccupied public lands as defined in "The Public Lands Act",

including therein all road allowances bounded on both sides by such lands.

A second point should be made concerning the Metis Betterment Act. It attempts to convert unused lands from The Public Lands Act for the settlement by Metis and at the same time extends the jurisdiction of both The Improvement Districts Act and The Game Act to these areas. The implications

are again clear and some contradictions become apparent. First of all, the Metis are not being "given" -- if that word is appropriate -- the best land. The land at Kikino is probably typical: the land is very difficult to farm, the timber is gone, and it is good only for pasture. This has been reported earlier in the description of the soil of the areas. The contradictions in the regulations as well as the Act appear when one stops to consider that these lands -- upon which the people are trying to make a living -- could be made into a game preserve and any rights the people have to hunt, trap or fish could be eliminated.

A third and most important point concerns the discrepancy between what many Metis think their rights are and what their rights really are, as set forth in the Act. It is possible that much of this is due to the interpretation of a local leader who is active in Metis association affairs. But responsibiiity for this is really of little moment, for the people have come to share much of this view because their own experience on the colony. The importance of this latter factor should be noted.

Three areas of discrepancy between the Metis Betterment Act and the opinions of the people with regard to their rights and situation will be discussed. The discussion is based on case reports and frequent discussion of the topic with Kikino residents.

The Metis people at Kikino feel that their claim to the land is based on a lease granted by the provincial government, which extends "ninety-nine years from tomorrow". That means that the lease never runs out because tomorrow never comes. The people do not know that this land can be transferred to a different status by the declaration of the Lieutenant Governor in Council. They apparently want to believe that there is something which offers a little security in life.

A second belief is that in the future the Local Supervisor will be eliminated and autonomy will be granted to the colony. This is probably much less widely held, but it is thought that the people have certain autonomy already over the Local Supervisor. Perhaps if enough clamor is raised, this may affect the tenure of the Supervisor in a local area. But

the interesting fact is that this belief can continue in light of the daily control the local Supervisor has over the people. This will be discussed more thoroughly in a coming section, "The Supervisor and the People." This belief seems overwhelmingly Utopian.

A final belief concerns the "Metis Trust Fund" -- a seemingly mythical entity which is often invoked to explain where money goes or why the price of something is so high. To the people of Kikino, this may be a deposit toward the future -- a sign of success in the white man's terms -- but it has never been seen and that it has become the residue of much of their present frustration (i.e. frustration over high prices in the Kikino store) makes it a highly ambivalent symbol. The fact of the matter is that the leaders do not know how much is in the Fund and are trying to find out.

The essential point here, then, is to illustrate the discrepancy between the actual status of the Metis and their believed status in regard to three significant matters: their right to the land; their autonomy of their settlement; and their financial state. These are not minor matters. The discrepancies point out the state of communication between the four social positions involved. It has also been pointed out that the structure of the Metis Betterment Act seems to reflect the attitudes of the larger society toward this minority group that in being granted certain areas to settle (and rather poor ones, in general), they must submit to the administration of this land from the perspective of the larger society. The right to withdraw these rights is also maintained. Perhaps a more accurate and less overt way of stating this attitude may be: that the Metis have asked for this because they do not know how to live in the modern world and we have to run this for them.

We will now turn to the major relationships between these positions and people and examine the nature of these relationships.

Each of the four social positions involves relationships with the other three. The present discussion will concentrate on those three which have been imposed upon the settlement as a result of the legal and administrative design of the Metis Betterment Act. We will turn first to the local Super-

visor, who is the key to the operation of the colony; then to the administrative section of the Metis Branch; and, finally, to the local Board of the colony.

Social Organization of the Colony and the Position of Local Supervisor

The Supervisor on the colony is a good example of the classical "man-in-the-middle." Hundreds of studies have been made of the modern foreman in industry who takes policy and is responsible for getting it accomplished. Such is the task of the local Supervisor on the colony. He takes a "program" which consists of accomplishing certain things on the colony and attempts to bring that program to fruition.

In Kikino, this program consists of the following: (1) getting people to cut timber for houses which will be built by local men; (2) supervising the construction of those homes; (3) coordinating and encouraging use of the one village tractor to get gardens planted for about 60 families; (4) coordinating, breaking and clearing colony land -- this involves the supervision of men who are picking rocks and roots; (5) coordinating and supervising the planting and harvesting of the colony hay meadows from which feed for the colony herd is obtained; (6) handling the administration of necessary paperwork, such as wages and informing the Welfare Department of those men who are working so that their social assistance will be modified accordingly; (7) keeping the people happy -- that is, doing things which improve relations and keep people functioning in the system. This list is certainly not exhaustive, but it illustrates, perhaps, the wide range of activities which the Supervisor must perform.

The present role of the local Supervisor -- regardless of who he happens to be -- has been defined, in one sense, by history and tradition. The local Supervisor is the one who most often initiates action -- "gets things moving". If we discuss this relationship between the local Supervisor and the people in dominance-submission terms, the former is clearly dominant, the latter submissive. It is first important to note that this has been defined traditionally and historically as well as in policy.

Secondly, this dominance is built into the legal-administrative design of the colony, as was mentioned before. It is the Metis Branch or the local

Supervisor who is delegated large influence over the daily events in the lives of the people. It is the local Supervisor, under the auspices of the Metis Branch, who has a "program" which he is trying to achieve. The reasons for this are clear: first, these representatives of the larger society are employed to admirister "for the benefit" of the Metis; second, the way in which this can be demonstrated is by having successful programs; and third, the Supervisors and Administrators are, to different extents, concerned about the welfare and future of the Metis people and see the programs as the embodiment of this concern.

The point is, then, that the local Supervisors are somewhat aggressive in their attempts to get things done. Often this domination is modified and justified by what is commonly known as paternalism. For example, one official dealing with Metis said: "These boys are a lot like children -- you have to stay with them and keep after them to get anything done." Another aspect of this paternalism seems to be that in exchange for co-operation in getting men to do adequate work picking rocks, etc., the Supervisor occasionally does minor favors where possible. These are things such as an occasional ride into town, filling in a form, etc.

The responses of the local people to the local Supervisor can be seen both as part of a traditional response to the White man and as a relevant response to the current, paternalistic situation.

Let us take for example the local situation at Kikino as it appeared to us often during May and June of 1966. This is a crucial period of the year and if the programs of the Metis Branch are to be successful, there is certain work which must be done. Part of this includes clearing some land for the raising of grain and hay for the government herd of cattle. If this grain is raised, it will be fed to the cattle and there will be no need to buy hay in times of shortage. From this effort will come in time a larger herd which will eventually be farmed out to the people. For years, people have been hearing of splitting the government herd, but it has never yet been done. (Apparently 32 cattle will be farmed out to four families.) Culturally there is some basis for this same dominance-submission dimension to pervade the relationship. The cultural background of the White, as it

may be related to the Protestant Ethic, certainly implies an aggressiveness and competitiveness. On the other hand, the possible values which may remain as Cree values would be less activist. On yet another level, the socio-psychological, there is justification for the same dimension to permeate these relationships. The Supervisor is motivated to have a "successful program" on the colony. In this situation, the Metis is little motivated. In the first place, the work is laborious and offers little prestige to him. In the second place, any personal advantage which may accrue from this work is so distant as to be unreal. In the third place, the money he is receiving is about $1.00 per hour. If the man works three weeks for 40 hours, he will receive about the same as he would receive if he were still on social assistance. It seems logical that he would not be motivated to do work which is hard, displeasing and basically irrelevant to his current hopes, for the same amount that he would get were he not doing the work. So, in the fourth place, his motivation becomes forced. All of this means, then, that the Supervisor must become aggressive in finding men to do this work. He spends no little effort in this task. This does not apply to all men -- perhaps to only one fourth of those in the village. The Supervisor therefore is in a situation which calls for aggression: traditionally, culturally, social-psychologically and situationally -- that is the required type of action.

The Metis, on the other hand, is on the submissive side of the role: culturally, traditionally, social-psychologically, and in terms of the situation. What is the response of the Metis? We wish to suggest four possible reactions of the Metis to this active-aggressive role played by the Supervisor:

1. Evasion. This involves leaving when the Supervisor comes, by feigning sickness, leaving the area, or stalling. This type of behavior is familiar enough and needs not be documented. It happens everywhere.

2. Rejection. This involves rejection of the appeals which the Supervisor makes as a demand upon the person. The people who use this mechanism use as an excuse the demand of their own work, their own cattle, their own land. The desire to become self-sufficient, then, can help serve

as a barrier to the demands of the Supervisor. But ultimately the success of this mechanism depends upon the Supervisor; if he thinks the man is working hard, he allows him to continue on social assistance. This usually involves the hard workers putting in a couple of good days anyway for the Supervisor. In the end, both mechanisms result into the third and most frequent response --

3. Submission. This means accepting the demands of the Supervisor. One works for him and "his" project. There is no direct reward or value in what one is doing. One variation of this theme is that of submission which is later evaded. This is the concept of the "self-defense mechanism" which has been suggested by Shimpo and Williamson in their study of the Salteaux of Eastern Saskatchewan.[8] The concept helps one understand the prevalence of ingratiation in a face-to-face situation which is later not fulfilled. Shimpo and Williamson see this as highly functional in the short-run situation, but dysfunctional in the long-run. One might expect that from this, certain counter-expectations might arise.

4. Exploitation. This is the response which usually follows the forced submission in this situation. In essence, the power of dominance is accepted, but other demands are then made upon this power in such a way that it will be of some benefit to the resident. For example, one Supervisor told us of a man who, on Christmas Day, drove his sick aunt to the Supervisor's house so they could ask the Supervisor to drive the lady into town to see a doctor. The Supervisor couldn't understand why this was done. We are suggesting here that attempts at exploitation of the Supervisor such as this are a direct result of the power and dominance of the position of the local Supervisor who may use it to achieve results which seem irrelevant to the resident.

The significance in these patterns within the relationships between Supervisor and resident is that they tend to be cyclical. Regardless of the response of the resident, there is justification for the continued efforts of the Supervisor. If the resident evades, the Supervisor is motivated to put more pressure on him, or more pressure on others to get the job done. Evasion simply justifies the Supervisor's claim that one has to become ag-

gressive. If the resident rejects the claims of the Supervisor, he does so on grounds which the Supervisor can define as a different kind of success of the colony which he runs. Nevertheless, he can use this as a counterclaim to get some work out of the resident. In addition, if exemption is made, this puts more pressure on him to get work from those "others" who are not trying to become self-sufficient. This tends to increase his aggressiveness toward these others.

To the extent that people eventually submit, the Supervisor sees this as justifying his approach. The only possibility that this would not be reinforced is that if the resident's response to submission was enough to make the Supervisor feel or see his aggressiveness as having some difficult responses. Direct hostility or "telling off" the Supervisor is rare because of the power differential built into this relationship and the possible devastating consequences which could occur. We see exploitation of the Supervisor as (1) an expression of frustration or histility at having to submit to work for which one is clearly not motivated to do; (2) an internalized -- almost nonconscious -- reaction to the power discrepancy in the role. But the exploitation of the Supervisor tends only to emphasize the dependence of the resident on the Supervisor. This, in turn, reinforces the view of the Supervisor that the residents are unlike most adults -- more like children -- and must be constantly nagged and chased.

The point is, then, that the response which consists of exploitation is a way of "revenging" or adjusting to the forced submission, but the Supervisor sees this only as a justification for the continuation of his aggressive strategy toward the residents.

In effect, the consequences of the social organization which has been imposed upon the Metis colony are most intensely seen in the role relationships between the local Supervisor and various residents. This relationship can be described along a power dimension as dominant (aggressive)-submissive. Such a description is supported by the fact that traditionally, culturally, social-psychologically and situationally, each of the actors is "pushed into" one way of acting, with the action leading to a further continuation and motivation for such action. Everything the Supervisor has been "taught";

everything which frustrates him; and everything which "succeeds" tends to increase his use of this aggressive technique in his relationship with the residents. Everything the resident has seen of the White man -- his share of power in the situation, and the possible channels for direct expression of frustration in the situation -- points to his use of exploitation as a way of responding to the situation.

This relationship is a key to the operation of the colony as a form of social organization and its effect on the settlement. Administrators from the Metis Branch are former Supervisors. Members of the Board are men chosen either by the Supervisor or elected by the people; thus, they tend to support, rather than to attempt change of the existing structure.

Social Organization of the Colony and the Position of Administrative Supervisors.

This discussion will attempt to focus on the major types of social relations of the aforementioned positions as they are seen from the perspective of the administration of the Metis Branch. The discussion will centre (1) on the background of the administrators; (2) on the various demands made upon the Branch; (3) on how these two factors are reflected in policy, publications and views of the administrators; and (4) on the most crucial aspect: the channels of contact between administrators and people, and the apparent attitudes of the people on the colony toward the Metis Branch.

(1) As in many civil service positions, men who stay and succeed in a section rise to the higher offices of that section. Both top administrators in the Metis Branch have had long experience in Metis colony affairs and have worked as local Supervisors in more than one colony. They bring to their positions a "feel" for their jobs which -- as one should expect -- is based on their service on the local colony.

(2) The responsibilities of administration are felt (probably as demands) from at least four directions: (a) the Department of Public Welfare, in terms of smooth administration and budget requirements which they must meet; (b) the general public, again in terms of smooth administration -- "trouble" on the colony would be interpreted "badly" by the

general public; (c) the local Supervisor, in terms of local autonomy to carry out his program, yet support of it; and (d) the residents of the colony, to guarantee beneficial administration and provide at times an "outlet" of direct expression concerning administration on the colony. How they balance the varied and, at times stringent demands can be seen in their policy, their personal views which affect the interpretation of policy, and publications of the Branch itself.

(3) The way in which the administrators approach the job before them can be described in terms of three factors: (a) in terms of the past or traditional policies and attitudes as reflected in earlier policy statements and the views of predecessors; (b) in terms of their own experiences as local Supervisors and their attitudes which result; and (c) in terms of the demands for performance, control of resources and other requirements from a higher administrative level.

(a) The historical report of the Half-Breed Commission of 1936 which forms the basis for the present Metis Settlement and Betterment Act has been discussed. Of course, the attitudes and policy directives toward the establishment of this Act is reflected in that Commission. On the other hand, more specific policy statements have been made. From this statement one may expect that the guidelines for administration have been laid. An analysis is worthwhile to indicate one strong source of influence on the approach of administrators. The "Plan for Settlement of Half-Breeds in a Colony" is found in the Half-Breed Commission report. It is undated and unsigned, but was apparently issued around 1936.

An analysis of the suggested view of and approach to Metis in this situation tells much of how administrators were apparently encouraged to approach their problem. This report concurs with the report that although past experience has shown that the "half-breed" is not possessed by "land hunger", still "some form of farm colonies is the most effective and, ultimately, the cheapest method of dealing with the problem."[9] (underlining supplied)

In the section, "Outline of Plan," in the Commission Report, it is suggested that it is "absolutely imperative that the man in charge (of the colony) be most familiar with the nature and disposition of the half-breed -- for the problem is just as much psychological as economic."[10] We see here the picture of the Metis as those in charge of the administration of the colonies see him. It is best to quote freely to give their picture:

> ...they are not as nonchalant as might appear.[11]
>
> ...they are clever in general and kind-hearted.[11]
>
> If the man in charge succeeded...in giving them the love of their new home and village, the impression of at last '<u>paddling their own canoe</u>'...he could gradually raise them...(emphasis added)[11]
>
> They give a bad first impression, but they are not wicked.[12]
>
> ...they could be assimilated (<u>sic</u>) to certain grown up boys.[12]
>
> ...they are incapable of keeping up to a long arduous toil.[12]
>
> The white boy will mature in course of time, but the half-breed will not. He will remain a good big child with the qualities and deficiencies of that age.[12]
>
> They cannot be educated as a white man is: an appeal to their good sense would produce no result; but, should you appeal to their feeling, to their love, you could obtain much. The men are as sensitive as their wives are.[12]
>
> ...they want...to be persuaded as boys do.[13]
>
> This would be relatively easy, since they love amusements, dances, games and sports. An easy method would be to assemble them as often as necessary, and between their dances or games to give them short but lively talks on the points most wanting. In this way, subjects as these could be treated: the good points of their new state of life, the wonderful new chances of success afforded to their good will, the laws of hygiene and the changes of certain of their practices, farming techniques, handicrafts, etc. ...Once they get accustomed to these courses, they should easily be influenced.[12]
>
> ...the half-breed would be expected to work at the development of the property belonging to the whole colony under the supervision of the government staff.[14]

This, then, gives us one approach suggested by policy as an approach to the Metis. In summary, it is: treat him like a boy, but get him to produce like a man. Naturally, this is only one of several factors influencing policy toward the Metis. But is has been shown beyond a doubt, we think, that the historical approach to the Metis has been that of an assumed parental care.

(b) A second factor in the policy or approach of administrators can be found in their own experiences as local Supervisors. This role has already been discussed. From that experience, the local Supervisor brings a well-defined view of the resident which is the result of the difficulty in trying to get a program which will succeed on the colony.

Our interviews with those who administer the Metis Branch pointed out the complexity of the problems they face; the frustration they have experienced in trying to administer on the local colony; and the attitudes with which they approach problems on the higher level. Over and over again, we were told of the frustrations and difficulties involved in their work. Of this we have little doubt. We also were told about their approach to problems and how they see the Metis.

The essential problem of the Metis, as they see it, is joining the White society -- "crossing the river":

> They don't like to cross the river and leave everything behind. They like to bring so much with them. If they move into White society, they must leave everything behind. (Whites) look to the future, not to the past.

The goal of the Metis Betterment Act is to help bring this about. Yet, often, the Metis reject our efforts.

> They use this (what the white man has done to the Indian) to make us feel guilty of what has been done to their race as a whole. This is their angle of approaching it. They say they have never been given a chance...
>
> This isn't assistance, this is part of the payoff. They (think they) have a mortgage on Canada.

In our conversations, the Metis were described as:

> ...like children
> ...can't stay mad at them
> ...can't hold grudge
> ...quite emotional
> ...no conception of time
> ...impulsive
> ...very forgiving
> ...values entirely different from our own. They have no inkling about money matters. <u>They think that the government digs money out of the ground</u>. (emphasis added)
>
> They're spoiled -- how do you unspoil them?[15]

Apart from the difficult problems which still face the administration of the Metis Branch is the fact that they apparently still see the Metis in the same light as their predecessor of some thirty years. The Metis is responsible for not becoming very much like the white. Yet, he is not capable of doing this. He is still a child.

(c) A third way of looking at the perspective of the administrators of the Metis Branch is in terms of the demands for performance and control of resources by a superordinate department. In this case, the responsibility is to the Department of Public Welfare, of which the Metis Rehabilitation Branch is a part.

One crucial factor in this administration is the budget. The budget of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch was $344,386.50 in 1964-65, estimated at $353,770.00 for 1965-66, and is expected to be $409,245.00 in 1966-67. Table 4 presents an approximate description of expenditures for the year 1966-67, as estimated. It should be noted that over one-half of this amount is paid in wages or in some kind of financial assistance through the Department of Public Welfare. This is money which is primarily a short-term investment to alleviate immediate conditions.

This becomes more apparent when one examines the role of the Metis Betterment Trust Account -- better known as the Metis Fund -- in the budget of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. The Metis Betterment Trust Account itself contributes from 25 to 33 per cent of the budget upon which the Metis Rehabilitation Branch operates. Table 5 indicates the sources of income for the Fund and shows the revenue, expenditures, and balance for 1965-66. Mr. T. M. Johnston, Supervisor of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch, estimates that some one and a half million dollars has been spent yearly on the administration or support of the various colonies. For example, the Metis Fund now has a balance of only $4,924.28.

The Metis Trust Fund consists of various forms of revenue related to the colony. Clearly 27 per cent and possibly more comes from the pockets of the residents themselves. The extensive demands for the operation of a successful program require, then, that one quarter to one third of the total

CHAPTER IV TABLE 4

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES, 1966-67, METIS REHABILITATION BRANCH

CODE	DESCRIPTION	ESTIMATED AMOUNT	%
160 - 185	Automobiles and Trucks	$ 6,000	1.6
230	Burial Expenses	2,000	.5
260- 275	Contracts and Agreements	18,600	5.1
320	Fees and Commissions	35,000	9.6
335	Freight, Express, Cartage	2,000	.5
350	Furnishings and Equipment	6,000	1.6
365	Grants	100,000	27.4
435	Insurance Premiums	1,500	.4
480	Maintenance in Homes	18,000	5.1
495 - 605	Material and Supplies	11,000	3.0
610 - 650	Materials Construction	40,000	10.9
740	Postage	500	.1
780	Private Equipment	5,000	1.3
795	Repair of Equipment	2,000	.5
800	Repair of Office Machines	100	.02*
825	Telephone and Telegraph	300	.06*
835	Transportation	2,000	1.6
860 - 915	Travelling Expenses	11,000	3.0
960 - 975	Utilities	3,500	1.0
980	Wages	100,000	27.4
Total		$364,500	100.6**
Appropriation 1964-65 (less salaries)		305,650	
Increase		$ 58,850	
Per cent increase		19.67	

* less than .1%
** due to rounding

budget of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch comes from the money accrued as revenue from the land itself. All of the money earned as revenue from these sources has gone into the support of the colonies, and if next year is any indication, about 15 per cent of this will be invested -- the rest will be spent on short-term maintenance. The exception to this is the money paid for clearing land by hand and picking and pulling rocks. The Metis Fund itself exists almost only as a supplement to the budget of the Branch -- a far cry from what the people think it is gong for. To the people of Kikino, the Metis Trust Fund is some amount of money which stands as security. In reality, it is only a supplement to a budget.

The balance of the Metis Betterment Trust Account has apparently diminished significantly over the years, but how much is difficult to know.

CHAPTER IV TABLE 5

METIS TRUST FUND

CLASSIFIED STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR THE PERIOD APRIL 1, 1965 TO MARCH 31, 1966

1.	Timber and Pulp Dues	$33,706.70
2.	Sale of Livestock	3,767.68
3.	Farm Sales	845.44
4.	Store and Lumber Revenue	24,013.83
5.	Post and Pole Sales	1,761.15
6.	Annual Levy	3,594.85
7.	Housing Refunds and Rentals	1,937.70
8.	Sale of Firewood	2,088.75
9.	Oil and Surface Lease	2,154.00
10.	Miscellaneous	25,708.70
TOTAL REVENUE FOR PERIOD		$99,578.80

RECAPITULATION FOR PERIOD:

Balance as at April 1, 1965	$ 14,515.33
Period Revenue	99,578.80
Period Expenditures	109,169.85
Balance March 31, 1966	$ 4,924.28

Mr. Johnston of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch says that figures on the balance of that Fund since its inception are not available.

The finances of the colonies force changes in programs and vice versa. For example, for the year 1966-67, no money will be invested in the purchase of cattle. This is surprising since the Annual Report of the Branch states that:

> Cattle is the main source of income for settlers at Kikino, Fishing Lake and Elizabeth. Government herds on these areas and on Caslan have been started and are increasing each year and are a continuing source of employment to the settlers. With some help from the government...plans are being made to help others who show prospects of becoming capable of raising stock.[16]

Mr. Johnston said that no more money would be spent because not enough feed is being grown, and extra cattle would require the purchase of feed during the winter. In addition, the likelihood of raising additional feed in the near future seems slight. Thus, financial and budgetary demands in various ways shape and force the shaping of programs which are essential to different communities.

In all, we have suggested that the traditional policy of the Department, the attitudes and experiences of the administrators, and the demands of budgetary consideration play a large part in determining the role of the administrator toward the colony. This role may be summarized as one which sees the Metis as a child, primarily as a result of tremendous frustration and difficult successes at a heavy cost experienced by the colony Supervisor. In addition, the demands of financial stability and the occasional unpredictability of crops and weather and the difficulty of achieving successful programs contribute to the difficulty in planning.

(4) The next topic -- the reciprocal aspect to those just discussed -- involves the channels of contact between the residents and the administrators at Metis Rehabilitation Branch offices. The people of the settlements or colonies see the Edmonton office as a "court of last appeal" and tend to use it to go over the head of the Supervisor. For example, one family we knew made several trips to Edmonton -- according to reports -- when one valuable house in the village became vacant. They were attempting to get this house and felt that it was important to "go to the top" in order to get results. Another family had a newly-constructed house which had no walls between the rooms -- only the studs were there. They also had no flooring. After appeal to the local Supervisor, they wrote the Minister of Health. Eventually, they obtained some plywood to finish off their house.

Although the people tend to see Edmonton as a place for appeal -- if things are bad enough and if they have the wherewithal to appeal, they also see the Edmonton office as often unrelated to their problems. We ran into this very frequently. One resident said: "I'm glad you came out here to see how we live, but nothin's gonna happen." Another said: "The more

people they get in the office in Edmonton, the worse things get out here." This reflects a general skepticism about all governmental or official programs and officers. If somebody is concerned about them, it's for political motives. Several suggested that the only reason the provincial government was sponsoring the research here reported was because there will be an election next year. Few expect that anything is going to change out there and they see this as directly related to the attitudes of local, provincial and federal authorities. One man said: "If they wanted to do something about roads or housing, or wells out here, they could."

In summary, there appears to be a mutual mistrust which may merge into scepticism between the residents and administration. The former are skeptical of the motives and the actions of "the government". The latter see the residents as children. This relation becomes intensified in the relationship on the local level between the local Supervisor and the residents. As he attempts to encourage, exhort and, in the last event, force residents to bring about a successful program, their submission probably leads to intensified attempts at exploitation of his power for their personal interests.

Social Organization of Colony and the Local Board

In this chapter, we have thus far discussed the colony as a form of social organization in the following terms: the historical aspects to the Metis settlement of colony areas; the present situation in terms of population, etc.; the administrative and legal bases for the social organization of the colony; the social organization of the colony as reflected in the relationship of the local Supervisor and the residents; and the social organization of the colony from the perspective of the administrators in the Metis Rehabilitation office in Edmonton.

We turn now to the social organization of the colony as it can be seen from the perspective of the local Board or Councillors. The present discussion is based on the observation and participation in the life of the colony for some ten weeks during the summer of 1966. During this period, we knew of only two meetings. The first was the general public meeting which an-

nounced our coming for the summer and invited discussion of the matter. A second public meeting was held on June 13, 1966. The local Supervisor was not present. The discussion at the meeting was on two topics: the problem of children who had been breaking lights and windows with sling-shots, and how to control the children; and cars which were driving faster than the speed limit in the village. These were clearly "internal" matters and had nothing to do with relations between the residents and the Metis Branch. The Board appears to have been making few decisions of consequence. People never talked of the Board or of anything it had done, would do or should do.

If some of the cattle are distributed to people in the settlement this year, it will be the responsibility of the local Board to decide who gets the cattle. This will be an occasion for strong feelings and will involve a struggle for these assets.

At this point, we wish to suggest the following as a contributing factor in the minor role the local Board will probably play in the future of Kikino. First, from our observations, the Board has been given two kinds of decisions: either irrelevant ones or controversial ones. Second, there does not appear to be a history of the Board's having to make decisions and having developed experience in listening to people, participating in common affairs, rewarding them, and making decisions which involve discipline. For the most part, any rewards come from the Supervisor; this helps him maintain his autonomy and the autonomy of his program. Disciplinary actions and the rejection of appeals are usually the responsibility of outside officials who have the authority which the Council might have. Often one just doesn't get answers to appeals which, of course, means "no". Thus the local Board has not acquired experience -- as individuals or as an organization -- in actively participating in the social intercourse of the community. The fact that it is given controversial decisions to make, however, tends to undermine what little authority it may have. It does not have the power to reward. One supposes that the reason it has not been given more important decisions is because "it can't take the responsibility". The point we wish to make is that responsibility must be cultivated, and there have been few efforts to this end at Kikino. The role of the local Board, as we observed it during our brief residence in Kikino, is best described as passive. We

think the members would like to get more experience and be more active. We think the Supervisor would like to trust them, but so much is at stake. "Leadership" from this perspective is especially weak.

The Metis on and off the Colony

Having discussed the social organization of the colony, it follows that some effects of living on a colony as opposed to living off of it should be considered. The first point to be noted is that mobility from the colony to one of the other three settlements visited is almost non-existent; that is, if people move away from the colony, they do not stay in the area. Likewise, if people move on to the colony, they move in from outside the local area. Patterns of mobility will be considered more explicitly in another section, but this specific pattern should be mentioned in the present discussion. The immediate concern is with differences between the colony and the non-colony residents.

We asked people in each settlement where life was better: on the colony or off the colony. Table 6 presents their answers to this question. Those who lived on the colony were convinced that it was better on the colony than off. Those who lived off the colony in Mission District or Owl River were strongly convinced life was better off the colony. Those living in town were rather evenly divided about the matter.

CHAPTER IV TABLE 6

RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION, "WHERE IS LIFE BETTER...", BY SETTLEMENT

	Better on Colony		Better off Colony		Other		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	28	87.5	4	12.5	0	0.0	32
Lac La Biche	9	40.9	11	50.0	2	9.1	22
Mission	2	11.8	14	82.4	1	5.9	17
Owl River	2	13.3	13	86.7	0	0.0	15
TOTAL	41	47.7	42	48.8	3	3.5	86

The people living off the colony often thought that the colony was too far from town and from work. Those who lived on the colony tended to value the security that it offered. Often the fact of this security was evident. For example, significantly more people living off the colony may pay no taxes -- but those who did pay taxes tended to pay much more than if they were on the colony. There, the annual levy runs $10.00 for lots and $10.00 for additional quarter sections of land. Likewise, on the colony, two thirds of the people had permanent claims to their houses, while 56.1 per cent who lived off the colony could make the same claim. In addition, those who didn't own their houses in the colony were paying significantly less in rent or payments than those who lived off the colony. It will be remembered, however, that their homes were inferior according to the Edwards' scores.

A significantly higher number and percentage of colony residents thought the country was better to grow old in than the town or the city. The off-colony residents tended to favor the town, but 43.8 per cent felt the country would be better. It appears, then, that the colony -- apart from being rural -- offers more security in the form of housing and in later life than off the colony. This is why colony residents favor it. The recent trend of building new houses for colony residents has increased the attractiveness of the colony to some residents of all the settlements. In spite of this, however, many mentioned that the distance of the colony from Lac La Biche and the jobs and conveniences which it affords make the colony disadvantageous.

Perhaps the lure of security of the colony can be understood when the extent of disability in the family is seen. There is a significant difference in the occurrence of family disability between on-colony and off-colony residents. It has been shown previously that the percentage of families with disabilities on-colony is 64.3 per cent, while the same figure for off-colony families is 20.8 per cent. The high discrepancy -- which is highly statistically significant -- suggests that security is related to the presence of disability which would make this a more important factor in the family's choice of a place to live. If this is so, it may point also to the fact that these feel the burden of disability -- financially and otherwise -- is too difficult to bear without the additional aid the colony situation affords.

Summary

In summary of this lengthy discussion of the Metis settlement or colony as a form of social organization, we have dealt with a special form of organization which tends to be total or all-encompassing with regard to the Metis way of life. This discussion was felt as necessary for several reasons. First, it includes a special population of Metis whose life situation is dependent upon a political creation of the larger society. A second reason was that much of our time during the summer was spent living on the colony and this provided a special occasion for observation. Finally, it has offered an excellent example of the results of dominance of Metis social organization by the larger society.

It can be suggested that the nature of that contact -- although different in form -- is little different from that which other Metis in other kinds of settlements have with the larger society. As shall be suggested in a later section, "Relations with the Larger World". the beliefs and actions of the larger society and its representatives toward the Metis are hardly different whether they live on or off the colony. Perhaps the major differences between colony and off-colony residence lies in (1) proximity to town; (2) proximity to the influence on a daily basis of the white; and (3) the possible security which the colony may offer.

Generally, the situation seems to be this: (1) from the earliest relations between the government and the Metis, the former has treated the latter as a child; (2) since the organization of the Metis Settlement Association, this attitude has been expressed in terms of programs to be achieved -- most of which have assumed that the Metis must "leave everything behind" and become a White man; (3) more specifically, the Metis has been treated like a child but expected to act like a man; (4) the official social organization which intended to carry this policy out has consequences which only reinforce the probability that the Metis will act as he has been treated; (5) these policies and actions appear to directly reflect the attitudes of the Alberta society at large.

The role of the colony in the life of the Metis is significant because it helps provide answers to the question, "What should be done?" In

particular, it suggests the results of what has been done. From the perspective of this study, it appears that the view that the Metis are children has existed from the beginning of the "Half-Breed Commission", and still dominates those who deal with him. We have shown also that the Metis are under pressures to "produce", but viewpoint and pressures tend to work at cross-purposes. This is reflected, centrally, in the conflict which the local Supervisor experiences between what he is expected to accomplish and what he is often able to accomplish.

CHAPTER IV FOOTNOTES:

[1] "Half-Breed Commission Report", Department of Lands and Forests, Government of Alberta, Edmonton, 1936.

[2] Ibid., pages 2 and 3.

[3] Half-Breed Commission Report, Department of Lands and Forests, Government of Alberta, Edmonton, 1936, Vol. IV, Commissioners' Report to the Lieutenant Governor in Council, (unnumbered page).

[4] Ibid., page 4.

[5] Ibid., Vol. IV, Commissioners' Report, page 10.

[6] Ibid., page 3.

[7] RSA, 1942, C. 329, s.1.

[8] Shimpo, Mitsuru and Williamson, Robert. Sociocultural Disintegration Among the Fringe Salteaux, Saskatoon: Centre For Community Studies, 1965, pages 98 to 122.

[9] Half-Breed Commission Report, (page unnumbered).

[10] Ibid., page 4.

[11] Ibid., page 4.

[12] Ibid., page 5.

[13] Ibid., Vol. IV., Commissioners' Report to the Lieutenant Governor in Council, (unnumbered page).

[14] Ibid., page 6.

[15] Interview with the administrators of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch, August 15, 1966.

[16] Department of Public Welfare Annual Report, Government of Alberta, 1964-65, page 44.

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF METIS IN THE LAC LA BICHE AREA

One of the basic requirements for an adequate understanding of any people is their sources of livelihood and their means of subsistence. The purpose of this chapter is to present this information for the Metis people in the Lac La Biche area. The chapter is divided into four sections. We shall describe (1) the economy of Census Division 12, which comprises the larger Lac La Biche region; (2) the local economy of the Metis settlements; (3) determinants of orientations toward work and welfare; and (4) Metis consumption patterns.

The Regional Economy

The regional economy of Census Division 12 is best described in terms of the following components: agriculture, forestry, manufacturing, fishing and oil. The information available for each of these will be presented in turn. In addition, information on the labor force characteristics and the income statistics of the Census Division will be summarized. The purpose of this presentation is to describe the exploitable resources and thus the employment potential of the area in which the subjects of our study seek employment.

Agriculture

In a previous discussion on land use in the Lac La Biche area, mention was made that the farm population comprises some 39.6 per cent of the population of Census Division 12. It was also noted that 50.6 per cent of the area is improved land and that the avarage size per farm was 413 acres. Finally, it was pointed out that although the number of farms in the Census Division is decreasing, the average size per farm is increasing.

One way of understanding the role of agriculture in this region is to examine the major sources of income and how they compare with agriculture in Alberta. Table 1 presents a percentage distribution of sources of agriculture income for both Alberta and for Census Division 12. It can be seen that the region depends much less than the rest of the province for its income from cattle. On the other hand, its largest source of agricultural income is from hogs (29.6 per cent). Besides the three major sources -- hogs, wheat and cattle -- dairy products, other products and other grain contribute a total of about one fifth.

CHAPTER V TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE INCOME FROM SALE OF PRINCIPAL FARM PRODUCTS

Alberta and C. D. 12 - 1961

PRODUCT	ALBERTA	C. D. 12
Cattle	36.0	20.9
Hogs	11.2	29.6
Sheep	0.8	0.6
Poultry	3.1	3.0
Dairy Products	6.8	9.6
Wheat	22.8	22.3
Other Grain	8.9	5.6
Hay and Fodder	1.1	0.3
Root Crops	1.9	0.07
Forest Products	0.05	0.07
Other	7.4	7.8

Source: Agriculture, Census Division Number 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development. Section, Undated, 801-1, page 29.

A second and more specific index of the role of agriculture in the regional economy can be seen in Table 2. Here, the percentage distribution of farms is shown by the amount of income they derive from farm products. This is compared with similar data for the province. It can be seen that over 57 per cent of the farms in this area derive under $2,500 income annually from their products. This is comparable to the fact that 52 per cent of the farms in Alberta earn under $3,750 annually. Where 13.9 per cent of the farms in Alberta earn over $10,000 from the sale of their products, only 2.2 per cent of the farms in this region earn that amount.

A third index helps compare the amount of return per animal for both Alberta and this region. Table 3 makes such a comparison possible. If 1.00 is the average Alberta return per animal, the coefficient in the table shows the average for the region. In all animal sales, this region ranks below the provincial average for returns per animal. It is closest to the provincial average in the case of turkeys (.96) and horses (.90). On the other hand, hens, chickens and eggs yield a return which is only .27 of the provincial average. Cattle return a proportion of .47 of the provincial average.

More specifically still, the total income of farmers in this region can be analyzed in regional units. Table 4 shows these results. The average total income for farmers in this region is $3,152. Some 57.3 per cent of the farmers earn less than $3,000 annually. Approximately 33 per cent of the farmers in this region are considered "financially distressed".[1] In Improvement District 102, the area in which Lac La Biche is located, approximately 57 per cent of the farmers may be classified as financially distressed.[2]

Table 5 amplifies this data. It shows the proportion of financially distressed farmers under age 55 and over age 55. It can be seen that of those farmers who are financially distressed, 64.3 per cent are over 55 years of age and 35.7 per cent under. It is interesting to note that the proportion of financially distressed farmers on Indian reserves (which does not include our Metis population) is identical to the average for the two figures!

CHAPTER V TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF FARMS BY VALUE OF PRODUCTS SOLD

for Alberta and C. D. 12 - 1961

VALUE OF PRODUCT SOLD	ALBERTA	CENSUS DIVISION 12	
$	%	%	Number of Farms
25,000 and up	2.7	0.1	3
15,000 - 24,999	4.3	0.4	20
10,000 - 14,999	6.9	1.7	75
5,000 - 9,999	21.8	11.4	514
3,750 - 4,999	11.2	11.1	498
2,500 - 3,749	14.8	17.7	795
1,200 - 2,499	18.4	25.1	1,130
250 - 1,199	13.3	23.1	1,040
Under 250	6.3	9.1	409
Institutional farms	0.2	0.2	10

Source: Agriculture, Census Division Number 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Undated, 801-1, page 26.

One may conclude that agriculture in this region is no source of great economic opportunity. This can be seen from the low incomes earned as a whole and income gained per animal in comparison to the province. It can also be seen from the percentage of those considered financially distressed.

CHAPTER V TABLE 3

RETURNS FROM THE SALE OF LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

Alberta and C. D. 12 - 1961

(Index of income per animal in Alberta = 1.00)

	Alberta	C. D. 12
Cattle	1.00	.47
Hogs	1.00	.84
Sheep and wool	1.00	.65
Horses	1.00	.90
Hens, chickens and eggs	1.00	.27
Turkeys	1.00	.96
Other poultry	1.00	.75
Dairy products	1.00	.54

Source: Agriculture, Census Division Number 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Undated, 801-1, page 14.

The implications for our study at this point seem clear. Farming under these conditions by anyone is difficult and yields little in the area as a whole.

Forestry

The timber of the general area is in what has been classified as a "mixed wood section" by the Department of Lands and Forests. Like most of the timber covering the northern part of the province, it is:

> ...characterized by an abundance of aspen mixed in varying proportions with balsam poplar, white birch, white spruce, and balsam fir. The low areas and upper water catchments develop black spruce and tamarack under musket conditions. Jack pine and some lodgepole pine enter the mixtures along fringes and on drier till soils and mix with black spruce on the plateaux of higher hills.[3]

The Lac La Biche Forestry Division constitutes almost all of the north-east corner of Alberta north and east of Lac La Biche. This division consists of some 8,538,000 acres and is the second largest division in the province. Table 6 gives more specific details.

Several indices are available to represent the role of forestry in the region and as it compares with the rest of Alberta. First this can be seen in terms of the average volume per acre for each of the Forestry Divisions. The Lac La Biche Division is lowest in volume per acre of timber.[8]

CHAPTER V TABLE 4

TOTAL INCOME OF FARMERS BY INCOME GROUP*

C. D. 12 and Civic Districts - 1961

		Average Income	0-999	1,000-1,999	2,000-2,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	5,000-6,999	7,000-9,999	10,000+
I. D. 85	No.	1,753	4	5	4	1	1	-	-	-
	%		26.7	33.3	26.7	6.6	6.6	-	-	-
I. D. 101	No.	2,503	80	56	72	58	29	23	6	1
	%		24.6	17.2	22.1	17.9	8.9	7.1	1.8	0.4
I. D. 102	No.	2,868	128	159	141	85	39	37	18	23
	%		20.3	25.2	22.4	13.5	6.2	5.9	2.9	3.6
County 19	No.	3,492	219	220	264	217	178	160	80	35
	%		16.0	16.0	19.2	15.8	13.0	11.6	5.8	2.6
M. D. 87	No.	3,360	129	163	210	151	113	111	42	22
	%		13.7	17.3	22.3	16.1	12.0	11.8	4.5	2.3
County 13	No.	3,116	162	213	239	174	136	109	39	19
	%		14.9	19.5	21.9	16.0	12.5	10.0	3.5	1.7
Indian Reserves	No.	1,494	50	33	14	7	3	-	1	1
	%		46.0	30.3	12.8	6.4	2.7	-	0.9	0.9
C. D. 12	No.	3,152	772	849	944	693	499	440	186	101
	%		17.2	19.0	21.1	15.5	11.1	9.8	4.1	2.2

* This includes both farm and non-farm income.

Source: Agriculture, Census Division Number 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Undated, 801-1, page 30.

CHAPTER V TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF FINANCIALLY DISTRESSED FARMERS

by Civic Areas in C. D. 12 - 1961

Civic Area	Under 55	Over 55
I. D. 85	11.7	88.3
County 19	34.0	66.0
M. D. 87	41.8	58.2
I. D. 101	54.0	46.0
I. D. 102	39.1	60.9
County 13	33.9	66.1
Indian Reserves	35.7	64.3
Average for C. D. 12	35.7	64.3

Source: Agriculture, Census Division Number 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Undated, 801-1, page 22.

CHAPTER V TABLE 6

AREAS OF FORESTRY DIVISIONS BY COVER TYPES

(Thousands of Acres)

Division		Coniferous	Mixed Wood	Deciduous	Total
Lac La Biche	No.	3,728	3,188	1,622	8,538
	%	44	37	19	100
Alberta Total	No.	13,419	12,999	10,827	36,975
	%	36	35	29	100

Source: Alberta Forest Inventory, Department of Lands and Forests, Forest Surveys Branch, Edmonton, 1961, page 24.

The second index is the proportion of an area classed as containing mature timber stands. The Lac La Biche Division has the lowest percentage of its area classified as containing mature or overmature timber stands - 4 percent of any forestry division in Alberta.[9] This low timberland productivity is further reflected in the average annual production over the period from 1954 to 1959. Over this five year period, the division had the lowest volume of any division in the province. The low volume of timber production in the region is described by the following comment:

> The average volume of timber per acre in the northern divisions of Peace River and Lac La Biche is significantly lower than in

other divisions. This is not a reflection of poorer site productivity, but of frequent fires and lower average of age of trees.[10]

At present and for the recent past, the timber production has been significantly lower in this region.

Manufacturing

The present status of manufacturing in this region has been briefly described by the Department of Industry and Development in their publication, "Alberta Industry and Resources, 1964".[11] From this publication, some basic statistics concerning the area can be gathered. In 1961, the region had a total of 33 manufacturing establishments employing 111 people. The gross value of the products was listed $2,408,850. The Net value of production was $477,043. These figures compare rather unfavorably with the rest of Alberta. Only Census Division 4 and Census Division 5 had a lower net production. If a per capita comparison is made the following results can be noted:

CHAPTER V TABLE 7

NET VALUE OF MANUFACTURING PER CAPITA
FOR SELECTED CENSUS DIVISIONS

Census Division	Net Production 1961	Population	Net Production Per Capita
4	141,167	6,852	20.60
5	447,948	17,849	25.10
12	477,043	21,923	21.76

Source: Alberta Industry and Resources, 1964, Alberta Bureau of Statistics, Department of Industry and Development, Government of Alberta, 1964, page 31.

It can be seen that with the exception of Census Division 4, the effects of manufacturing in the present region -- as measured by comparing the net production with the population of the region -- are the lowest in the Province. It is clear that manufacturing is playing a minimal role in the economy of the region.

Fishing.

The fish caught in Census Division 12 constitutes about one quarter of the total amount of fish taken annually in the Province of Alberta.

Table 8 gives figures on types of fish and amount caught for selected lakes in Census Division 12 and Alberta, for 1961 - 1962. But although this area provides one quarter of the fish, the market value of the fish and income to fishermen is very much less.

CHAPTER V TABLE 8

COMMERCIAL PRODUCTION OF FISH, 1961-1962, ALBERTA AND SELECTED LAKES IN CENSUS DIVISION 12

SPECIES		ALBERTA	SELECTED LAKES IN CENSUS DIVISION 12	%
Whitefish	Lbs.	3,553,462	706,200	19.9
Trout L	Lbs.	52,435	7,145	13.3
Pike	Lbs.	904,429	256,087	28.4
Pickerel	Lbs.	822,970	141,710	17.4
Perch	Lbs.	87,545	5,068	5.7
Tullibee	Lbs.	3,358,179	1,007,844	29.8
Mixed Fish	Lbs.	484,476	154,012	31.8
Total	Lbs.	9,263,496	2,303,068	24.9
Total Value to Fisherman	$	723,111.41	154,223.18	21.3
Total Market Value	$	1,416,378.27	260,947.26	18.4

Source: Annual Report - Department of Lands and Forests, March 31, 1962.

Table 9 presents a more exact picture. It shows all the lakes in the area of our specific concern. From this it can be seen that Lac La Biche dominates the fishing activity of the area. Lac La Biche and Whitefish Lake supply well over one half of the total number of fish caught in the region. It also shows, however, that two thirds of the fish marketed are Tulibee, a fish with low market value. The return to fishermen on Tulibee is about $.045 per pound -- a rather low amount in comparison to Whitefish. Whitefish return about 17 cents per pound.*

Oil

The region under consideration includes the Athabasca Oil Sands area. Although a large proportion of the population of the region currently resides south of the location of these sands, they may gain some significant benefit in the future. At present, the effect can be seen in terms of large investments of machinery and industry in the Fort McMurray area. This is reflected in a recent increase in building permits issued for the area from 1961 to 1965.[4] The deposits contain over 700 billion barrels of oil from which some

*Telephone conversation with Fisheries Branch, Department of Lands and Forests, August 22, 1966.

CHAPTER V TABLE 9

COMMERCIAL CATCH OF FISH IN POUNDS, 1964-65, FOR SELECTED LAKES

Lake	No. of Licences	Mixed	Tullibee	Perch	Pickerel	Pike	Whitefish	Total
*Amisk Lake	19		*25,500					25,500
Beaver Lake	216	8,500			187	500	46,680	55,867
Burnt Lake	29					83,000		83,000
Chump (Johnson) Lake	5		60	30	60			150
Elinor Lake	63	2,039		3,274	6,588	435	6,215	18,551
Frenchman Lake	16			6,475		11,505	10,100	28,080
Helena Lake	88	103			287		9,500	9,890
Hope Lake	3		1,819	611	42	1,263		3,735
Iosegun Lake	66		13,425		1,020		7,500	21,945
Ironwood Lake	45	1,659		19	998		9,921	12,597
Jackson Lake	13		810		1,460			2,270
Kinnaird Lake	14		60					60
*Lac La Biche	413	147,660	*2,568,402	295,838	2,245	20,755	215,378	3,250,278
Meekwap Lake	4					2,300		2,300
North Buck Lake	48	1,280	2,006	1,283		7,150	5,355	17,074
*Pinehurst Lake	111	9,500		58	1,603	99,600	*15,000	125,761
Spencer Lake	75				1,250	250	77,000	78,500
*Square Lake	42		*42,500	2,618		18,250		63,368
Skeleton Lake	99	1,700	18,000		150	350	18,000	38,200
Tawakwato Lake	21					73,000		73,000
Touchwood Lake	permits					300	18,720	19,020
*Whitefish Lake	114	850	*174,978		3,572	350	32,042	211,792
Total	1,504	173,291	2,622,126	310,206	19,462	319,008	471,411	4,140,938
% of Total		4.41	66.97	7.91	.50	8.14	12.03	

* Indicates fish are of acceptable quality for animal food only and, subject to inspection, must not be bought or sold for human consumption.

300 billion barrels of upgrade oil can be produced. At present, however, the benefits to the large region accrue in the form of services rendered to various survey crews by motels, hotels, restaurants, etc. Clearly the oil sands development currently has little significance for the economic well-being of the people considered in this study. This picture may or may not change in the future.

The Labor Force

Labor force data for the region are presented in Table 10. Here, occupational information is given from which a comparison can be made between Census Division 12 and Alberta as a whole. The percentages of loggers, fishermen, hunters, trappers, farmers and farm workers, and service and recreational occupations in Census Division 12 should be noted. On the other hand, Census Division 12 has fewer craftsmen, managerial and professional occupations than the province as a whole.

A second indication of the labor force composition can be seen in Table 11. Here, figures are presented for Improvement District 102, for Lac La Biche and for the Metis sample which was interviewed. The first two items are based on National Employment Service data. The final is an estimate from the data collected from the four settlements visited during the summer. The information for Improvement District 102 and Lac La Biche refers to full-time employment. Since most of the Metis population in the area are not employed full time, it was thought more representative to present the figures which represented the stated occupation, even though that employment may be seasonal. The large percentage of occupations classified as construction in the Metis population data refers to the seasonal labor jobs related to construction. Because the National Employment Service data did not include a classification for laborer, those occupations have been included where appropriate. The striking differences between the occupation distributions of Improvement District 102 and the Town of Lac La Biche are of course reflective of rural-urban differences. Perhaps the most significant factor to be noticed is that the Metis population is clearly "between" the rural agricultural labor force and the urban, service and trade oriented labor force.

Income Statistics

Some information concerning the income of farmers in Census Division 12 has already been presented. It remains to suggest two indices of income for the individuals and families of this region.

CHAPTER V TABLE 10

LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER, BY OCCUPATION, CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND ALBERTA, 1961

Occupation	CENSUS DIVISION 12 Number and Percent of Persons in Labour Force by Occupation		ALBERTA Number and Percent of Persons in Labour Force by Occupation	
	No.	%	No.	%
Managerial	728	4.63	41,691	8.25
Professional and Technical	955	6.07	46,579	9.22
Clerical	489	3.11	55,317	10.95
Sales	374	2.38	31,629	6.26
Services and Recreation	2,742	17.43	59,055	11.69
Transportation and Communication	535	3.40	28,261	5.59
Farmers and Farm Workers	7,256	46.13	104,162	20.62
Loggers, Fishermen, Trappers and Hunters	356	2.26	3,009	0.59
Miners and Related Workers	18	0.11	5,291	1.05
Craftsmen Production and Related Workers	1,375	8.74	83,449	16.52
Labourers	446	2.84	19,615	3.88
Not Stated	454	2.89	27,181	5.38
Total	15,728	100.00	505,239	100.00

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics Publication - "Labour Force", Census of Canada, 1961 Bulletin 3.1 - 8, Table 15, P. 15 - 33.

Table 12 presents data on the earnings of families and heads of families for both Census Division 12 and Alberta. It can be seen that just under 50 per cent of the families in this region have an income of under $4,000, while just over 50 per cent of Alberta families have an income of under $5,000. This points out clearly the differences in family income available.

A second indication of income can be seen from individual income tax statistics found in Table 13. About three sevenths of the heads of families in Census Division 12 are in the non-taxable bracket. There is a slight trend since 1957, however, toward an increase in the percentage of people in the taxable rather than the non-taxable bracket.

The data on income in the region clearly show that income is low throughout the region.

CHAPTER V TABLE 11

LABOR FORCE DATA FOR IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT 102 AND LAC LA BICHE, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JULY, 1966

INFORMATION	I. D. 102		LAC LA BICHE		METIS POPULATION	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total Population	4,840	100.0	1,314	100.0	938	100.0
Population over 15 years	2,730	56.4	821	62.5	N/A*	N/A
Number looking for work	53	1.9	11	.1	N/A	N/A
Labor force, total	1,349	100.0	451	100.0	93	100.0
Agriculture workers	860	63.8	227	8.2	11	11.8
Non-agriculture workers	489	36.2	424	91.8	82	88.2
Paid workers, total	492	100.0	358	100.0	93	10.0
Agriculture	92	18.7	9	6.0	11	11.8
Non-agriculture	400	81.3	349	94.0	82	88.2
Persons with jobs, total	1,351	100.0	453	100.0	93	
Agriculture	860	63.8	27	6.0	11	11.8
Fish, forest, trapper and mine	100	7.4	33	7.3	17	18.3
Manufacturing	17	1.3	14	3.1	0	0.0
Construction	36	2.6	24	5.3	51	54.8
T. C. U.	118	8.7	59	13.0	1	1.1
Trade	44	3.3	85	18.8	1	1.1
Finance	1	0.	11	2.4	0	0.0
Service	127	9.4	155	34.2	9	9.7
Government	13	.9	16	3.5	3	3.2
Not stated	35	2.6	29	6.4	0	0.0

*N/A = Not available

Summary

In conclusion, a summary of the regional economy of the Lac La Biche area suggests that in almost every sector of the economic structure, this area is the lowest, or nearly the lowest, in the province. In agriculture, one third of the families are classed as financially distressed. These families get much less return for their products than the average Albertan. At present, only four per cent of the forested area is either mature or over-mature. The volume and, thus, actual production of lumber is less. Manufacturing statistics suggest that this makes a very minor contribution to this economy of the region. Fishing contributes more strongly to the regional economy, but the return to fishermen and the marketed returns are low in comparison to the other fishing areas of the province.

The location of the Athabasca oil sands in this general region may eventually have a large impact on the area, but, at present, it has not been felt. If and when the effect is felt, the southeastern segment of the region -- the most populated but most distantly removed from the sands -- may yet be

CHAPTER V TABLE 12

EARNINGS OF HEAD AND FAMILY EARNINGS, BY GROUP, CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND ALBERTA, 1961

Earnings Group	CENSUS DIVISION 12				ALBERTA			
	Number Heads of Family By Earnings Group	Per cent of Total	Number of Families By Earnings Group	Per cent of Total	Number Heads of Family By Earnings Group	Per cent of Total	Number of Families By Earnings Group	Per cent of Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under $2,000	736	20.55	630	17.69	19,844	11.23	14,238	8.16
$ 2,000 - $2,999	512	14.29	400	11.23	22,004	12.46	16,290	9.34
$ 3,000 - $3,999	785	21.92	633	17.77	42,696	24.17	31,149	17.85
$ 4,000 - $4,999	962	26.86	907	25.46	39,517	22.37	35,020	20.07
$ 5,000 - $5,999	281	7.84	405	11.37	22,306	12.63	26,606	15.25
$ 6,000 - $6,999	137	3.82	239	6.71	12,782	7.24	19,128	10.96
$ 7,000 - $9,999	147	4.10	297	8.34	12,502	7.08	24,013	13.76
$10,000 and over	21	0.58	51	1.43	4,965	2.81	8,049	4.61
Total	3,581	100.00	3,562	100.00	176,616	100.00	174,493	100.00
Average Earnings	$ 3,498	-	4,011	-	4,242	-	4,985	-
Modal Earnings	$ 4,000 - 4,999	-	4,000- 4,999	-	3,000- 3,999	-	4,000- 4,999	-
Median Earnings	$ 3,000 - 3,999	-	4,000- 4,999	-	4,000- 4,999	-	4,000- 4,999	-

* Does not include number of heads and families not stating wage and salary.

Source: DBS Publication - Households and Families
Census of Canada, 1961 Bulletin 2.1 - 10, Table 84 P. 84 -12.

CHAPTER V TABLE 13

INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX STATISTICS - CENSUS DIVISION 12
1957 - 1960

Taxation Year	TAXABLE Number of Returns	Wages and Salaries	Total Income	Tax Payable	NON-TAXABLE Number of Returns	Wages and Salaries	Total Income
	No.				No.		
1957	3,462	8,186	10,313	675	3,400	2,236	4,238
1958	3,360	9,209	11,574	741	3,220	2,049	4,032
1959	3,612	9,505	12,091	890	3,480	2,414	4,182
1960	3,947	11,571	13,548	1,071	3,040	2,250	4,023

Source: DBS Publication - Taxation Statistics - 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962.

little affected. Labor force and income statistics suggest that this region offers a larger percentage of the rural, unskilled jobs than the rest of Alberta. They also suggest that the income in the region is considerably lower than that of the province as a whole.

The Local Economy

This section attempts to describe the economic situation of the Lac La Biche area Metis in more detail. It will include a brief description of the area and a coverage of the sources of income.

Description of the Area

The location of the settlement plays a strong determinative role in the types of work available and thus the opportunities for the people who live there. For example, Kikino, some 30 miles south of Lac La Biche, is an area in which there is little availability of laboring jobs and some cattle farming is being attempted. Lac La Biche, on the other hand, offers occupational possibilities in seasonal labor or services. In Mission District, fishing and laboring are most frequent. Finally, in Owl River, fishing, trapping and laborer positions are held by the population. Table 14 presents these data more explicitly. It should be pointed out that in Kikino and Mission, between one fourth and one third of the men who are heads of families are either disabled or approaching pension status. The proportions were much lower in samples from Lac La Biche and Owl River. Perhaps this reflects a tendency on the part of the elderly to stay in rural areas and not come into the urban areas.

CHAPTER V TABLE 14

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF METIS HEADS OF FAMILIES, BY SETTLEMENT

	Disabled		Pensioner		Agriculture		Fishing		Trapping		Laborer		(Services) Other		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	4	10.5	6	15.8	11	28.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	17	44.8	0	0.0	38
Lac La Biche	2	4.8	3	7.1	0	0.0	1	2.4	0	0.0	24	57.1	12	28.6	42
Mission	3	15.8	3	15.8	0	0.0	7	36.8	0	0.0	4	21.1	2	10.5	19
Owl River	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.7	8	53.3	6	40.0	0	0.0	15
Total	9	7.9	12	10.5	11	0.0	9	7.9	8	7.0	51	44.4	14	12.3	114

Since almost all men have seasonal jobs, classification of men in terms of a single occupation category is misleading. For example, a man in Owl River may fish in the summer, trap in the winter, and occasionally fight forest fires. This makes any generalization difficult. But, taking as many of these different patterns into account as possible, we may generalize about the occupational structures of the settlements in the following manner. The people in Kikino work primarily on road construction, for the local Metis colony, or toward raising a herd of cattle. Those in Lac La Biche work on road construction in the summer; and in Mission the men divide their time between fishing and laboring for wages. In Owl River, the people are fishers and trappers, but are involved in occasional laboring jobs as well. This adequately describes the major occupational activities of the men in these settlements.

Sources of Income.

If one turns from occupation to sources of income, there are three major sources of income for the Metis in the study area: earned income; transfer payments; and supplemental income. We will discuss each in turn.

Earned Income

Figures for the amount of earned income are extremely difficult to obtain. Some of the reasons for this difficulty should be presented. In the first place, almost all men have seasonal jobs, not steady ones. This means that they have several employers and no single measure will give us the amount they earned. Second, they often work for persons rather than for commercial firms and records, if any, are highly unreliable. A third factor is that it is difficult for anyone to remember the exact amount he has earned -- especially if he has many jobs instead of a steady one. Because of these and other factors, only rough estimates of earned income can be made here. The estimate is based on what records are available.

The only indication of amount of annual earned income is a figure compiled by the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. During the past year, $5,160.49 was earned by the men of Kikino in labor. This figure has not been broken down, so its significance is hard to judge. Perhaps it will assume more significance in light of the other sources of income the village receives.

Transfer Payments

Data were obtained on transfer payments as a source of income for the settlements investigated for the year 1965-66. These data are presented in Table 15*. The average per capita figure for all four areas was $225 per year. It can be seen that the per capita amount received was higher for our Lac La Biche sample, followed by Kikino, Owl River and Mission District.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the proportion of Metis income which is contributed by transfer payments as opposed to that proportion which is earned. If one compares the total transfer payments received in Kikino with the amount earned in labor, from the Metis Branch, the proportion of transfer payments to total income can be estimated. Even with corrections for other sources of income, it can be suggested that transfer payments account for over 75 per cent of the total income of Kikino families. It should be noted that since figures on Old Age Assistance and Disability were not available, that proportion will probably be even higher than the present estimate. We assume that the proportion in the other three settlements will be somewhat lower due to the increased opportunities for jobs.

To the extent that income is primarily from Social Allowance vouchers and is deemed exchangeable in materials and supplies rather than cash, the capital available to the residents will be extremely low. We discuss this further in the section on consumption patterns and the availability of capital.

Supplementary Income

In addition to earned income and transfer payments, one can contribute to one's own support by growing or acquiring for oneself certain goods and products. This is what we have called supplementary income. In the Metis population we visited, supplementary income takes these major forms: supplying one's own wood for heat; raising a garden for food; fishing, hunting or trapping for meat and/or income; and finally, gathering berries or other edibles which may or may not be canned.

Table 16 presents the results for each settlement concerning the number of supplementary sources of income. It should be pointed out that a low number of responses from Lac La Biche has affected our results and we could guess that

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* Figures on Old Age Assistance and Disability were not received.

CHAPTER V TABLE 15

AMOUNT OF TRANSFER PAYMENTS,
PER SETTLEMENT FOR THE PERIOD 1965-66
WITH PER CAPITA AVERAGE

	Social Assistance		Social Allowance		(Est.) Family Allowance		Total		(Est.) Population	Per Capita
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Kikino	40,960	41.5	33,010	33.4	24,576	24.9	98,546	100.0	428	$230
Lac La Biche	26,500	36.1	28,610	39.0	18,144	24.7	73,254	100.0	291	$252
Mission	8,100	42.3	5,100	26.1	6,048	31.5	19,148	100.0	110	$174
Owl River	10,400	51.0	4,100	20.1	5,856	28.7	20,356	100.0	109	$187
TOTAL	85,960		70,720		54,624		211,304		938	$225

CHAPTER V TABLE 16

NUMBER OF SUPPLEMENTS TO INCOME, BY SETTLEMENT

	None		One		Two		Three		Four		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kikino	6	13.3	7	15.6	8	17.8	15	33.3	9	20.0	45	100.0
Lac La Biche	0	0.0	5	62.5	2	25.0	1	12.5	0	0.0	8	100.0
Mission	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	18.8	4	25.0	9	56.3	16	100.0
Owl River	0	0.0	9	0.0	0	0.0	4	26.7	11	73.3	15	100.0
TOTAL	6	7.1	12	14.3	13	15.5	24	28.6	29	34.5	84	

there would be a much lower number of supplements to income there. The table shows a higher number of supplements to income in Owl River and Mission, of course, because these are, respectively, trapping and fishing areas.

It is clear that as the Metis engage more in laboring jobs, their efforts will less and less often be a source of supplement to their incomes. They will be more completely dependent upon their wages. This helps to explain the apparent increase in dependence of Metis as they move into the urban fringes.

One example helps to illustrate the way in which one's occupation can provide additional supplements to one's income. Fishermen on the lake often catch black ducks in their nets. The ducks get caught in the nets and drown. It is not uncommon for quite a few ducks to be drowned and so, when the fishermen come in, they have some duck as a "fringe benefit" (black duck should not be considered extravagant). Often, when there are many ducks -- a dozen or so -- they are passed along to neighbors.

In conclusion, it can be pointed out that a large number of the Metis rely upon some supplement to their meagre incomes. The differences in the extent to which this is true reflects both the place of residence and the type of occupation. Occupations like fishing or trapping provide supplements in themselves and are thus an "efficient" means of providing when the particular occupation may be insufficient by itself. On the other hand, when people transfer to occupations which do not carry any added benefits, they are dependent upon the occupation itself to make up for the lost supplements. Insofar as these jobs are seasonal or pay little, the dependence of the occupant may actually be increased.

Determinants of Orientations Toward Work and Welfare

The previous sections have generally described the regional and local economic stituation which the Metis of this area encounter. This section will discuss the attitudes and orientations of the Metis toward their livelihood. This section will proceed from a discussion of other external or environmental factors which face the Metis to a discussion of internal or personal factors which they bring to the situation, and culminate in a discussion of various orientations to work and welfare.

Table 17 lists the major determinants suggested for the present

orientations of Metis toward work and welfare. Each will be discussed in turn.

CHAPTER V TABLE 17

MAJOR DETERMINANTS IN ORIENTATIONS TOWARD WORK

External

1. The regional economy and geography.
2. Social ceilings on opportunities.
3. A sub-environment which modifies the larger environment (i.e. a Metis colony or "squatters land").

Internal

1. Perception of the external situation.
2. Accommodation to the external situation.
3. Aspirations for self.
4. Preferences toward occupations.
5. Amount of education or training.
6. Personal reaction to the experience of discrimination.

External Determinants of Orientations Toward Work and Welfare

The Regional Economy and Geography. Both previous sections in this chapter should be considered a presentation of external factors in Metis orientations toward work and welfare. Little needs be repeated, except to point out that these and other external determinants should be seen as setting limits to the orientations suggested.

Social Ceilings on Opportunities. A second factor which influences the way in which men respond toward work concerns the possible "control" over employment opportunities influence others have over the positions to which they are admitted. To the extent that this control is not based on qualification for the task at hand, a "ceiling" on the achievement of a person exists. This "ceiling", then, has resulting effects on attitudes toward work and those who are not affected by it.

We asked men about their experiences with discrimination in applying for jobs. Table 18 presents the results. Over two thirds (68.1 per cent) said this had never happened to them or to others they know. It should be also noted however, that there seemed to be some effort on the part of respondents to avoid controversial or painful questions like this. Often, one would ask

the question and receive the normal "no" answer. Then, after another hour of discussion and interviewing, a story of refusal might come out. Several times the respondent said, "Let's go back to that thing we were talking about a while ago" -- and proceeded to discuss a situation in which he felt he had experienced discrimination. The establishment of rapport was difficult, time-consuming and uncertain. It seemed clear that the interviewer was being "tested" on these controversial matters. If a non-judgmental attitude was communicated to the respondent, there was a likelihood that the interview would proceed in a different direction toward a more frank discussion of things. Often however, it was difficult to clearly communicate. If one recalls the rumors that circulated concerning we Whites who were living in the village -- that we were here to take babies, or here to sterilize the men -- perhaps the reasons for difficulty in communication can be seen. The point has been reintroduced at this point, because it seems to have a bearing on controversial matters: one would expect a very high response of "no discrimination" on this question. That one third said they had experienced discrimination should be interpreted in this light. The fact that this proportion of the sample reported having experienced discrimination indicates that there is, to some extent, a "ceiling" or a perceived ceiling on occupationsl achievement.

CHAPTER V TABLE 18

RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION,
"HAVE YOU EVER BEEN TURNED DOWN FOR A JOB BECAUSE YOU WERE METIS?"

	YES				NO		TOTAL
	Happened to Him		Happened to others				
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	1	4.8	12	57.1	8	38.1	21
Lac La Biche	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	100.0	14
Mission	2	16.7	0	0.0	10	83.3	12
TOTAL	3	6.4	12	25.5	32	68.1	47

The Settlement Association as a Base for Operation. A third factor determining the orientation of Metis may be seen in the case of the Metis Settlement Association upon which Metis can settle and stake a claim for ownership to land and a house as well as a minimal means of subsistence. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Settlement Association, or colony, provides some security which mediates the transactions between its residents and the larger society. Some, as we shall see, use the colony as a total haven from the larger society. Others take advantage of the security offered in terms of housing, but prefer to seek occasional or seasonal jobs in the larger society. In either case, the fact of the colony acts, we suspect, as a determining factor in the orientations of its residents.

Summary of External Factors Affecting Metis Attitudes Toward Work. Perhaps at this point a summary of the external factors which affect the perspective toward work for the Metis may be made. In the first place, an examination of the economic status of this region shows that it does not yield an abundant return to any of its occupants. Approximately one third of the farmers are considered financially distressed. The return on animals raised is quite a bit less in this region than in the province as a whole. Forestry and fishing yield low returns for the effort expended.

In the second place, the extent of personal capital is quite low for most of the Metis. Their sources of income are primarily transfer payments -- much of which is in the form of merchandise rather than cash. This and related credit restrictions place a low ceiling on possible capital expenditure as a means to higher income.

In the third place, and as will be further discussed later, there is some discrimination against the Metis in this area. This places a certain ceiling on his possible achievements.

Fourth, the Metis settlement area can be seen as a mediating sub-environment within the larger environment. To a certain extent it modifies some of the effects of the larger region by supplying some land, cheaper housing and minimal work opportunities. The Metis tend to perceive this environment in terms of these factors. That is, they tend to accept the minimal housing, the minimal production, the additional supplementary income as requisites of the region. The fact that most of them with average families of six could live on less than $200 a month seems to support this fact. Further, that the region is currently being affected by changes in the structure of the larger economy

seems to be acknowledged by the Metis. They see that economic development of the area is continuing. However, few see this as involving new job opportunities for themselves.

This, we are suggesting, constitutes an essential overview of the external environment in which the Metis live. This is eesential to an understanding of their attitudes toward work and welfare.

Internal Determinants of Metis Attitudes Toward Work

A second factor of importance in finding the attitudes of Metis toward work and welfare is the internal determinants; that is, their own personal preferences and the experiences which seem to dominate their view of things. Several indicators of these preferences were investigated.

First, two personal indicators will be discussed. After that, we will proceed to several indicators of personal preferences and aspirations. To repeat, we are concerned with the external world as the Metis describe it and then their own personal views as they describe them.

We asked the men about the current job situation. That is, we asked, "Are jobs easier to find now than they were five years ago?" Table 19 presents the responses to the question. It is clear that they see the situation as improved in comparison to five years ago. While 56 per cent answered "yes", only 26 per cent said "no". Three subjects answered, "Yes, for some; but no for others." When they were asked to elaborate they said that if you had an education it was easier now to get jobs. If, on the other hand, you were unskilled, it was harder to get jobs. One man went on to point out that a "Traditional" job for Metis -- root picking and rock picking -- is apparently threatened by the invention of a machine that picks rocks and roots from fields being broken. To what extent it is true that this work is less available is difficult to judge. Published data show that the number of farmers in the region is decreasing while the acreage is increasing. This reflects a possible extension of farm equipment that coincides with the increased displacement of the small farmer. If it is true that the person with a high school education has increased opportunity, but that the unskilled, uneducated man has less, then the future is not bright for the Metis of Lac La Biche.

CHAPTER V TABLE 19

RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION,
"ARE JOBS EASIER TO FIND NOW THAN FIVE YEARS AGO?"
FOR THREE SETTLEMENTS

	YES		NO		YES FOR SOME NO FOR OTHERS		OTHER		TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	12	57.1	6	28.6	2	9.5	1	4.8	21
Lac La Biche	7	46.7	3	20.0	1	6.7	4	26.7	15
Mission	9	64.3	4	28.6	0	0.0	1	7.1	14
TOTAL	28	56.0	13	26.0	3	6.0	6	12.0	50

A second indication of the demands of the area upon the individual is found in data on estimates of the minimum income required per family. We asked people how much they could get by on for a month if they really had to. Table 20 shows their answers. Ninety per cent said they could get by on less than $300 a month if they really had to. Just over half (50.9 per cent) said that they could get by on between $100 and $200 per month if necessary. This, of course, assumes that their present living status is unchanged and they would continue to supplement their income. It has been pointed out in the discussion of housing that many live in cabins or shacks on land guaranteed by "squatters rights". This inexpensive housing appears to have been a major factor in making subsistence at such a level possible. It should be recalled that the average size of these families is 6.2 persons. Finally it should be remarked that these figures refer to short-term rather than long-term living expenses. That is, these are the amounts per month they say they could get by on "in a pinch".

We were concerned with finding out what aspects of an occupation were important to Metis men as an index of their personal feelings toward work. We asked them first whether they preferred steady work or seasonal work. Over 90 per cent favored having a steady to a seasonal job. In fact, where seasonal jobs were preferred, it was because by having a seasonal job they could possibly make a higher income than if they had a steady one all year.

A second occupational preference question was about the desirability of outdoor versus indoor work. Here, 96.1 per cent favored outdoor work to indoor work. The almost constant accompanying remark was that outdoor work

provided "fresh air" which was good for one's health.

CHAPTER V TABLE 20

RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION,
"WHAT IS THE MINIMUM MONTHLY INCOME REQUIRED FOR YOUR FAMILY?"
BY SETTLEMENT

	$0-$99		$100-$199		$200-$299		$300+		TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Kikino	5	15.1	19	57.5	4	12.1	5	15.2	33
Lac La Biche	4	10.0	22	55.0	11	27.5	3	7.5	40
Mission	4	22.3	5	27.8	6	33.3	3	16.7	18
Owl River	7	46.7	8	53.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	15
TOTAL	20	18.9	54	50.9	21	19.8	11	10.4	106

A third occupational preference question was about which aspect of a job is most important: the amount of pay, the type of work, the people one worked with, or the prestige of the job. Table 21 presents the rather interesting results. As a whole, the men felt that the amount of pay was the most important factor in a job. Of the total, 56.8 per cent felt that pay was most important; 38.6 per cent felt that the type of work was most important. It should be noted that no respondent replied that he felt the prestige of the job is the most significant factor in job selection.

CHAPTER V TABLE 21

MALE RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION,
"WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT ABOUT A JOB.....?"
FOR THREE SETTLEMENTS

	AMOUNT PAY		PEOPLE WORK WITH		TYPE OF WORK		PRESTIGE OF JOB	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kikino	9	56.3	2	12.5	5	31.3	0	0.0
Lac La Biche	13	92.9	0	0.0	1	7.1	0	0.0
Mission	3	21.4	0	0.0	11	78.6	0	0.0
TOTAL	25	56.8	2	4.5	17	38.6	0	0.0

There is a statistically significant difference in answers to this question between settlements. The more urban population felt very strongly that the amount of pay was the most important aspect of a job, in contrast to the two more rural areas. It should be recalled that a larger proportion of Metis men in Kikino are involved in jobs as laborers; that in Mission, the proportion in fishing is larger than the agricultural segment of Kikino. To this extent, then, the people of Mission may tend to see more value in the kind of work as opposed to an emphasis on wages which may follow wage work. This would also be supported by previous evidence that some kinds of rural work act as a supplementary source of income and are valuable in that regard.

Another indicator of personal factors related to work and welfare is the amount of education of the man. It is obvious that this will be a very important factor in determining the kind of skills he has and the opportunities that may or may not be open to him. Table 22 shows the educational experience of the men in our sample. Of these men, 95 per cent have less than Grade 9 education and 46.4 per cent have no education at all. The educational basis for their occupational careers is immediately seen.

CHAPTER V TABLE 22

EDUCATION OF MALES IN METIS POPULATION, BY SETTLEMENT

GRADES COMPLETED

		No Education	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	Completed High School	Total
Kikino	No.	9	4	4	10	10	0	0	0	37
	%	24.4	10.8	10.8	27.0	27.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Lac La Biche	No.	16	1	2	3	4	4	0	0	30
	%	53.4	3.2	6.7	10.0	13.3	13.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mission	No.	11	5	1	1	0	0	0	1	19
	%	57.8	26.3	5.3	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	100.0
Owl River	No.	11	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	15
	%	73.3	0.0	13.3	6.7	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
TOTAL	No.	47	10	9	15	15	4	0	1	101
	%	46.4	9.9	8.9	14.9	14.9	4.0	0.0	1.0	100.0

In addition to occupational preference indicators, we inquired about aspirations the men had for themselves and for their sons. Table 23 gives, first, the aspirations the men hold for themselves. Four categories of aspiration were used: rural seasonal work; rural steady work; blue collar work; and white collar work. In line with the pattern of preference for steady

to seasonal jobs, the data in the table show that no man aspired to rural seasonal work. The largest part (55.1 per cent) preferred blue collar jobs. The remainder was split evenly between rural steady and white collar jobs. The men from Lac La Biche unanimously aspired to blue collar jobs -- especially mechanical jobs. Kikino men, who are involved a little more in labor than those in Mission, aspired more often to white collar jobs. In Mission, rural steady and blue collar jobs were aspired to.

CHAPTER V TABLE 23

JOB ASPIRATIONS OF MALES, BY SETTLEMENT

	Rural Seasonal		Rural Steady		Blue Collar		White Collar		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	0	0.0	5	22.7	7	31.8	10	45.4	22	100.0
LAC LA BICHE	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	100.0	0	0.0	13	100.0
MISSION	0	0.0	6	42.9	7	50.0	1	7.1	14	100.0
TOTAL	0	0.0	11	22.4	27	55.2	11	22.4	49	100.0

Aspirations the men held for their sons are presented in Table 24. In all settlements, the men tended to have much higher aspirations for their sons than for themselves. For the men themselves, aspirations are evenly distributed with the majority aspiring to blue collar jobs. For their sons, these men slightly favor white collar jobs. Clearly the men of these settlements do not see their jobs -- to the extent that they have seasonal jobs -- as something toward which one should aspire. They hold aspirations for their sons which are much higher than their own jobs and their self aspirations. There is more aspiration toward white collar (office) work in the more rural areas, where little is known of these jobs. In the town, such aspirations are almost non-existent, perhaps realistically so.

CHAPTER V TABLE 24

ASPIRATIONS MEN HOLD FOR THEIR SONS, BY SETTLEMENT

	Rural Seasonal		Rural Steady		Blue Collar		White Collar		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	0	0.0	6	30.0	1	5.0	13	65.0	20	100.00
LAC LA BICHE	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	92.3	1	7.7	13	100.00
MISSION	0	0.0	3	25.0	4	33.3	5	41.7	12	100.0
Total	0	0.0	9	20.0	17	37.8	19	42.2	45	100.0

In discussing personal factors related to work and welfare, we have described personal preferences toward occupations and the nature of the aspirations men hold for both themselves and their sons.

One final factor to be considered is the possible reaction to internalization of discrimination experienced in the larger society. It seems plausible to suggest that to the extent one is considered "different" or "inferior" by the larger society, he may come to believe it and act upon that belief. This is almost impossible to either confirm or deny from formal interview data such as most of this chapter is based on. There is a much better possibility of examining this problem through informal interviews and participant observation during residence in a community. Our experience, based on living for two months in the Kikino colony, leads us to believe that Metis are affected to some extent and express the belief that they are "different" or "inferior".

Children express this most directly. When talking with one mother, we asked how Metis can be distinguished from Whites. The little boy popped out, "They're the dumb ones". This will be discussed more fully in the section on discrimination, but two examples will serve to illustrate what we mean.

We talked with one man who had worked in the city, in the bush around Lesser Slave Lake, and had finally decided to come to Kikino. We asked him about getting jobs. He said that it was easy to get jobs in the city if you were willing to work for less than $1.50 an hour. Since it was very difficult to live on that amount, he decided to move to Kikino where his expenses were

less. He said that there was no trouble if one applied for jobs that paid less than the above amount. But, he said, if you try to get jobs that pay more, you get too much "trouble" from the people who are hiring. Further, after awhile, it begins to be too much trouble to try to find or get some of these higher paying jobs. He said that when one's clothes are not quite good enough, one starts to feel that this job isn't for you.

Although all men in this area have not had these wide experiences and although they will not tell you this in the first interview; there may be hints, indications, and small behaviors which reflect this reaction to the situation the men face.

One boy travelled to a nearby town to get a job. When he got there, instead of daring to apply for some of the jobs he might like, he ended up applying only for a job as dishwasher. This was such a disappointment he decided to turn the job down and returned home. The point being made is not that the Metis face rebuffs which nobody else faces. Rather it is twofold: (1) they do tend to face a narrower field of opportunities than the larger population for several reasons (color, education, experience, etc.) and (2) they have less personal confidence in applying for work than do most Whites because they fear the potential rebuff they may encounter in applying for a job. The first point refers to an external situation; the second point refers to an inner or personal factor. Both, we believe, should be taken into account in understanding the attitudes of Metis toward work and welfare.

Orientations Toward Work and Welfare

This extended discussion has been an attempt to lay the background for what is to be said about Metis attitudes toward work and toward welfare. Clearly, one simply cannot say "the Metis do not like to work -- they're lazy." This discussion has sought to discover factors which influence the attitudes of Metis toward work and toward welfare.

On the basis of formal and informal interview data, we suggest that there are three major types of attitudes as they relate to work orientation among the Metis: self-sufficiency, self-support, and subsistence-welfare. These should be considered as types which set forth different orientations to work and welfare. It is likely that no person exists who completely conforms to any one category. Nevertheless, we think it is instructive to suggest an alternative to the fallacious stereotype which most Whites at present have to

the Metis. This is necessary if for no other reason than that insofar as Metis begin believing that all Metis are "lazy", "inferior", etc., the consequences are severe and the expectation may be self-fulfilling.

Further, these three types can be related to the external and internal factors previously listed in Table 17, which are determinative of behavior. We think that various combinations of these factors help one to understand each of the types more clearly. These factors are "pegs" upon which the description of the types can hang.

The Self-Sufficient Man. The self-sufficient man seeks to become independently self-sufficient through ownership of the necessary means of success. These means may vary, but a central point is that the man wishes to become an owner and minimize his dependence upon anyone else. Though the objects to be owned may vary -- a large herd of cattle, a tractor and equipment, or a school bus -- the means by which this goal is to be achieved requires hard work. Accordingly, the self-sufficient man is committed to the idea of a long, hard day's work. To a certain extent, he appears to have accepted the old rural ideal in this regard. The self-sufficient man has some experience in the school of "hard knocks", but has little formal education. His training was in the fields as a laborer for long hours when he was young. Thus, he knows most of the farmers in the area and has learned from them and made some "good deals" with them. They may admire him because he works hard and they sometimes give him a hand -- they will let him use their tractor if he will come at harvest time and work for them. In return for his time he gets a chance to make a profit for himself by using the tractor and getting his crops in. The self-sufficient is distinctly in the minority in the area we studied, but he responds to his being different and to the jibes from others with increased effort to become independent of those who chide him for his actions. His perseverance is strong and, in some sense, illusory. He attempts to do with little capital and much effort. His rate of gain is extremely slow and at times a slight upset will throw him further back. But he is intent and is going to try as many things as possible to attain his cherished goal.

The Self-Supporting Man. The self-supporting man has decided to support himself through his wages instead of attempting to own some means that will be the basis of his sufficiency. Often, he uses his present residence as a "haven" from which to operate in his job. For example, he may live on a Metis colony and drive one hundred miles to work. He leaves Monday morning early

and returns late Friday. He is not making a profit -- "getting ahead" -- but he is supporting himself. He tends to have a little more technical skill or experience or education than the self-sufficient man. His job supplies him with a little more ready cash and he is able to purchase a few things on credit if he needs them.

The self-supporting man works in the larger society. In contrast to the self-sufficient man, he seems to have substituted urban for rural goals in most cases. The self-supporting man has contact with the wider world and more often experiences both the ills and benefits that follow it. His role in the Metis community, in contrast to the self-sufficient, is probably more acceptable to the general populous.

The Subsistence-Welfare Man. The subsistence-welfare man has neither the means nor the goal orientations of the other two. In regard to the former, he rejects the idea of the self-sufficient man that hard work will bring ownership of the sources of sufficiency. He only smiles at the fellow who is working his long hours for about $1.00 an hour. Like the other, he has little training or education himself. In fact, he has usually had less rural working experience than the self-sufficient man.

He is also at odds with the goals of the other two. He does not aim to be self-sufficient. He rather suspects that being self-sufficient is impossible and, if it were possible, would hardly be worth "killing oneself" for. Even if he may like an office job, or some easier urban job, he is lacking the skills necessary with which to achieve it.

If the self-sufficient man keeps his eye on the future, the subsistence-welfare man is concerned primarily about the present. The self-supporting man lives between the two worlds: he is in the larger society from Monday to Friday and the Metis settlement on the weekend.

The subsistence-welfare type, like the self-sufficient, has retreated from the larger world and substitutes another for it.

The stances of the three on health are worth mentioning. Health to the self-sufficient character is all-important. Without his health, he has no future. He prides himself on his health, his strength and his ability to work long hours. The self-supporting, on the other hand, is less involved with his health. Sickness may mean an extra day off once in a while and is not

necessarily to be scoffed at. The subsistence-welfare type finds illness a legitimated excuse in our society. He may tend to be ill more often and, consciously, he probably tends to use it. It is instrumental much as health is instrumental to the self-sufficient type, but is used to justify dependency in order to achieve similar financial support goals.

From these brief descriptions, each based on extensive interviews with some dozen men, it is hoped the three major character types may be seen and to a degree "understood". Most of the Metis men we encountered could be described either in terms of one type, or a mixture of several.

Quite often a person seemed to stand on the threshold between two types. This was associated with a decision as to what one should do. Two examples will suffice. A man had a job with a construction company several miles away, but was living on the colony while working there. His pay was good and he enjoyed the job. He scheduled his vacation for the period when it would be time to finish his haying. Since he had some cattle, this was necessary. When he took his vacation however, there was a week of heavy rain. This meant that he was not able to do his haying during his vacation. Now the choice was before him: Should he return to his job, thus not put up hay and so risk loss or starvation of his cattle? Or, should he quit the job and put up his hay? He did the latter, thinking that the job wouldn't last much longer, but the cattle were a long-term investment. When I talked with him, he was still feeling the pain of the decision and says he is waiting for another similar and permanent situation to come. When it does, he will live on the colony and take the permanent job. He is making the transition from self-sufficiency to self-support.

Another man, whose father and several brothers live on the outskirts of the hamlet, left that area when he got married. On the outskirts, the brothers had been working together to build a herd. He left to take one of the few salaried jobs on the colony. He moved "into town" with his wife -- whose parents were responsible for the job and thought this was best. Now he has the steady income, but says he wants more than just a salary. He wants something he can call his own. He seems to be undecided about whether to attempt self-sufficiency or be self-supporting.

The Types Related to the External and Internal Determinants

It remains to relate these types of character to some of the determinants which seem important in their genesis and continuation. The self-sufficient man is subject to the regional economy and is most vulnerable to it except when he has some "sub-environment" which acts as to mediate the pressures he faces. Since he works as a laborer, his capital is nil. He exchanges his labor for use of machinery, seeking in time to build up a capital investment. By working on the colony on his own land, he avoids the pressures of the larger society.

The self-sufficient man perceives the future optimistically -- often unrealistically so. He is prepared to accommodate to the demands of the environment -- accept its rigors if necessary -- in order to profit in the future. His aspirations are other than urban. He does not aspire to the middle class. Perhaps his son will do that with education, which he is sometimes ambivalent about. If he has aspirations for his son outside the rural scene, he cannot demand that the son leave school and help him achieve his own aspirations. Such is his conflict. The present rural self-sufficient man aspires to cattle raising. In the more urban area, he might wish to become a mechanic. His education is very low in relation to his White peers. Finally, he has the strongest ego of any of the three types mentioned. This can be related to several factors. First, an early experience of a critical nature which forced him to "make a go of it". Second, there are farmers who have befriended him because they like him and use him to their advantage. But this may work to his advantage: their respect and confidence in him strongly support his self concept. Third, he is defended against any hostility or jealousy of neighbors because he keeps his eye on the future goal. His attitude toward receiving transfer payments is clear: he doesn't want to be dependent on anybody -- it "makes you feel like less than a man". But he is probably on welfare -- most Metis people in the area studied are. One third of the farmers in the entire region are financially distressed. Yet, he looks for the day when he will be on his own.

The self-supporting type attempts to escape the regional economy and may travel outside it or to a special area where jobs are located (perhaps temporarily). His wages give him a source of income and he is able to spend a little more on credit purchasing of his most important item: the car. In the larger society, the self-supporting finds that he faces possible ceilings on jobs

as well as possible discrimination. This not only limits his work to some extent, but has some personal repercussions, no doubt. Living on a colony or some type of haven keeps his expenses low enough that he can live in the area of his work and still support his family. It thus keeps him going.

His perception of the external situation will tend to reflect the larger society more than other types. More important is his probably unwillingness to accommodate himself much to the situation, as the subsistence-welfare type does. His "standards for living" increase and he needs more to live on. This is also true because his time is spent and invested in wages, not an occupation which provides supplementary income. His aspirations are probably a little more in line with the larger society. So are his preferences for jobs. He tends to have more education than either of the other two types. Finally, his reaction to discrimination is worth examining. It is commonly rumored that several men who would be what we call "self-supporting" are "drunk from the minute he gets off work Friday until Sunday night". This we suspect may be related to two factors: the increased frustration experienced in fitting into the larger society, and perhaps a little extra cash which makes acquisition of liquor possible. The self-supporting has a much less hostile attitude toward welfare. He can point to the lack of jobs and see welfare as a substitute. When on welfare he probably is forced to accept a little less income and a change in his community status.

Finally, the subsistence-welfare type avoids much of the harshness of the regional economy by two means: transfer payments and the colony. His sources of social capital are lowest of the three groups. He, like the self-sufficient type, has avoided the pressure of the larger society.

His perception of the external situation may in some ways be the most efficient. He believes that few men in our world are working as hard for what little they get as does the self-sufficient man. He sees that picking rocks for three weeks for $110 is much worse than receiving social assistance of the same amount for no work. In a sense, however, he is forced to accommodate more to the external situation. His "welfare" income forces him to. His aspirations are probably displaced toward his son who tends to accept his standards. Since he has little education or training, he is qualified only for the least skilled of work.

The stigma of being on "welfare" probably descends upon this man most

of all. In order to respond to this he probably adopts several mechanisms: (1) he points to the minimal subsistence level upon which he lives -- as if to say that one can hardly blame anyone who lives as he does; (2) he uses one of the acceptable justifications for inactivity in the larger society -- illness; or (3) he finds some means of escape from the present situation.

We are suggesting, in conclusion, that the Metis character is not singular! Attitudes toward work vary -- as people vary. We have proposed three character types of importance in the attitudes toward work which men hold only as an alternative to a fallacious stereotype often held, we believe, about the Metis. Our field work clearly showed that all three types are well represented in the Metis community. But they are only rough caricatures created by us for purpose of analysis and to combat an erroneous view.

Consumption Patterns

The consumption patterns of the people are determined by the resources of the people, their tastes, and the availability of products in the area. Since the economic factors have been covered in a previous section, more general, but applicable statements should be made about the resources of the people.

Resources Available

The first apparent factor here is the absence of financial power or a cash basis upon which to operate. There are few people with savings or ready money. This can be understood in terms of the low income. A related factor is that of credit. Many complained that they could not get credit. One man told us that he had borrowed money from a bank in Lac La Biche several years ago and had repaid his debt on time. Several years later he went in to borrow $50 for seed, but was refused a loan. A family we knew well applied for a loan from a finance company in St. Paul. The radio advertisement implies that if you're within the sound of this radio, you may be eligible. This is one of three families on a steady income in Kikino. They applied and filled out a form. The answer they got said they were "out of the district" of the loan company.

It should be noted that the legal factors involved in the status of property on a Metis colony involve these people in a situation similar to the Indian who is on a reserve. The Metis Betterment Act stipulates that there is a restriction on the property which is part of the colony that can be recovered

in case of the failure of a Metis to pay his debts. This is not limited to products which were purchased and brought upon the colony. Apparently, credit was given at one time in Lac La Biche, but this has now changed. The Metis men we talked to have difficulty in getting credit.

We asked people how much they were paying each month on credit payments. Table 25 gives the amounts of monthly payments on credit for three of the four communities visited. Over 50 per cent make payments of less than $15.00 a month. The people living in town tend to buy more on credit -- or at least pay out more per month on credit payments. In the two rural areas, the one with more income, Mission District, has a larger group of people paying a substantial amount per month on credit. These differences are statistically significant.

CHAPTER V TABLE 25

AMOUNT OF CREDIT PAYMENTS BEING MADE MONTHLY, PER FAMILY, BY SETTLEMENT

	Total	0-$14.99		$15-$29.99		$30-$49.99		$50 +	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kikino	38	23	60.6	7	18.4	5	13.2	3	7.9
Lac La Biche	37	16	43.2	4	10.8	6	16.2	11	29.7
Mission	17	10	58.8	0	0.0	1	5.9	6	35.3
TOTAL	92	49	53.3	11	12.0	12	13.0	20	21.7

We also asked them how they felt about buying on credit. The differences are shown in Table 26 and are instructive. The fact is that the more rural and less economically substantial community has much stronger negative attitudes toward credit. Over half say they would prefer to buy nothing on credit. The more urban settlement tends to have much more positive feelings toward buying on credit. Over half of the sample,though, still feel that is is better not to buy anything on credit. This contradicts a general feeling reported by several store owners that the Metis and Indians try to get everything, or as much as possible, on credit. Perhaps the people buy on credit only because they have little choice. Several mentioned that they didn't like credit because the charges end up taking all the money they had anyway. One family has a constant budget account in town. At the beginning of the school year, they spend $200 on clothing and pay it back at $20.00 a month. Two months later, it is school time again, so they start all over. Some people feel that lack of credit is a severe handicap. If they wish to buy feed, fish nets, supplies, or some immediate necessity,

they can't and they suffer for it. For most families in the sample, the only dependable source of cash is from Family Allowance payments. This is the sole source of cash income to a family living on Social Assistance. Since there are some things which are needed and which one must pay cash for, the Family Allowance goes for this. Several families mentioned that the monthly payment on a tractor, or equipment, or car is taken from Family Allowance. This is a symptom of the extent to which real income -- as opposed to Social Assistance (which is taken in terms of goods) -- is needed. It was often heard: "They give us only enough to barely live on -- not enough to get going on."

CHAPTER V TABLE 26

RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO, "WHAT WOULD YOU PREFER TO BUY ON CREDIT?" BY SETTLEMENT

	Total	Buys nothing by choice		Food and clothing		Anything	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kikino	35	26	74.3	0	0.0	9	25.7
Lac La Biche	38	13	34.2	8	21.1	17	44.7
Mission	15	7	46.7	2	13.3	6	40.0
TOTAL	88	46	52.3	10	11.4	32	36.4

A related factor here is the topic of lending. It is and has been commonly thought that Indians (and probably Metis, too) are great lenders and there is little emphasis on private property. We asked people about lending money, and Table 27 shows the results. In general, those who loaned money said they did so under specific conditions. Over one third said they never loaned money. Those who said they loaned freely were all from Kikino, a more rural and less economically stable settlement.

If a major problem facing those who desire to rise above the subsistence level is the acquisition of purchasing power, credit, and cash; then, this is in part because of a policy in regard to payment of Social Assistance. Social Assistance which the people receive apparently must be taken in goods or merchandise and is not supposed to be taken as cash. The reason for this is apparently the belief that the people would take the cash -- if they had it -- and spend it unwisely.

CHAPTER V TABLE 27

RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION, "UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS DO YOU LEND MONEY?" BY SETTLEMENT

	Total	Never		Under Specified Conditions		Casually	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kikino	22	5	22.7	13	59.1	4	18.2
Lac La Biche	14	6	42.9	8	57.1	0	0.0
Mission	13	7	53.8	6	46.2	0	0.0
TOTAL	49	18	36.7	27	55.1	4	8.2

In summary, the resources which the people have in cash is very low due to the jobs available, the seasonal nature of jobs, the credit they can get, and the policy which determines that they take Social Assistance in merchandise rather than cash. This results in a feeling that the people have and get only enough to get by on and not enough to make a start with, or to get ahead. How can a man be a successful cattle raiser if he can't get a loan for seed to grow grain with which to feed his cattle, and if he has no way of getting a tractor with which to work his land?

The Influence of Tastes on Consumption

A discussion of the "tastes" of the people we visited is most difficult. We wish to describe the patterns of buying as we saw them. This will lead, then, to the final section -- a discussion on the role of goods available to the people as a factor in their consumption patterns.

As with everything examined in this report, consumption patterns can be seen from two perspectives: that of the larger society, and that of the Metis. We turn first to the former.

How the Metis behaves as a consumer is one of the most unanimous and central points in the White's view of the Metis. "They don't know how to spend money. They have no idea about money matters." This can be documented by statements from the smallest storekeeper in Spedden, Alberta, to the administrative staff of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. In essence, everybody who comes in contact with the Metis in any financial aspect confirms this. You hear example after example. The people who say this, though, can be classed according to the type of relationship they have with the Metis in financial affairs. There are two basic types of relationship with

the Metis here. One is the "welfare" type role. These people, usually civil servants, in one way or another are assigned to "look after" the Metis. They may have grown up and have relatives in the area. As civil servants, they constitute a distinct and closely knit group in a community. If newcomers to the community, they probably accept the local sentiments and beliefs about the Metis rather routinely.

A second group of people who come into contact with the Metis in financial affairs is the businessman. These people tend unanimously to see the Metis in the same light. They, however, are less inclined to "look after" the Metis; rather, they usually benefit from the relationship. It is true that they may suffer from credit which goes unpaid. But they set a limit on credit and as long as Metis stay around, they get his business and his cheque. They will tell you time and again how childish the Metis are about spending money, how unprepared they are -- they often can't sign their names, they have no bank accounts, etc. There is a sense in which they are happy accomplices in the ambivalence of Metis tastes. If Metis do buy shrimp instead of neck bones, the storekeeper hardly stands to lose from the transaction. If they take a taxi into town and spend all their money, the "cabbie" is not the loser.

The "welfare man", as we saw him, was concerned with the way that "his" money -- the money he "gave" the Metis -- was spent. For example, there were several reports that the "welfare man" told some people he would not let them have Social Assistance if they got a car. The approach of welfare seems to be posited on a "punitive" view of Social Assistance. That is, people who are "living off" Social Assistance should not be given more than the very minimal amount. In many cases, if a man cannot handle his money, welfare may use control over Social Assistance payment to control or "punish" him. Welfare payment thus has important social control functions, as well as social assistance functions. The Metis clearly act toward welfare on these terms. If one combines the basic assumption about the Metis: "that they don't know how to spend money," with their use of "Social Assistance" as a means of social control, one can understand the logic and value of the way in which Social Assistance is expended: only on merchandise. The welfare people apparently see the Metis in this light, have a certain stance toward the nature of their role in the situation, and this policy is the result. Whether such a stance and policy is desirable is one

matter. We are not addressing ourselves primarily to that issue. Rather, we have been concerned to point out the derivation and direction of policy and the role it seems to play in these relationships.

The important thing, as we have seen it, is that the context in which the Metis comes to spend his money involves relationships of two kinds. Neither of these relationships are conducive to the education of a person on how to spend his money. Welfare, based on the assumption that the Metis does not know how to spend, and that any money he is given must be spent as Welfare dictates, pursues a policy which deprives the Metis of some cash purchasing power and of experience in spending money. Retailers, on the other hand, deal with the Metis and take an informal paternal role, but they have little to lose from his mistakes. Any "mistakes" the person may make in spending "his" money and the "punitive" nature of the Welfare almost force the Metis to turn to deceit or exploitation to justify his actions. His dependence upon transfer payments as a source of income further emphasizes his lack of experience with money. This, often then, reinforces the Welfare view that the Metis cannot spend wisely. If the Metis succeeds in getting more Social Assistance, and if Welfare finds out what has happened, the "punitive" aspect of the role is only intensified.

More important, however, the view that the Metis "cannot spend money wisely" is in our experience simply untrue. "Wisdom" in the expenditure of money is largely dependent upon the goals and situation of the spender. We disagree with the myth of "unwise expenditure" on four counts: First, wise spending is defined in terms of the formal expectations which middle-class professionals hold for others who are not middle-class professionals. Second, exception from these formal expectations is usually relaxed for those middle-class professionals who do not live up to them. Third, the use of an excessive amount of power in this relationship to attempt to control the client is in part responsible for the very behavior which is condemned as "unwise expenditure". Fourth, the extent to which this "unwise expenditure" occurs seems grossly overrated.

For example, whenever we drove into town, we carried as many passengers as the car would hold, usually four. During the summer, in this way we drove 25 or more people to town to buy groceries. This gave an excellent opportunity to see food-buying habits. On the whole, the things people bought were

part of the regular diet. They bought pork neck bones, for example, at ten pounds for $1.49, and bread, potatoes and canned milk, and in almost every sack of groceries there was one package of candy and one of cookies.

As with Whites, the people we observed did spend a certain amount on impulse buying, but this was clearly in a small portion of cases, in our experience. Children do exert much pressure on parents for money to buy candy, gum and pop, but this is related to the current family structure in the Metis families.

It was also true, though, that when the people went to a stampede or picnic they would spend money on pop, hot dogs, candy, etc. It should be remembered, though, that these are defined by the people as holidays and are times for celebration -- much as Edmonton's Klondike Days are. The money spent here is spent in a holiday spirit, and this is all of the "holiday" that people in this area enjoy from one year to another.

Finally, there were situations where one member of the family, who was usually a problem drinker, had spent an excessive amount of money. This, however, was only a very small minority of cases.

Although detailed information on purchasing habits was not gathered, it appeared to us that most of the money was spent for food and clothing and that impulsive buying involved only small amounts. Wild spending due to personal problems was most infrequent, thus our observations suggest that it is not true that Metis do not know how to spend their money. It is true that their experience in financial matters is very weak (thus they may be taken advantage of by Whites) and like many other minority and lower social status groups, impulsiveness may play a large part in the decisions of life. But it is just as true that the relationships between Metis and White do not encourage wise spending. It is also true that Whites tend to judge Metis by standards which they themselves probably do not live up to.

Availability of Goods for Purchase

The third determinant of the consumption patterns of the Metis around Lac La Biche is the availability of the products they can purchase. Three factors will be discussed: (1) the prices in the stores and how the people perceive them; (2) the choice of products and types of products available; and (3) the role of Social Assistance vouchers on the selection of items.

Table 28 shows comparative prices for selected items from Edmonton, Lac La Biche and Kikino. Our results from this sample of common products show that prices are 9.3 per cent higher in Kikino than in Lac La Biche and 3.8 per cent higher in Edmonton than in Lac La Biche.

CHAPTER V TABLE 28

COMPARATIVE PRICES FOR SELECTED ITEMS
FROM EDMONTON, LAC LA BICHE AND KIKINO

Item	Size	Edmonton	Lac La Biche	Kikino
Sugar	5 lbs.	.59	.59	.65
Lard	1 lb.	.30	.23	.30
Tea	1 lb.	1.17	1.19	1.20
Canned Meat Product	oz.	.63	.59	.60
Bread	sm. loaf	.25	.23	.23
Macaroni	5 lbs.	.79	.79	.80
Pork & Beans	14 oz.	.16	.15	.20
Canned Milk	15 oz.	.19	.19	.20
Strawberry Jam	48 oz.	1.49	1.35	1.45
Hamburger	1 lb.	.49	.55	.70
Canned Peaches	15 oz.	.29	.26	.35
Cheese Spread	1 lb.	.81	.75	.80
Salt	1 lb.	.18	.20	.25
Average for Total		7.34	7.07	7.73

The prices for selected items compared:

(1) $\frac{\text{Kikino}}{\text{Edmonton}} = +5.4\%$

(2) $\frac{\text{Kikino}}{\text{Lac La Biche}} = +9.3\%$

(3) $\frac{\text{Edmonton}}{\text{Lac La Biche}} = +3.8\%$

We asked people where the prices were higher -- in the country (like Owl River or Kikino), in the town (Lac La Biche) or in the city (Edmonton). Table 29 presents the results. The differences are instructive. The small urban settlement feels prices are higher in the town. Those who live in Kikino and Owl River feel prices are higher in their country stores. The people of Mission, who have better access to town and more income, are evenly split in their opinions of where the prices are highest. Perhaps this reflects a general feeling of the people, wherever they are, that the prices they pay are higher than those paid by others.

A second factor in the availability of products for people is the choice of the storekeeper of products to sell. When people can travel to Lac La Biche to purchase groceries, they will tend to have greater choice for selection. But if, as is the case in Kikino, they must spend their

vouchers for merchandize at the Kikino store, they are limited in their choice by the stocking choices of the local storekeeper. The severity of this problem immediately becomes apparent. In Kikino, where some 41 families receive varying amounts of Social Assistance, the vouchers for that assistance must be taken in merchandise from the Kikino store. One family has succeeded in getting vouchers redeemable at a store in Lac La Biche. Families dependent upon the Kikino store for their goods are forced to select from what is available. Over two thirds of Kikino families, to some extent, must rely on the store for their food.

CHAPTER V TABLE 29

RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION, "WHERE ARE PRICES HIGHER?" BY SETTLEMENT

	Edmonton		Lac La Biche		Local Country Store		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kikino	5	14.7	7	20.6	22	64.7	34
Lac La Biche	3	8.3	30	83.3	3	8.3	36
Mission	7	38.9	6	33.3	5	27.8	18
Owl River	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	100.0	15
TOTAL	15	15.5	43	34.3	45	50.2	103

One good example of prices and selection in Kikino can be seen from some of the meat offered. Hamburger, frozen, is 70 cents a pound at Kikino. When checking purchasing records in the Metis Rehabilitation Branch office, we found that the storekeeper was paying 59 cents a pound for this hamburger. It is sold in Lac La Biche for 40 cents a pound. It would thus be cheaper for the Kikino store to buy hamburger in Lac La Biche than have it delivered. Another meat item which is commonly eaten at Kikino is "boiling beef". Having lived with a family for two months, we are well acquainted with this cut. It consists of leg bones of beef sold in packages weighing two or more pounds each. Each package costs between $1.95 and $2.00 and is fit only for soup. There is little meat, mostly gristle. One lady who has to buy this meat because she gets tired of sausage, says when she lived in town the butcher gave her better bones for her dog. We suspect that she is right. One family with 13 children in order to make soup for the main meal of the day, has to buy two packages of boiling beef for one meal. Soup bones thus cost an equivalent amount of about 15 cans of

soup. And this is for the larger meal of the day. When we asked the storekeeper why he bought this item,he said that the purchase and selection of all items for his store were determined by the office at the Metis Rehabilitation Branch in Edmonton. When we mentioned this at the Metis Rehabilitation Branch office, we were told that the storekeeper has complete autonomy over the selection of his items. We have been unable to clarify this situation. Most items for the Kikino store are purchased wholesale at St. Paul.

Unfortunately, this item is of minor importance in comparison to other problems of product selection at the Kikino store. The Kikino store carries NO fresh fruit, fresh vegetables, eggs, or bulk products of any kind, except flour. Forty-one families have no alternative but to obtain most of their food in this store since they receive Social Assistance food vouchers that can only be redeemed at the Kikino store. They cannot include fresh fruit, vegetables or eggs in their diet because they are not available. They cannot purchase in bulk quantities because bulk packages are not stocked in the store. They must buy $.70 hamburger and beef shanks at an outrageous price. People at Kikino get upset about this situation but they feel nothing can or will be done. The effects of this problem are discussed further in the section dealing with children's lunches at school. The implications of the product selection for the health of people in the community are serious. In a conversation with a storekeeper east of Lac La Biche, Mr. Thierren, this problem was discussed. Mr. Thierren carries fresh fruit, vegetables, eggs and bulk products. I asked him if his fruit or vegetables spoiled. He said that they did not and that he was able to market them satisfactorily. This one grocer in a similar rural store, almost identical situation is able to provide these groceries and not lose money.

Since the Kikino store only carries flour in bulk, people who wish to can berries, or vegetables or other fruit must pay much higher prices because they have to purchase smaller, more expensive packages. This is clearly an incentive not to can their own food.

One woman told us that one Christmas, she and her family got their Social Assistance voucher at a store in Lac La Biche. With that $30.00 they were able to buy enough to have a happy celebration -- not luxurious, but adequate. The next year, her Christmas voucher was issued at the Kikino

store. She said that for Christmas dinner, she and her family were forced to eat canned meat product and beans because that was all that was available. It is the concensus of people on the colony that if they got their voucher in Lac La Biche instead of Kikino, they could buy much more for their money and get better products too.

In essence, then, the lack of choice and higher prices at the Kikino store are hurting the 41 families in Kikino because Social Assistance vouchers are taken there and they must get their merchandise there. People in Owl River can change the store where they can fill their vouchers by simply filling out a slip. This is standard practice. When people from Kikino try to do this, they are discouraged. According to one family who succeeded, "the people in the Welfare office try to discourage you from changing. If you do insist and they change it, they warn you not to say anything about it to the others at Kikino." If the family leaves the area or if it is off welfare for a while, its Social Assistance voucher goes back to the Kikino store.

This situation was discussed with the administrative heads of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. They told us that the people are "encouraged" to keep the vouchers there because the profits from the Kikino store are returned to the Metis Trust Fund and are thus spent in administration of the colony. If the people spend their money in town, none of it comes back to the Metis colonies. This, then, is a policy which is informally suggested from the "top". What are the effects of such a policy? They are counter to standard procedures for dealing with economically deprived areas. In many such areas some idea of "priming the pump" is used to help stimulate the area. The present policy is just the opposite. Money from Social Assistance is thus transferred to the Metis Branch and the people are caught in the middle.

Summary

In summary, then, the consumption patterns of the Metis are a result of their financial resources, their tastes, and the availability for products to consume. The financial resources of the people are characterized by lack of credit, a policy of Social Assistance through merchandise only, and their own feeling of not being able to get ahead. Expression of their tastes reflects the influence of those who control their resources, of store and

shopkeepers, and of their personal responses to their present condition. The products which they select, especially on the rural colony, are inferior and cost them more than they would in town. We have shown that control of the selection is importantly related to the control of their resources.

If it is true that the Metis in our sample in some ways "don't know how to spend their money", it is also true that availability of money to them is controlled by others, that how they spend it is strongly influenced by others, and that the products they can buy is determined by others.

CHAPTER V FOOTNOTES:

[1] Agriculture, Census Division 12, Farm Economics Branch.

[2] Ibid

[3] Alberta Forest Inventory, Department of Lands and Forests, Forest Surveys Branch, Edmonton, 1961, page 24.

[4] Annual Review of Business Conditions in Alberta, 1965. Alberta Bureau of Statistics, Department of Industry and Development, Edmonton, April, 1966, page 9.

[5] From data supplied by the Metis Rehabilitation Branch.

CHAPTER VI

THE METIS OF THE LAC LA BICHE AREA: RELATIONS WITH THE LARGER SOCIETY

In this chapter we wish to describe ways in which the Metis relate to the larger society in which they live. This will include a discussion of four different aspects of this relationship: (1) transportation and communication facilities available to the Metis; (2) relations between the Metis settlements and the town and cities with which they have intercourse; (3) the channels of personal contact the Metis have with representatives of the larger society; and (4) the topic of discrimination and other problems which appear related to this exchange with the larger society.

Transportation and Communication

Transportation and communication can be instrumental in contacts between the Metis and the larger society. We will discuss the transportation situation first, and then turn to the media of communication.

Transportation

The importance of transportation to the people of these settlements especially those living in areas outside Lac La Biche -- can scarcely be overestimated. These peripheral areas themselves are heavily dependent on the small urban center for supplies and services. The settlements are no longer as self-sufficient as they may have been in earlier years when game was more plentiful. With the possible exception of potatoes -- and even this supply is by no means ample in the settlement -- every type of food necessary for survival is brought from town. It should be noted specifically that the days of the rural self-sufficient farmer, hunter, trapper or fisherman are gone. We found nobody who is surviving or could hope to survive in these terms. It is true that these were the hopes of one of the early Metis leaders, J.F. Dion in the 1930's, for example. He thought that the people could continue to live off the land. But this is not possible today. Nobody is solely living off of farming, hunting, trapping or fishing in any of the settlements we visited. This dependence should point out the crucial role of transportation.

Kikino is south from Lac La Biche, some thirty miles on a road that is gravelled. Mission is from eight to 11 miles west of Lac La Biche on a

gravel road. Owl River is north and east some 17 to 23 miles on a road that is partially gravelled. It is fair to say that Lac La Biche is the center of almost all transactions from these settlements. There are general stores in each of the peripheral areas and these serve the people in varying degrees. It has been pointed out already, however, that choice of goods tends to be restricted and prices are higher in some of these stores than in Lac La Biche.

Very few of the people of Kikino travel south to the villages of Vilna or Spedden to shop or get medical care. Those who do so have formerly lived at Goodfish Lake, which is near these villages, and have thus kept their former ties in Vilna or Spedden.

There is no public transportation of any kind from any of these settlements into Lac La Biche. To the extent, then, that public transportation is a service which is beneficial to the public, these people are handicapped. How do people get into town in the absence of public transportation? Table 1 shows ownership of motor vehicles by the number and type in the settlements studied. Only the highlights need be mentioned. First, an overall 61.6 per cent of the people have no transportation at all. Since a number of these people are those who are living in Lac La Biche and presumably have less need for vehicles, this should be qualified. For those who live in the three rural settlements, the ownership of vehicles per family interviewed is just under 50 per cent. Kikino is thus representative, where half of the families have access to some form of transportation. In Mission, however, 65 per cent of the families have cars or pickups. The situation in Owl River is reversed. The situation is exaggerated, however, because several cars are not registered and are driven only in the local settlement; some are not in good enough condition to make it into town; and in the winter only a handful are able to run. In the Mission area where the people are more financially able, the ownership of vehicles is considerably higher.

Another factor in transportation is the condition of the roads. There is regular maintenance on each of the roads to these settlements, since school buses use the roads. But this is not true of secondary roads. Two situations in Kikino may be considered as representative of those families who live on the periphery area of settlement and must use secondary roads. Around Lone Pine Lake, southeast of the hamlet of Kikino, live five families with about 18 children who are in school. Because the road

conditions are poor, and because the bridge which crosses Lone Pine Creek is unfit, no school bus transportation is possible. One of the mothers takes these children two miles in a wagon to meet the bus and picks them up every day. When it is winter, a shed is put on the wagon and a fire is kindled inside. This trip takes more than two hours a day of the mother's time. Numerous pleas have been made for maintenance of the road and improvement of the bridge, but nothing has been done. On the northwest side of Kikino the children of three families are driven daily to meet the bus. Again, roads are in difficult condition. It is common to have the grader that comes occasionally break through a culvert. Still another family in the general area has bought a small shack near the hamlet because their child will begin school next year and they simply cannot get over the roads.

CHAPTER VI TABLE 1

NUMBER, TYPES AND PER CENT OF VEHICLES, PER SETTLEMENT

Settlement	Car		Pickup		Both		None		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
KIKINO	13	31.0	6	14.3	1	2.4	22	52.4	42
MISSION	1	5.0	12	60.0	0	0.	7	35.0	20
OWL RIVER	3	33.3	0	0.	0	0.	6	66.7	9
TOTAL (Excluding Lac La Biche)	23	20.9	20	16.7	1	.8	70	61.6	114
LAC LA BICHE	6	14.0	2	4.7	0	0.	35	81.4	43

As one might expect, with the scarcity of transportation in these settlement areas, it is expensive to get into town. It is common practice for a colony member who must go to Lac La Biche to charter a trip in with a colony member who has a vehicle. A special round trip of this kind costs $10.00 into Lac La Biche from Kikino. Pensioners tell us that to go into town to get their cheques and food, they must pay $10.00 of the $75.00 monthly cheque for transportation. One pensioner in Owl River, who is 87 pays a local merchant in Lac La Biche $18.00 to transport him. A trip to

Vilna from Kikino is usually $15.00. If a baby is sick -- and we saw this many times during our stay -- a special trip to the hospital will cost the parent $10.00. When the time comes to pick the child up, the cost is an additional $10.00.

At this point, a comparison of prices can be made. The local price to Vilna from Kikino is $15.00 for a return trip over a distance of 30 miles. The price of a trip from Vilna to Edmonton, a distance of 97 miles, is $3.10 one way on the bus. The difference in rate is clear. As in so many cases, prices for transportation are higher by large multiples for those who can least afford it.

In Kikino, two buses stand in the bus barn, chartered to the Lac La Biche School District for transporting children to school. These buses are privately owned and leased from the owner who lives in Lac La Biche. They make daily trips to Lac La Biche on weekdays. Two local men in Kikino are the drivers of the buses. Yet people still pay exorbitant prices for transportation because there are no transportation arrangements.

Is it necessary for people to go into town anyway? The fact that in Kikino the nearest telephone is nine miles away and that mail is delivered only once a week are two answers. For example, one may be waiting for his cheque to come, and we saw this happen several times, since mail is delivered on Tuesdays, if the cheque doesn't come on this Tuesday, it will sit in a mailbag somewhere for perhaps six days while the family is waiting for money for food and supplies. Some families have a mailbox in Lac La Biche. It is often easier to pay for the box there rather than wait several days for the mail to come. Transportation difficulties are reflected in picking children up from the hospital.

During an interview with hospital and clinic staff in town, one staff member said: "It is also common among the Metis <u>not</u> to get their children as soon as they are discharged." Apparently this staff member is not aware of these transportation difficulties. We once inquired about the condition of and discharge date for three babies. We were told to return on "Friday or Saturday", or "at the beginning of next week", etc. Mothers were quite concerned about their babies being in the hospital, and they wanted them back, but they knew that they would probably pay for a trip

into town and find that the baby had not been released. So, to save that money, they would wait a day or so to be sure. This happened to the family with which we stayed and to several other families with which we were acquainted.

The transportation problem is clearly reflected in Lac La Biche. If one drives through the main streets of Lac La Biche on an afternoon -- especially weekends -- one sees dozens of Metis and Indian people standing around waiting for their rides. If one goes into certain cafes, one sees the booths filled with people waiting for their rides. There is no telephone within nine miles of the village. A telephone would often save a trip into town and countless other trips and hours of waiting in clinic offices, Welfare offices, on street corners.

The inconveniences of having no form of communication with the town is difficult to communicate adequately. The disadvantages it puts one at can only be sketched. If one needs to make any appointment, he is required to take the better part of a day off with a good possibility that the official may be out of town. In that event, he can only return again; his efforts of time and money were wasted on a needless trip to town.

Inadequate mail, lack of telephone and transportation facilities for these rural communities hinder any increased adaptation these communities might make toward becoming more acquainted and comfortable with urban ways. And, more seriously, it reinforces the views of those in the urban area about the residents of the settlements. The people in town see the residents standing around waiting -- "doing nothing". They see them as not being able to deal with the "efficient" schedules and procedures of hospitals clinics, welfare offices, police offices, schools, businesses and in other personal appointments. We have suggested that poor mail service discourages use of local mail facilities, that exorbitant prices for transportation discourages wider contacts with the "outside world" and use of medical and other professional services, and finally, that absence of a telephone contributes in the same way.

Mass Media

Formal communication which reaches the settlements is limited. Less than a dozen people in our entire sample subscribe to a paper or magazine.

We saw only one newspaper of any kind during our entire stay of nine weeks in the village of Kikino. Television is almost non-existent. No family in Mission or Owl River has television, and in Kikino the only families with television are the Local Supervisor who has a generator to supply his power, and another resident who is now a storekeeper and used to be Local Supervisor. Essentially, then, no family in the study area has television as a result of his own effort, with the possible exception of Metis families in Lac La Biche.

The main source of mass media available in the study area is the radio. There are battery-operated portable radios in most houses. Two stations supply most of the listening content for the people: CFCW, a "country-western" music radio station located in Camrose; and CHED, a station in Edmonton which features "pop-music" as its main offering. The values expressed in the song and the tempo and sound of this music appeals mostly to the people of these settlements. We should expect, then, that it also serves to support the experiences of the people and provides them with cues about life in the urban areas. The central theme of the country-western music is nostalgic: lost love, romantic experiences and some future event which will be a rich experience. Thus, the "I'm going to hit the town on Saturday night" song gives certainly cues to the people of a way of experiencing excitement in an accepted way. The "pop-music" is much broader in its scope, but it tends also to be a more contemporary "younger" and more urban alienation version of nostalgia and romance.

Summary

To summarize one aspect of the relations between these settlements and the larger society involves transportation, mail, telephone services, and the various mass media. These form vehicles for social change in two senses: they provide new experience for the people and they make available cues upon which the people can act and try out types of behavior. The inadequate public facilities act as a barrier to the ease of transition in two ways: they make many procedures which are routine to the larger society extremely difficult, discouraging, and wearisome. They also provide the larger society, in consequence, with images on Metis in unfavorable terms. This tends, we think, to reinforce the local view of these people as inadequate and undesirable. It should be emphasized that these are not minor matters and become of central concern to the people of the settlements.

Often one pays a large sum to travel into town; waits several hours in an office; receives possible disdainful treatment; and finds out that the person he wanted to see isn't in town. It becomes clear that after a few such occurrences, much motivation is needed to continue the ordeal. Improved transportation and communication could pave the way for wider relations between the Metis and the larger society and thus aid in his more harmonious relations with it. The money saved will not bring a new level of living. But improvement here would contribute drastically to one segment of the present situation.

The significance of this lack of facilities and the problems they pose for the people was discussed with administrative officers of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. They were interested in our report of the various problems and possible solutions on the colony. Our discussion of transportation with the Metis Rehabilitation Branch was terminated with the assurance that some arrangement of scheduled transportation would not work in Kikino. It was asserted that some form of scheduled transportation had been tried. They could not recall how long ago this had been. In all, they felt that scheduled transportation using the local school buses "would not work, we've tried everything".

With regard to the need for telephones, we can quote a previous suggestion made in regard to the Kikino Colony in 1936:

> Telephone communications to be established with Lac La Biche as soon as possible.

Relationship with Nearby Towns and the City

This section will deal with the relationship between Metis and the urban areas with which they have contact. This relationship is presently considered in two ways: first, in terms of how many friends or relatives the people have in urban areas; and second, in terms of their attitudes toward these different urban areas. The section which follows will deal with Metis-larger society relations more in terms of the different parties involved in those relationships.

When the people of the area say "town", they refer to Lac La Biche. When they say "the city" they mean Edmonton. In addition to these two urban centers, St. Paul is next on the list of references. St. Paul is the regional center for many governmental and trading business transactions.

In three of the four settlements, all except Owl River, we tried to find out how many of the people had friends or relatives in the city. Table 2 presents the results. In each, a large percentage have some friends or relatives living in the city. This should be interpreted cautiously because of the large circle of kinship. Often a single person in the city can be a friend or relative of several families.

CHAPTER VI TABLE 2

FAMILIES HAVING FRIENDS OR RELATIVES IN EDMONTON BY SETTLEMENT

	Friends or Relatives in Edmonton		No Friends or Relatives in Edmonton		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	31	84.8	6	16.2	32	100
LAC LA BICHE	36	92.3	3	7.7	39	100
MISSION	19	95.0	1	5.0	20	100
TOTAL	86	90.6	10	10.4	96	

Although ninety per cent of the people have some contact with the city, their experiences with the city in a more direct manner can be measured in two ways: by residence and by visits. Tables 3 and 4 present this aspect of their experience, and reaction to it.

CHAPTER VI TABLE 3

RESPONDENTS RESIDENCE IN THE CITY AND THEIR REACTION

	Total		Has Lived in City Didn't Like It		Liked It		Has Not Lived In City	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	15	41.7	9	25.0	6	16.7	21	58.4
LAC LA BICHE	7	18.0	3	7.7	4	10.3	32	82.1
MISSION	7	36.9	3	15.8	4	21.1	12	63.2
TOTAL	29	30.9	15	16.0	14	14.9	65	69.2

CHAPTER VI TABLE 4

FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO EDMONTON
BY SETTLEMENT

	Never Been		Once or Twice A Year		Once or Twice A Year		More Often	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	13	36.1	19	52.8	3	8.4	1	2.8
LAC LA BICHE	2	5.3	34	89.5	0	0.0	2	5.3
MISSION	1	5.3	15	78.9	1	5.3	2	5.3
OWL RIVER	1	7.1	11	78.6	2	14.3	0	7.1
TOTAL	17	15.9	79	73.8	6	5.6	5	5.7

The data show that the experiences of the Metis in the city has been more often unfavorable than favorable. About thirty-one per cent have lived in the city, and roughly half of them said they liked it -- those at Kikino more strongly disliked their experience. Over two thirds of the population have not lived in the city.

A much larger proportion, about five in six, have visited the city. Many of these visits have been connected with medical and health reasons -- hospitalization for tuberculosis or some other type of medical care. Of those who have never visited the city, a large proportion are living on the Colony of Kikino. Attitudes which the people have toward the city are based primarily on the indirect contact with friends and relatives and rare visits to the city. This contact tends to be concentrated in the form of mutual relatives who are living in the city.

Attitudes Toward Urban Areas

Subjects were asked whether or not they would like to move to the city. The pattern of their responses is found in Table 5. Three fourths of the respondents said they would not. Of those who would like to move, about one fourth would do so only if they could get a job by which they could support themselves adequately.

CHAPTER VI TABLE 5

IS THE CITY GOOD OR BAD

	Good		Bad		Good for some; Bad for Some		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	5	21.7	9	39.1	8	34.8	1	4.3
LAC LA BICHE	19	52.8	15	41.7	1	2.8	1	2.8
MISSION	2	10.5	7	36.8	3	15.8	7	36.8
TOTAL	26	33.3	31	39.7	12	15.4	9	11.6

In an attempt to explore further the feelings they had toward life in the city, four additional attitude areas were explored: whether the city was good or bad; if and where they might find help in the city; and what they thought of the Whites and the Metis who lived there. Table 6 shows the distribution of responses to the first question.

CHAPTER VI TABLE 6

WOULD RESPONDENTS MOVE TO CITY?

	Yes Unconditional		Yes If Job		No	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	2	5.7	4	11.4	29	82.9
LAC LA BICHE	9	23.7	2	5.3	27	71.1
MISSION	4	20.0	1	5.0	15	75.0
TOTAL	15	16.1	7	7.6	71	76.3

The people who were living in a relatively urbanized area -- the town of Lac La Biche -- more often felt the city was "good" than the residents of either of the other two settlements. The general tendency was to see the city as bad for the respondent, even though it may be desirable for someone else, as Table 6 shows.

Another indication of the general attitude toward the city is reflected in some awareness of where help might be found in case of trouble. The relevant data are found in Table 7. Probably the most distinct finding is the difference between settlements in reliance upon institutional sources for help. In the more urban center of Lac La Biche, almost eighty per cent would look to Welfare or the police for help. Those who lived in Kikino said they would rely more upon relatives. Another factor worth noting is the scant reliance upon the Metis Friendship Association for help. Very few saw it as a source of aid. In Kikino, one man said, "If the people can't help themselves, (the leader of the Metis Association) sure isn't going to be able to help them". Most people are either disillusioned or openly skeptical about the organization. Few take it seriously.

CHAPTER VI TABLE 7

WHERE IS THERE HELP IN THE CITY?

	Friends, Relatives		Police Welfare		Metis Friend-ship Association		No Help	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	6	33.3	5	27.8	2	11.1	5	27.8
LAC LA BICHE	5	13.9	30	77.7	1	2.8	0	0.0
MISSION	2	12.5	12	56.3	1	6.3	1	6.3
TOTAL	13	18.6	47	67.1	4	5.7	6	8.6

A final indication of the view people have of the city is suggested by what they think the city "does" to people. That is, how does the city affect both the Whites and Metis -- does it make them "different"? The responses to this question are found in Tables 8 and 9.

CHAPTER VI TABLE 8

ARE CITY WHITES DIFFERENT?

	Yes Total		Prefers City Whites		Prefers Country Whites		No	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	10	50.0	4	20.0	6	30.0	10	50.0
LAC LA BICHE	20	60.6	1	3.0	19	57.6	13	39.4
MISSION	8	42.1	0	0.0	8	42.1	11	57.9
TOTAL	38	52.8	5	6.9	33	45.8	34	47.2

CHAPTER VI TABLE 9

ARE CITY METIS DIFFERENT?

	Yes Total		Prefer City		Prefer Country		No		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
KIKINO	14	64.6	3	13.6	11	50.0	5	22.7	3	13.6
LAC LA BICHE	15	48.4	0	0.0	15	48.4	14	45.2	2	6.5
MISSION	14	70.0	1	5.0	13	65.0	5	25.0	1	5.0
TOTAL	43	59.9	4	5.5	39	53.4	24	32.9	6	8.2

The total group was evenly split, but where there was a difference noted between reactions to city and country Whites, a great majority favored the country White. Usually the reason given was that in the country you get to know the White better, but in the city the White won't talk to you and often acts snobbish. It seems, then, that the Metis says he prefers the comfort of the rural patterns of interaction with the country Whites -- even though this pattern may include paternalistic and discriminatory actions. After all, paternalism may well offer some sense of security (at a cost) in comparison to the impersonality and "stares" of the city Whites. In the rural area, it seems that the Metis does have "his place" and he may well prefer that place with its customary pattern to one in the city which is more harsh and impersonal. This applies, however, to only half of the respondents -- the other half felt there is no difference between city Whites and the local Whites in the way they treat the Metis.

There is a general consensus among the people that the country is preferable to the town or the city in almost every way. The several exceptions to this are notable.

The focus of the transition between the rural and the urban Metis is the children. Those who are living in town (Lac La Biche) are not as sure that the best place for raising children is in the country. One third of them feel it is better in town.

The picture is the same when one inquires about where it is best for the child to grow up. If the issue is where the children should go to school, some important differences develop. At present, there is a move toward centralization of the school in the area. In 1966, children from the Mission district will be attending school in Lac La Biche for the first time. Children in Kikino have been attending schools there for three years. Children in Owl River still attend the old local school, below Grade seven. In the three settlements where children are attending school in town, there is strong agreement that town is the best place for children to go to school. The invariable answer to why this is the case is that it is good for Metis children to go to school with Whites. Only in Owl River, probably the most rural of the settlements, is there a strong feeling that children should go to school in the country. Even though there are strong complaints against the present educational system in Owl River by many residents, they feel that the 17-mile trip for the children will be too difficult. At this point, they

are joined by many parents in Kikino who feel that the youngest children spend too much time on the bus and at school since they leave before 8:00 a.m. and return about 4:30 p.m.

Another point of interest in parents' attitudes toward their children and the city can be seen in the topic of where they wish their children to live when they grow up, subjects were asked. The two more rural settlements, Owl River and Kikino, favor the country. Mission, closer to town, is split between the country and the town and city as the place for the children when they grow up. Finally the residents of Lac La Biche strongly favor the town for their children, with the remainder split between the country and the city. As the people move into the urban areas, they tend to change their attitudes toward the area, it would appear.

Another interesting point of comparison involves the topic of prices in the country, in town, and in the city. Sixty per cent of the Kikino people feel prices are higher in the country, and all of the people of Owl River agree. Eighty-three per cent of the people in town, however, feel that the prices are higher in town. The people in Mission are evenly split between the three. As has been suggested, the Kikino (country) prices are higher than Edmonton or Lac La Biche. Prices are lowest in Lac La Biche.

Each of the communities was asked where there was more steady work. The people of Kikino and Mission felt there was more steady work in the city, the people in town thought there was more in town, and the Owl River residents felt there was more steady work in the country. The fact that Kikino residents thought there was more work in the city may have been influenced by the fact that there is a large segment of the population which has moved within the last two years from the fringe of the city to settle in the Colony. Their extensive experience with the city may have affected those scores.

The fact that there are differences in attitudes toward raising children, their future in the city, prices between areas, and the presence of steady work in areas leads one to suggest that sentiments which exist are closely related to the different positions of the settlements. In one regard, all four settlements are in strong agreement: the city is the most dangerous place to be. Eighty-eight per cent of all respondents agreed that the city is more dangerous than the town or the country. They are all distant from the city, and they tend to see it as a dazzling, but often foreboding area.

The Metis feeling about the police is distinctly different, however. They see the city as very dangerous; they feel that they are more likely to have trouble with the police of Lac La Biche than those of Edmonton. Only the people of Kikino felt that the latter were more likely to give one trouble.

The attitude of the people in these communities seems to be one of mixed attraction and fear. They see the city as having advantages -- low prices, better education, better living standards -- which they want. Yet, the same city represents a destructive force which would destroy their way of life. The city is noisy, impersonal, and they aren't equipped for it -- it costs too much to live there. In the city, they could be helped by friends or relatives -- possibly by welfare. But the city does something to people, it makes them snobbish, and they often begin to live and act like the White. This they clearly believe and many are content to find a place in which to settle in the country.

Channels of Contact with the Larger Society

It is instructive to examine in detail the types of relations between these somewhat segregated communities and the larger society and the number and different relationships which have been legitimized between the two groups.

One can list the personal contacts -- other than friends or relatives -- which the Metis have with the larger society: Public Welfare staff, local farmers, police, medical and health personnel, opposing baseball team members local merchants, teachers, clergymen, and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch Local Supervisor. The first six will be discussed in the present section. The relation with teachers will be discussed in the chapter which follows; clergymen and Local Supervisors as channels of contact were discussed in Chapter IV.

Of these nine relationships which we will discuss, we suggest that in only one does the Metis take an active role and participate with any degree of equality: this is the baseball tournament.

In this regional affair, the Metis clearly deomonstrates his place in the larger society and how he is reacting to it.

The fact that the other relationships are described as not involving the Metis actively is not a blanket assessment of blame or responsibility.

We are not disparaging the intentions of the professional civil servants who carry out wearisome and at times almost impossible programs. What we are suggesting is that programs or relationships should not be judged in terms of the intentions of the actors; and that the intentions and the consequences of governmental programs are always strongly determined by local traditions and customs.

Finally, we are suggesting that if all of the Metis-larger society relations are ones in which the Metis is expected to be a silent and submissive partner, such will be the case. It seems likely that the Metis have often come to adopt (perhaps, at times, believe) characteristics which are appropriate for these relationships.

Public Welfare Staff

Probably the most important contact the Metis people have with the larger society is through the Department of Public Welfare Staff. We assume that this is not typical of the total series of relations between Metis and the Public Welfare Department staff.

"Welfare", as the workers are often called, comes weekly to the village of Kikino. The Metis Branch Supervisor's office is used for this purpose, as it is for almost every type of official service which needs a place out of which to operate. Those who have a special reason for seeing the worker wait in the General Store.

They often try to get there early to make sure they see him. But caseloads are high and there is usually only time to ask and be gone.

In the office in Lac La Biche, several have complained that they often have to wait longer than Whites who come in after them. Perhaps they have misunderstood a recent policy of clearing the office of waiting clients so that the caseworkers can find time to get out into the field. Perhaps they don't know that the Whites telephoned for an appointment.

Quite a few people have complained that the caseworker told them they couldn't have a car if they were getting Social Assistance. The people find this hard to understand. They may live between five and 25 miles from town. They may live a half mile or so from a neighbor. Illness is common. One man told me he said to the caseworker: "If you take my car and anything happens to my kids it will be your fault." He proudly still has his car.

The Metis are often seen by the larger society as people who are "living off" Welfare. The goal of the caseworker is often to cure the Metis of this bad habit. It appears to the Metis that the way in which this is done is often to cut his assistance or cut his clothing allowance. This, then, will "motivate" him to work.

Conversations with both Metis and the representatives of Welfare, and the larger White public is the basis for this analysis of the contact between the two. There is often a derogatory stigma attached to "welfare". Whether a family is receiving Social Assistance or Social Allowance, the stigma tends to be the same. The fact that some basic sustenance is guaranteed to all citizens tends to be overlooked. It seems possible that the Department itself and its employees may reflect this attitude of the larger society. For example, at a baseball game between Kikino and Boyle, one White resident of the area said: "Those boys ought to be good. They live off Welfare and practice four days a week."

The Metis are strongly aware of this feeling. Some respond with resentment -- they try to get off Social Assistance. They swear they'll never "take" another nickel. But there are few jobs. And it is difficult to support nine children on odd jobs. This is especially true when pay cheques for labor for the Metis Branch come a month late, and one can't get credit at the General Store. Others -- a few -- respond to the stigma by saying, "If we're called this, we may as well try to live the best we can." Usually this is still far below the minimal Canadian standard of living. Nobody in these settlements is living <u>well</u> on Society Assistance; most are still living in abject poverty. Assistance only keeps them alive -- as many have said. One final response to the stigma of "welfare" is to let the total responsibility be taken over by the caseworker. A total lack of concern about the family or self is exhibited.

This is not to say that the stigma of welfare is responsible for these reactions. Rather, as part of the whole series of contacts with Whites, these are severed reactions to this sphere of contact.

Local Farmers

One of the most interesting channels of contact between the Metis and the larger society involves the local farmers who hire some of the men as farmhands. Often as a result of these contacts, more lasting arrangements are made which may benefit some of the Metis. For example, there are eight men who work for local area farmers, picking roots or rocks, or thrashing during the haying season. The wages are usually less than a dollar an hour. But more important than the wages are the agreements for exchanges and use of equipment with which a few Metis men can work their own land. One man, for example, picked roots and rocks for a nearby farmer for two weeks in exchange for the use of his tractor in order to plow three or four acres of land he wanted to plant. Another works during the haying season in return for use of a tractor, again to plow his own land. We asked about the value of the exchange -- whether the Metis felt the value of his labor was equal to use of the tractor. The answer was usually the same: the Metis felt he was getting the short end of a deal, but still, it was valuable to him to be able to use this -- enough so to do it. When asked why he didn't use the one colony-owned tractor which can be used free by colony members, he said it wasn't available.

In some cases, then, the local White farmers seem to serve the function of helping to teach techniques and assist some of the Metis men who are attempting to support themselves from the land. The local farmer offers help. But this help is the only resource available and for it the Metis pays a heavy price. Most men dislike this work or can't do it. And most of them cannot afford to invest this much in the future. They need to work now for food and clothing and a little recreation which are needed today.

Baseball Tournaments

The baseball team as a form of social organization in the Kikino community has already been discussed. It remains here to amplify that discussion and point out how participation in the baseball tournaments is an important relationship between Metis and Whites in the area. Of the four settlements, only Kikino has a baseball team. During the early part of the summer -- usually before haying has started -- a baseball tournament is held each

Sunday at small villages in the area. The usual pattern is a four-team tournament with the winners of the first two games playing for prize money. This usually is made up of an entry fee of $10.00 per team and some of the money taken at the gate. It amounts to about $35.00 for first, and $20.00 for second place. This can help pay for the equipment the team needs and is occasionally used for a party during the year. With the exception of teams from Goodfish Lake and Saddle Lake (both Indian Reserves), the Kikino team is the only non-white team in the area and is probably the only Metis team within a much larger area. The Kikino team usually plays teams from Bellis, Vilna, Spedden, Boyle, Plamondon, Lac La Biche, and Grassland.

Entry into the tournaments provides the possibility for competition with the Whites with a minimum amount of inequality. Not all of Kikino's residents are enthusiastically behind the team, but to those who are, the effort is taken seriously. Taking the field against another team invokes a feeling of pride and prestige for these players. It was often said on the colony: "If my wife ever tried to make me stop playing ball, she'd lose a husband." But few wives would because, as will be seen later, it means much to them too.

Perhaps one good measure of the importance of these games can be measured by the expenditure made by the team. Almost all the settlement's transportation resources are reserved for games. They usually have priority. In some of the more important tournaments, it is common practice for a pitcher to be hired to play for the team. What is uncommon is that it is extremely difficult to raise the amount to pay him. And money will be spent this way, when it is hardly possible to raise the money for any other cause in the village.

Kikino has a reputation as a pretty good team, but more important as a "flashy" team. "These boys", as they are often called, play a style of baseball that is plucky and often daring. When they get the breaks they look good, when they don't they look bad. We suggest this style of playing is somewhat deliberate and is reflection of their more generalized relationships with Whites. To take the game too seriously would be devastating. If they win, then offend the majority group. If they lose, it may tend to reinforce their status in everyday life, and that is rather painful. So they don't play seriously -- or so it seems. They take chances, they try the "flashy" or impossible plays. When this strategy works, they look terrific -- and

more important -- no one can blame somebody who made the fantastic play to beat him. Likewise when they lose, it is usually because they made the error -- often in trying for the most difficult play instead of settling for the safe one. And when they begin to lose, they begin to "clown". They are no longer taking the game that seriously and the crowd is enjoying them, applauding them, telling them that even though they are losing, they're glad they came.

Thus it appears that the way the team plays ball reflects the way it has to live with the larger society. Only in baseball, many of the restrictions are lifted. If they were to start winning seriously, methodically, then the reaction to them would change. Out would come the epithets, the names, the taunts, which are meant to put them back in their place. And this is just what happens when the chips are down. When the battle is for first place, the White children and the women often begin the ribbing: "Ten dollars for your hide". (Most Whites can't distinguish between Metis and Treaty Indians.) "Go home, eat some bear steak, and then come back!" "You need some more moonshine." "Hey, Sitting Bull."

And the Metis women and children reply, "They may be stupid, but they're not stupid when they play ball." The women concentrate on each batter. They sit on the team's bench and in that close range often needle the batter viciously when he's trying to concentrate. If they're playing another minority group, they bring out the appropriate calls: "Hey, sausage-eater."

So each Sunday, it is as though the team goes out to fight their battle with the larger world. They take pride in fighting with less restrictions than ever before. And if they win, they've earned their place -- making sure not to rub it in too much. If they lose, either their clowning is applauded, or they can express their frustrations as is seldom done in any other aspect of their relationship with the larger society. Baseball is taken seriously. It is seriously participated in and it means much for them to earn this small measure of prestige in the larger society.

Relations with Local Police

The scene of interaction between the people of the four Metis local settlements and law enforcement authorities is usually the Town of Lac La Biche. In the three rural settlements, Kikino, Mission, and Owl River, there are no law enforcement personnel. Police make trips into these areas only to answer

special calls or to patrol during special occasions in the villages. The people expect law enforcement agents when there is some other big event in the village. The contact takes place primarily when there has been trouble or when trouble is expected.

In general, the people were reticent to discuss their attitudes and feelings toward local police. This appears to be an area of rather strong feelings which are not quickly divulged. The most prominent response was something like: "We have no trouble with the police" and, by implication, "We don't want to say anything about them."

We asked the people where one was most likely to have trouble with the police -- in the country, in the town, or in the city. This was discussed in an earlier section of relations to urban areas and the city. We reported that people felt they were more likely to have trouble with the police in "town" than they would in the "city". A related question about which is more dangerous -- country, town or city -- is also relevant here. The people felt strongly that the city was much more dangerous than the town. Yet, they felt that in Lac La Biche they were more likely to have trouble from the police than they would in Edmonton. Perhaps this reflects some feeling on the part of the people toward a recent incident in Lac La Biche in which a Metis who was in police custody died. Perhaps this reflects the fact that the people are in Lac La Biche much more than in Edmonton and they know the likelihood of contact is much higher there.

Since interviews were not held with local law enforcement authorities, their attitude and behavior toward the Metis is difficult to assess. It is possible to report one evaluation of the role of local law enforcement agents in town. One person in a responsible position told us that in his position cooperation between his office and police is normally expected. However, he reported he gets no cooperation. He said the police tend to answer only formal charges, even though they may suspect trouble. This person felt that the law enforcement agents "do not value or honor their jobs". Further, from his perspective the attitude of the police creates as many problems as it solves. This person suggests that a preventative approach should be made to local problems. The "punitive" and inflexible approach now taken by the law enforcement agents to this situation undermines his own work.

It does seem fair to suggest that the relations between the Metis and the police of Lac La Biche hardly approaches one of mutual respect and co-operation.

Relations with Public Health and Medical Personnel

Another area of relationships between the Metis people and the larger society involves the Public Health and medical personnel in Lac La Biche. Medical and health facilities in Lac La Biche include the Athabasca Public Health Sub-unit, a clinic and a hospital. Additional services include weekly visits by Public Health nurses to outlying areas and periodical visits by personnel in other preventative programs. Lac La Biche is currently served by three physicians but it has no dentist.

Although the topic has been sketched in the previous discussion of health and water supply, the relationship between Metis and health personnel should be discussed more explicitly. As in other sections, we propose to view the relationship from two perspectives -- the personnel in public health and medical facilities and from the perspective of the Metis who receives the services.

We have suggested that people who offer health and medical services often see the Metis as holding different standards of health from those of the larger society. In addition, they suggested that Metis tend to take advantage of the health facilities available to them.

Interviews with various personnel revealed a consistent agreement that the Metis, although they may vary from settlement to settlement, do reject White health standards. On the other hand, there seems to be considerable eagerness -- except among some of the oldest people -- to make use of clinic and medical facilities for treatment. However, the public health personnel encounter less cooperation when they go out to Metis settlements. There appears to be more reluctance to participate in a program which takes place in the Metis settlement than there is to go into town for treatment. It appears as though it is almost preferable to take the baby into town for treatment than into the settlement where vaccination may be available.

In sum, the Metis in the areas we studied appear to be more inclined to participate in medical treatment than in preventative programs. They apparently see preventative programs as an intrusion by the Whites into their affairs.

Treatment involves a trip into town, however expensive, and receiving something in a time of need. It should be noted that the doctor-patient relationship -- which is marked by clear dominance and submission, -- is congruent with almost every relationship Metis have with Whites. Since this type of a relationship with Whites is traditional and is one to which they are accustomed, they are probably more comfortable with it than with the Public Health nurse-Metis relationship in which there is more reciprocity. Further, in the doctor-patient relationships the Metis actually receives something which is valuable and quite different from the consequences of his actions in a more typical Metis-White relationship.

Relations with Local Merchants and Businessmen

One other relationship between Metis and Whites is that between the Metis and the local businessman or merchant. This relationship is one which is enacted weekly by every family in the area. It is one which -- as with almost every relationship between Metis and Whites -- is one-sided, with power and benefits disproportionately on the side of the local merchant.

Almost no Metis are employed by local businessmen. The major exceptions to this are women who are employed as waitresses or frycooks in some of the local cafes. The major contact of Metis with the businessmen is as customers. Metis people prefer some places in town over others. One of the main reasons is "the way they treat you". One woman told us that the clerks always have time for the White ladies, but never very much time for the Metis. Metis eat at particular cafes in town for the same reason.

One grocer told us the Metis are just like children. You have to treat them that way. They come in and spend their money on candy and pop. Most businessmen give very little credit. Usually the amount of credit given is controlled, so that a person may be able to get up to $75.00 on credit, but no more. If the person needs some cash, the businessman will convert some of his Welfare voucher into cash for a charge of ten per cent. Often arrangements are made -- especially with the older people -- whereby the grocer receives the person's cheque and simply converts it into an account from which the person can draw his goods. Since the person has no banking facilities and usually cannot read or write, the grocer is doing him a favor. He lets the person come in and draw groceries and goods toward his cheque.

The businessman sees the Metis often as unable to cope with the complexities of urban business affairs. He also sees him as having a need for immediate gratification. He does him a favor by providing a source of credit, a banking service, and helps him fill out occasional forms which are necessary. For this, he gets the man's business in trade. He offers the man a narrow choice of goods, but then the only alternative the man has is to go somewhere else where he may not be able to get credit and may be treated worse.

The Metis, then, is dependent upon the several merchants who serve him. Often, in isolated areas, prices are high and the Metis gets less for his money than do people in other areas. In all, then, from his relations with the businessman and clerk, the Metis learns a lot. He is treated as a child, often overcharged, and given products which may range from inferior (such as spoiled fruit) to simply monotonous in selection. In return for this, he can get a little grub when the government cheque is slow in coming in, or when he runs out; and someone to help him in minor financial and legal matters.

Discrimination and Related Problems

In this section, we wish to discuss the extent to which discrimination appears to be present in relationships between Metis and Whites, and especially how the situation appears from the Metis perspective. To the extent that Metis are treated differentially because they are recognized as Metis, discrimination exists.

We asked men if they had ever been turned down for a job for which they qualified because they were Metis. About one third replied either that this had happened to themselves or to people they knew. Although it is difficult to measure the accuracy of such a statement and to generalize from it, the fact that one third have experienced discrimination is worthy of notice.

A second measure involved responses to the question of whether people had been turned away from places because they are Metis. Table 10 presents these results. The results are similar in both of these measures. In the first, men were interviewed. In the second, the sample was mixed. Sixteen per cent reported that they had been turned away. We are not able to account

for differences in responses between the various settlements.

It seems clear, on the basis of these measures, that some discrimination is felt by the Metis at the hands of the larger society. In the interview process, practically every agency or groups with which the people deal were accused of one or another type of discrimination. This should not be taken lightly. The very fact that one third have expressed this sentiment is a rather stark indication of their view of the relationship between the two groups.

Alcohol

The topic of consumption of alcoholic beverages is one of the crucial focal points in relations between both Whites and Metis and Indians. One of the most common stereotypes in the White community concerning the Metis is that he is very uneducated concerning drinking and has a tendency to "drink his pay cheque away".

Although it should be recognized that verbal behavior is often an inadequate measure of actual behavior, we attempted to get some indication of attitudes toward drinking. These results clearly point to the misleading nature of stereotypical views of Metis standards on drinking. Table 11 presents a classification of various personal opinions on consumption of alcohol.

The clearest finding is that detailed investigation and analysis of this entire area should be made. We know, for example, that in all communities in Alberta we can expect variation between the formal standards for behavior and the actual behavior in the community. Often Whites tend to ignore such a discrepancy in their own community and point to the discrepancy which may exist in another community. We wish to point out that discrepancies between formal standards and actual behavior is a common feature of all social life.

Finally, it should be pointed out that there are some in the Metis settlements who have developed strong feelings against alcohol after they had apparently been involved in some "problem drinking". These men said that they were heavy drinkers and most had an "experience" in which they decided " . . . it was either bread or the bottle . . .", so they stopped. We encountered six men who said they had experienced this. They are apparently some of the more strongly against any consumption of alcoholic beverages.

CHAPTER VI TABLE 10

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING HAVING EXPERIENCED A DISCRIMINATORY INCIDENT BY SETTLEMENT

	No		Yes Happened Personally		Yes Happened To Others		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
KIKINO	15	46.9	11	34.4	6	18.8	32
LAC LA BICHE	28	70.0	1	2.5	11	27.5	40
MISSION	12	60.0	4	20.0	4	20.0	20
OWL RIVER	13	86.7	1	6.7	1	6.7	15
TOTAL	68	63.6	17	15.9	22	20.6	107

CHAPTER VI TABLE 11

RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR PERSONAL OPINIONS CONCERNING ALCOHOL BY SETTLEMENT

	1*		2*		3*		4*		5*		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
KIKINO	11	28.2	8	20.5	7	17.9	9	23.1	4	10.3	39
LAC LA BICHE	2	4.9	10	24.4	20	48.8	8	19.5	1	2.4	41
MISSION	0	0.	1	6.3	7	43.8	7	43.8	1	6.3	16
OWL RIVER	0	0.	2	13.3	2	13.3	11	73.3	0	0.	15
TOTAL	13	11.7	21	18.9	36	32.4	35	31.5	6	5.4	111

* 1. Strongly Against Drinking.
2. Against Drinking.
3. Drink in Moderation is All Right.
4. Good Time Once in A While is All Right.
5. A Good Time Often is All Right.

Summary

In this chapter we have attempted to summarize the relationships between the Metis and the larger society in which they live. We presented this in four sections: transportation and communications; relations to town and city; channels of contact with representatives of the larger society; and discrimination.

In regard to transportation and communication, we have shown that there are no telephone services, even though recommendation was made in 1936 that connection be made "as soon as possible"; that trips of some 20 to 30 miles which are made for supplies or to the hospital cost from $10.00 to $15.00; that some families who have transportation have a mail-box in the larger community because mail only comes once a week; and that trips often have to be made into town because there is no telephone communications.

In regard to relations with the town and city, we have shown that although most people have relatives in the city (Edmonton) most do not see it as at all hospitable. They see the city as having advantages -- low prices, better education, better living standards -- which they want. Yet the same city represents a destructive force which would strongly affect their life. The city is noisy, impersonal, and they aren't equipped for it -- it costs too much to live there. The city does something to people, it makes them snobbish, and they often begin to live and act "differently".

Several channels of contact with representatives of the larger society have been described: Welfare, local farmers, police, health and medical personnel, local merchants, local Metis Branch Supervisor, and neighboring baseball teams. It has been observed that in only one of these channels does the Metis actively participate on some basis of equality: the baseball tournaments. Further, the relation with the local farmers was seen as somewhat helpful although it is undertaken at great expense to the Metis laborer. It is helpful in the sense that something is better than nothing. In the rest of these relations, we have suggested that the White tends to be dominant and expects the Metis to be submissive. We discussed the extremely difficult position of the Local Metis Colony Supervisor. In all, the channels of contact between Metis and White tend to reinforce the low status of the Metis in Alberta society and reflect this structure. It is our opinion that these relationships will reflect the structure of the society and will not change

this structure.

Finally, the problem of discrimination and consumption of alcoholic beverages was discussed. The similarity between Metis standards and typical Alberta standards was mentioned, as was the importance of felt discrimination by the Metis as an indication of Metis-White relations.

CHAPTER VII

THE METIS OF THE LAC LA BICHE AREA: THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION

Description of the Sample

The families interviewed in our study included 262 schoolchildren attending school in Lac La Biche School Division 51. Eighty-four per cent are from the Hamlet of Kikino and the Town of Lac La Biche. Ten per cent live in the Mission area and attend school at Plamondon. Six per cent live in the Owl River area and attend the Owl River School. According to the 1964-65 statistics of the Lac La Biche School Division, there were 379 Metis children attending schools in the Division. Complete statistics were not available for the 1965-66 school year. The Metis children of our sample who attend District 51 are distributed by grade, as shown in Table 1.

CHAPTER VII TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE METIS ATTENDING SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 51, BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND BY COMMUNITY

		GRADES				
		1 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 8	9 & up	TOTAL
Kikino	No.	73	25	23	0	121
	%	60.3	20.7	19.0	0.0	100.0
Lac La Biche	No.	65	10	20	5	100
	%	65.0	10.0	20.0	5.0	100.0
Mission	No.	26	0	0	0	26
	%	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Owl River	No.	15	0	0	0	15
	%	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
TOTAL	No.	179	35	43	5	262
	%	68.3	13.4	16.4	1.9	100.0

Education of the Parents

In order to have a clearer picture of the Metis child and his education, it is instructive to view it historically, in terms of the education of his parents. This section will discuss where the parents went to school, problems they encountered in receiving an education and the number of years they attended. The amount of education of the Metis adults in our sample is found in Table 2.

The table indicates that 46.4 per cent of the men in the sample have had no education at all and 8.9 per cent have had up to Grades 3 or 4. Only 14.9 per cent have had up to Grades 7 or 8. Just one person, who lived in Lac

CHAPTER VII TABLE 2

AMOUNT AND PER CENT OF EDUCATION COMPLETED BY SUBJECTS INTERVIEWED, BY SEX AND COMMUNITY

AREA			NO EDUCATION	GRADES 1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	11 - 12	COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL	TOTAL
Kikino	No.	m	9	4	4	10	10	0	0	0	37
		f	4	1	6	12	8	3	1	0	35
	%	m	24.4	10.8	10.8	27.0	27.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
		f	11.4	2.9	17.1	34.3	22.9	8.5	2.9	0.0	100.0
Lac La Biche	No.	m	16	1	2	3	4	4	0	0	30
		f	14	2	7	8	9	0	0	0	40
	%	m	53.4	3.2	6.7	10.0	13.3	13.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
		f	35.0	5.0	17.5	20.0	22.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mission	No.	m	11	5	1	1	0	0	0	1	19
		f	8	2	1	3	2	1	1	0	18
	%	m	57.8	26.3	5.3	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	100.0
		f	44.3	11.1	5.6	16.7	11.1	5.6	5.6	0.0	100.0
Owl River	No.	m	11	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	15
		f	9	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	14
	%	m	73.3	0.0	13.3	6.7	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
		f	64.3	0.0	0.0	28.6	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	100.0
TOTAL	No.	m	47	10	9	15	15	4	0	1	101
		f	35	5	14	27	19	4	3	0	107
	%	m	46.4	9.9	8.9	14.9	14.9	4.0	0.0	1.0	100.0
		f	32.7	4.7	13.1	25.2	17.8	3.7	2.8	0.0	100.0

La Biche, had completed high school (but not in Lac La Biche). The men of Owl River have had the least amount of education -- 73.3 per cent have had none. The men of Kikino have had the most -- 76 per cent have had some elementary education.

The Metis women were slightly better educated than the men -- only 33 per cent have had no education. Thirteen per cent have had up to Grades 3 or 4 and 18 per cent have had up to Grades 7 or 8. No women in our sample had completed high school, but three women had gone as far as Grades 11 or 12.

Education of Adults in the Owl River Area

About half of the Metis men (40 per cent) who now live in the Owl River area grew up there. If they attended school, they attended the small, four-teacher school that was built more than 30 years ago in the Owl River area. Only 38.6 per cent of the people in the Owl River area attended school. At that time there were only wagon trails leading to the schools and in the winter it was almost impossible for them to attend. Many of them said they were needed at home, or illness, such as tuberculosis, kept them at home. This, in part, accounts for the large number of unschooled people in the Owl River area. Today, most of them can write their names and do simple arithmetic, but cannot read well. The children of these parents now attend the same Owl River school. They still use the same outhouses, but can no longer drink from the school's water supply since it is contaminated. Bad roads and illness are still problems to the children who attend school at Owl River. This will be discussed in more detail in the section, "Problems".

Education of Adults in the Mission Area

A large majority (88.9 per cent) of the Metis men who now live in the Mission area grew up in that area. Almost half of the men and women -- 57.9 per cent and 44.4 per cent respectively -- received no formal education. There were no schools in the nearby area, and those who did attend school attended in Lac La Biche. Today, the children of these parents attend school in Plamondon, about 10 to 12 miles away.

Education of Adults in Lac La Biche

Of the Metis men in our sample from Lac La Biche, over half (66.7 per cent) grew up in Lac La Biche. Since the schools were in Lac La Biche, these adults had the best opportunity for education as compared with the surrounding areas. Considering the men only, 13.3 per cent of the Lac La Biche sample completed Grades 9 or 10, which is the highest percentage reaching this level.

However, over half of the men (53.3 per cent) have had no education. Just over one fifth (22.5 per cent) of the women of the Lac La Biche sample completed Grades 7 or 8. Apparently none went beyond.

Education of Adults in Kikino

The Hamlet of Kikino had its own school, covering Grades 1 through 6. All (100 per cent) of the men who grew up there and live there now (32.4 per cent of the Kikino sample) received some education, with 45.5 per cent completing Grade 6. None went beyond. This is where the system ended. Many of the adults in Kikino felt that their education in the hamlet was far from adequate. People felt that incompetent teachers, and teachers who were careless of their classroom responsibilities, were a problem. At one time, Bible students from a nearby college served as teachers. At another time, the colony supervisor played a dual role, sharing his time between the supervision of children and the colony. It was a one-teacher school and often the classroom was so overcrowded that the older children, regardless of the grade they were in, were forced to drop out in order to make room for the younger ones. Several told us of one case of a man, now the father of a student, who lied about his age so that he could continue longer. Being small for his age, he managed to stay in school several years longer than did the others of his age. He confirmed this during an interview. Boys especially were forced to drop out of school, some having only completed Grades 2 or 3. School facilities, materials and books were scarce. These were the circumstances under which many of the adults of Kikino attended school. Today, most of the Kikino adults can read and write, but do not have the education to compete in the labor market. These are the parents of most of the Kikino children who attend school in Lac La Biche today.

Education of Adults in the Lac La Biche District from the Indian Reserves

Of the men who were raised on the reserves, 15.2 per cent of our sample, 17.7 per cent completed up to Grades 7 or 8. However, 27.8 per cent had no education at all. Some of the women who were raised on or near the reserves attended Indian schools near Edmonton. These were boarding schools and educated the girls up to Grade 8. Many of the women who attended one of these schools complained about the stress on Catholic catechism in relation to the other subjects. The Indian boarding schools help, in part, to account for the fact that the women have attended school longer than most of the men.

Summary

It is clear that older adults who grew up on the reserves* or were treaty Indians and attended boarding schools near Edmonton attended school longer than did the Metis who later grew up on the colony in Kikino, where overcrowding and poor teaching conditions caused many to "drop out" early. The adults in the Mission and Owl River areas, who as children were faced with the problems of non-existent roads and distant schools, have the least amount of education. Those reaching the highest levels in school were those who grew up in areas where education was available. Where schools were easily accessible, more attended; but, all were forced to end their education where the system ended. Thus, the amount of education the adults of these areas attained seemed to be primarily influenced by where they grew up and not by individual motivation.

Today, the number of yearsspent in school is almost completely standardized by the legal "drop out" age of 15, and few go beyond. The following section will attempt to show some of the reasons why this is so.

School Problems from the Point of View of the Parents

Although most of the school problems were relevant to parents in all four of the areas, some of the problems were locally defined. These localized problems will be discussed first, and then problems facing the larger population.

Owl River School Problems

In response to the question, "Do you think your children have any special problems in school because they are Metis?" the parents of Owl River schoolchildren all answered in the negative. These children attend school in Owl River where the children are of Indian or French extraction. They attend the same school that many of their parents attended a generation ago. Few changes have been made in the school, except that it now has electricity. The water supply has been condemned and so the children must bring drinking water to school from home, where it is dipped from the lake into jars which they carry with them.

Just as roads were a problem for their parents when they attended school, so are they now a problem. After a rainfall, or during the thaw, it

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*Before the colony was established, approximately 30 years ago, some Metis were living on the reserves.

is especially difficult for the children to get to school. When the roads are passable, the buses take the children in Grades 1 to 6 to the Owl River School and children above Grade 6 to Lac La Biche. However, one family who has children in Grade 7 and above must board the children in Lac La Biche because the road to their house is impassable for the bus. They live nearly ten miles from the closest bus stop; therefore, road conditions make it necessary for these children to live in town rather than with their family.

The children boarding in town present other problems. Although the School District pays these children $52.50 a month to pay for board and room in town, the parents interviewed felt that this was not enough. If the children could not live with relatives in town, they would have to drop out of school. Also, some of the children, especially the younger ones who have never been away from home before, find it very difficult to live in town away from their families. One child had dropped from school recently because of loneliness and another eighth-grader was considering it. If the roads were improved, the bus could transport these children to school daily, and boarding in town would not be necessary.

Many of the parents complained about the quality of the teaching in Owl River. From their descriptions, the teachers seem incompetent. One teacher is allegedly almost deaf, and another one on occasion drives into town, according to reports, leaving his class unattended. Failing in school is very common for these children, and it is not uncommon for a child to repeat a grade. Some have had the same grade as many as three times. Several of the parents said of their children, "If they pass they will go on, but if they fail (again) they'll quit." Very few of the Owl River children continue school past the age of 15.

Mission School Problems

The Plamondon School, where the children of Mission attend, is a semi-modern rural town school attended primarily by children of French extraction. It is complete in that it includes Grades 1 to 12.

Sixty-nine per cent of the Mission parents indicated that their children had special problems in school because they were Metis. This is significant since the Metis are a definite minority in Plamondon. A considerable number of parents in the Mission area complained about the fact that nuns were teachers and that one served as principal. There were complaints of "strictness", "cruelty" and "unfairness" on the part of the nuns. One parent seemed to speak

for many of the others: "There is more reason than the children just being bad that so many drop out at age 15. The teachers should make an effort to be fairer..... Their methods of discipline do not seem justified." She concluded by saying that "if you are an Indian, you are an outsider."

Kikino School Problems

It is worthy to note that almost all (96.3 per cent) of the Kikino parents answered in the affirmative to the question about children's problems in school because they were Metis. It is particularly interesting since only 16 per cent of the Lac La Biche Metis parents answered "yes" and since both the Kikino and the Lac La Biche children attend the same schools. This suggests that the problems may be related to the differences in residence.

The children of Kikino travel on the school bus 60 miles (round trip) every day -- in the winter leaving home in darkness and arriving home in darkness and being gone from home nine hours. Parents and teachers alike indicated that this was too long for most children -- especially the six-to-eight-year-olds. One parent complained that her children didn't sleep well at night "because they could hear the roar of the bus in their heads."

Because of poor roads and bridges that won't support a school bus, about 25 of the 121 children on the colony must have other means of transportation to reach the bus stop. Six families live on one inaccessible road and their children must be transported two to three miles by team, which means they must leave their homes quite early, often in sub-zero weather, to catch the school bus.

Lac La Biche School Problems

Most of the parents of Metis schoolchildren in our sample did not feel that their children had any problems in school that were related to being Metis. They did, however, mention problems of clothing their children for school, and school lunch problems. These will be discussed in the next section since they are problems which face the majority of the other Metis parents also.

School Problems Common to Metis Children in the Four Areas Studied, from the Point of View of the Parents

The Metis parent sees the problems in educating his child as those that center around himself as a parent, i.e. providing clothing, lunches, money for tests, money for classroom parties, books, pictures, outings, pop, presents, scribblers, pencils, pens, scissors, geometry sets, etc. The Metis clearly

sees education as being the source of his child's future and yet, as with most things, it is something that the Metis cannot afford.

This section discusses the three primary problems -- providing clothing, school lunches and supplies -- that all the Metis parents face in sending their children to school. The problems of providing these things for their children are major concerns to all of the Metis people in our area of study, and at least one of them was mentioned by every parent.

1. Problems in Providing School Clothes

A constant problem and worry for the Metis mother is clothing her children for school. She begins in the summer patching, planning, and sewing. Sewing consists primarily of cutting down adult clothing into children's clothing, or patching old clothing. In the two months we were in Kikino, we saw a considerable amount of sewing being done. Never did we see new cloth being used. Indeed, it is a luxury for the people of this colony. Even buttons and safety pins are scarce. If a button is lost off a garment, a safety pin is transferred from another piece of clothing to close the gap. Even material to use as patches is hard for them to obtain. It is not uncommon to hear one mother ask another for a particular color of cloth to use as a patch. "Handed down" clothing is the mainstay of the child's wardrobe, which usually consists of only a few pieces. Clothing is passed down from older child to younger, with older children in the family getting clothing from another family. All clothing that one family does not need immediately is given to another family, who cuts it down, cuts it up for patches, or uses it "as is". When a baby outgrows his clothing it is often given to a friend or relative who is expecting, rather than keep it for the next baby. One mother in Owl River told me that the only way her children have clothing for school is for her to trade berries for used clothing from a woman in Lac La Biche.

During the early summer of 1966 a rummage sale was held in Kikino. It was sponsored by the Evangelical Church to raise money. The clothing was accumulated by the Lac La Biche church and sold for 10 cents per article in Kikino. The sale began at 1:00 p.m., but people, mostly mothers, were waiting since noon to get the "good pieces". Most people would not view even these "good pieces" as bargains, as some were already patched or mended, or of an old style. Yet, for these mothers they served as material for a "new" outfit for school or, at best, play clothes for their children. In less than an hour most of the clothing, 30 or more cardboard cartons of it, was gone. Several

of the parents asked us if we knew of any place in the city where one could get used clothing.

While the mothers are concerned with covering and keeping their children warm with clothing, the children are concerned with the style and the looks of the clothing. The children know from bitter experience that if their clothing looks different in any way from those of the "town" children, they will be teased. If a boy wears patches on his knees, the others will tease him about his "headlights". A teenager feels less than a "White" if his clothing is old, or mended, or out of style. This helps to alienate the Metis child from the others and the school.

Welfare does give some help to some families. The Welfare Department's verbal policy concerning provision of clothing allowances is according to need. In viewing Metis children going to school, especially on cold days, it is difficult to spot a child who does not have clothing needs. Reports from the people are that next year the Welfare Department will help them even less than before in providing school clothes.

When a family does have money to spend, clothing for schoolchildren is of high priority. Certainly it is higher than clothing for the adults. Children not in school have the lowest priority in receiving clothing since "they can wear anything around here".

The work of keeping clothing clean and ironed takes on enormous proportions when one considers the fact that there is no running water or electricity in the houses at Owl River, Mission and Kikino. Carrying water from the creek or lake is not an easy task, considering the amount of water needed for a family of seven or eight people, the modal number in each household for all four areas. One can pay $1.00 per barrel to have it hauled up by truck or team, but this is too expensive for most people. The water is extremely hard, according to chemical analysis, and a great deal of detergent must be used in it in order to wash clothing. Water must be heated in large tubs on the wood stove, which means sufficient wood must be on hand for a woman to heat several tubs of water. Approximately 40 per cent have their own gasoline-powered washers; the rest wash by hand. A few use a neighbor's or friend's washer. Washing is difficult enough in three seasons of the year, but during the long winter when the creeks and lakes are frozen and wood is even more difficult to obtain and clothes take longer to dry, the weekly wash becomes an even more difficult feat.

In terms of the work and expense involved, a woman cannot afford to wash and iron more than once a week, and yet few of her children have enough clothing for daily changes of any article of clothing. Therefore, most of the mothers seem to do the best they can in keeping their children's clothing clean. It should be remembered, however, that many of the children, especially the children of Kikino, come as far as five to seven miles, some by wagon and some by car, to catch the bus. Often the roads are muddy and it is not unusual for the children to be dirty by the time they get on the bus. They cannot be as clean as children who go to school in a car.

Ironing is done by heating heavy "irons" on wood stoves to press the family laundry.

2. Problems in Providing School Lunches

Another concern of the parents of schoolchildren -- one facing those of Mission, Owl River and especially Kikino -- is the problem of school lunches. It is a problem of expense as well as of availability of food. For example, in Kikino, the families live 30 miles from town and transportation is scarce. This means, then, that they are dependent upon the Kikino store for food to pack lunches. Also, the Welfare Department deposits their family allowance vouchers at the Kikino store, which forces the people to "buy" there, where prices are higher (see "Consumer" section) and where selection and availability of foods suitable to pack lunches are very limited. For example, there are no fresh fruits or vegetables, and canned foods are more expensive than in Lac La Biche. Neither fresh lunch meats nor cheese are carried in the Kikino store. There are no eggs available to hard boil and no fresh milk for a jar or vacuum bottle. Thus, the usual mainstays of a child's lunch -- a lunch meat or cheese sandwich, fresh fruit, carrots or celery and milk are simply not available -- even if the family were able to afford them. Instead, a canned meat product, canned fruit, potato chips, canned soup for a jar or vacuum bottle, bread, cookies and candy are the only suitable things available. Nothing else in the store is suitable for a lunch. It is no wonder that these children suffer almost constantly from running noses, colds, and complications from childhood diseases, with such apparent vitamin deficiencies in their diets. Perhaps the significant part of the problem is that the mothers are well aware of the inadequacies of their children's lunches and a strong majority (85 per cent) complained about not being able to get fresh fruit, fresh vegetables, cheese or milk for their children's lunches.

Of course, there are some parents who are only able to provide bannock (Indian bread) and lard, with some canned meat at times. Some children attend school with no lunches at all, and at times children stay home because there is no food to send with them to school.

Consider the enormity of the problem of providing lunches when many of the families have four, five, and six children in school. If each child has two sandwiches and five lunches are packed, it would easily amount to a loaf of bread per day (or five loaves per week). A small loaf of bread at the Kikino store costs 23 cents. Common sandwich fillings are lard, mustard, or canned meat product once or twice a week. Some children take peanut butter sandwiches. A majority of the mothers bake their own bread. They usually bake twice a week and if the family has six or seven children, they often bake 30 loaves per week or more. About half of it is used for school lunches (these loaves do not make as many slices as commercial bread). Many children prefer "store bread" to homemade bread, and most children will not take bannock to school.

The problem of school lunches becomes more pressing when one realizes that most of these children do not have adequate breakfasts. Some have porridge, but milk is usually not available unless the family has a cow. Some eat dry cereal without milk. An egg is a luxury, unless the family has chickens, and it is difficult to keep chickens in the winter. Where a child has not had an adequate breakfast, or has had none at all, and perhaps had to walk a mile or so to catch the school bus, it would not be surprising if he ate his lunch on the way to school. It is not uncommon for Kikino children to do so. Certainly, a hungry or undernourished child will not gain the full benefits of a school system, regardless of the system.

It seems evident that in a school system that is now incorporating the adjoining hamlets and villages and thus bussing in many of its students -- in an area where sub-zero temperatures are usual -- a hot lunch program of some nature would not only greatly benefit the country children, but also those who live in town. Perhaps Welfare would be able to keep "tabs" on those children who are not fed properly and provide meal tickets or vouchers through the school. The very least that the schools could do in alleviating this problem would be to provide vending machines for milk, soup, fresh fruit and sandwiches. This would certainly be more valuable to undernourished children than a "coke" machine, which is all that is now available. With little effort, some sort

of a "milk program" could be initiated in the elementary grades. With little effort, teachers could provide a "milk break" for the children, just as teachers and administrators have their own essential "coffee break". It would cost the parents little and be a great boon to the child, since in many cases it would be the only milk the child would get daily.

3. The Problem of Providing School Supplies and Books

The third problem of major concern to Metis parents is that of school expenses for their children. This was one of the major problems discussed at length at the recent Metis Association Convention in Kikino. According to the minutes of that meeting, a motion was passed authorizing Mr. Adrian Hope, President of the Association, to choose a committee to draw up a letter setting forth needs of the Metis people in this area. The letter was to be sent to various education and welfare branches of the provincial government. Four parents and Mr. Hope formed the committee. These parents represented three families and 14 children in school. We were asked to sit in an advisory capacity. The parents of this committee drew up lists of expenses from bills, invoices and receipts that they had received from the previous year, and from this were able to present a picture showing the amount of expenses incurred by their children in the course of a school year. Considering the annual earned incomes of these families (less than $600 per year for two of the families and none in another since the father is recovering from tuberculosis), the amount they are expected to pay is between ten and 20 per cent of their total earned income and family allowance for school supplies alone. Books constitute additional expense. Periodically, Welfare assists them in paying for book or supply bills.

When the school was in Kikino, the supplies and books were provided to those attending. When the school was moved to Lac La Biche, the people of Kikino had the understanding that the Welfare Department would continue to supply these necessities for at least three years. However, when the School District in Lac La Biche sent the bills to the Welfare Department, they were often returned unpaid for the parents to pay. Figures 1 and 2 in Appendix A are copies of invoices from the School District -- one for books totalling $4.35, and the other for supplies totalling $6.65. These are for supplies and books for a Grade 6 student with which to begin school. The two bills total $11.00. These bills were sent to the Metis Branch for payment in accord with the understanding. However, the Metis Branch returned them unpaid to the School District who in turn billed the parents, who did pay the bills. A copy

of the letter requesting payment from the parents is found in Figure 3 in Appendix A. Although Welfare did pay many of the bills, especially the ones for books, the parents paid for almost all of the supplies.

Following are itemized statements drawn up by two representative families at Kikino indicating the amount they paid for supplies and the amount paid by Welfare:

a. Family A. Last year this family had five children in school (Grades 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8). Other children in the family have either dropped out of school or are too young. This family's total expenses for supplies only were approximately $108.66. With difficulty they paid $66.16 of it. Welfare paid the rest ($42.50) plus fees for book rentals. According to a report, Welfare will not help them nor any other family this much next year. This family, and others, do not know how they can provide supplies and books for school. Below, the bills are partly itemized:

Summary of Expenses for Children in Family A

	Grades 2,3,4,5	Grade 8	Total
Paid by Welfare	$24.00	$18.50	$ 42.50
Paid by family	46.87	19.29	66.16
Total	$70.87	$37.79	$108.66

b. Family B. Last year this family had six children in school (Grades 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 9). Next year there will be seven. Older children were, in part, forced to leave school so that the younger ones could afford to go. This family's school supply expenses amounted to approximately $117.68. They managed to pay $85.73 of it, but could pay no more. Welfare finally paid the balance -- plus costs for book rental. Next year this family's costs will be more (more children in higher grades and more in school). It is impossible for them to pay more. Following is an approximate list of school supplies paid for by the family (according to bills sent by the schools), plus totals that they could not pay, which Welfare refused to pay but ultimately did.

Family A's expenses for supplies amounted to $108.66, and Family B's to $117.68. Last year the Metis Branch paid for the books for both families. They were not, however, paid for all families. Next year the people fear that since the three-year period is up, they will receive no help with books or supplies. This is a major source of worry to most of the parents. Virtually

Summary of Expenses for Children in Family B

	GRADES						TOTAL
	One	Two	Five	Six	Seven	Nine	
Glue	(no	$ .20	$ .10	$ .10			
Scribblers	receipts	3.20	5.20	5.20	$ 2.60	$ 2.00	
Erasers	sent	.30	.60	.60	.50	.50	
Party	home)	.25	.25	.25	1.00	1.00	
Pencils		.50	.60	.60	.90	1.00	
Pens			1.00	1.50	4.00	4.80	
Rulers			.10	.10	.10	.10	
Key tabs				.75	2.95	2.95	
Pictures			.85	.85	.85	.85	
Binders			1.98	1.98	1.98	1.98	
Geometry sets					.60	1.80	
Paper			2.00	2.00	2.18	2.18	
Tests						4.00	
Crayons			1.30	1.30	1.98		
Dividers			.20	.20	.20	.30	
Reinforcements			.20	.30	.30	.40	
Paints			1.30	1.30	1.30		
Religion book			.25	.25	.25		
Music book						.50	
Pd. by family (Est.)	$3.00	$4.45	$14.95	$17.28	$21.69	$24.36	$85.73
Pd. by Welfare	1.40	1.70	6.10	4.95	6.40	11.40	31.95
TOTAL AMOUNT PAID FOR SUPPLIES							$117.68

every mother with schoolchildren in our survey at Kikino indicated that providing school supplies was a major problem to them in sending their children to school. Some parents are faced with the problem of having their older children drop out of school, simply because they cannot afford books and supplies for all of their children in school. Those parents with only younger children in school feel that the problem is not so great. But those who have children in the fifth grade and up feel that it is a problem of major proportion.

The problem is further aggravated in certain courses, such as home economics. A majority of the mothers felt that this was an important course for their girls to take in school, and almost every girl from Kikino who reaches Grade 8 enrolls in it. However, the number of supplies the parents are expected to provide for these girls is phenomenal. It is not uncommon for these girls to drop out of the course because they cannot provide the supplies. One mother wrote out a list of requirements for the course: scissors of special length, material, thread, thimble, needles, bobbin, gauge, tape measure and pins. This was a startling and disconcerting list to a mother who makes many of her children's clothes by hand, and rarely from new material. She was expected to provide these things for her daughter for school. She would have liked to. She would have liked them for herself also. Another mother indicated that her daughter suffered from "home ec. blues"

every Monday because she did not have the necessary materials with which to work.

From interviews with teachers and administrators in the Lac La Biche School Division we learned that they fear books and/or supplies would be "wasted" if they were furnished to children. In one sense, this is probably true if by "wasted" one means "lost". "Redistributed" is perhaps a more accurate word. The pencil, or whatever, may end up with another child, or may even be used at home instead of at school. But it would certainly not be "wasted". The quantity of writing and drawing materials, such as those found in schools and in most middle-class homes (paper, pencils, pens, crayons, etc.) was indeed scarce in Kikino. These materials were held at a premium. When an adult needs to write a letter he must literally go from house to house to secure a pen, paper and an envelope. When we interviewed a family, the younger children seemed fascinated with our pen or pencil and would often leave us alone if we provided them with a pencil and a piece of paper. One principal said, "You would really laugh if you saw some of the scraps of paper on which these parents write notes." Thus, a piece of paper and a pencil, pen, or crayon becomes a meaningful thing to people who have little. It can become even more meaningful to a child who is in school.

Books in the homes of the Metis people, as in the homes of most poor people, are also rare. When a child starts school, it is conceivable that he is looking at his first book, and certainly his first children's book. Now his parents must provide him with books -- at least rent them from the school -- so the books are still not really his.

School supplies are sold through the school "almost at cost", as one administrator said, and the price of a book rental may seem minimal, but the total yearly costs of supplies and books for some of the families interviewed was far from minimal. The same administrator indicated that for what they pay out in administrative costs to handle the selling of supplies, they could almost afford to give these supplies to the students.

In any case, teachers are well known for their efficient ways of handling situations in which supplies may disappear, and certainly the problem of distribution could be worked out so that in the long run neither the child nor the school would lose. At worst, "wasted" supplies, and maybe even books, would be better than a "wasted" child. Books and supplies are the tools of

the schoolchild; he cannot work without them and he does not become educated without them, but many families cannot afford them.

It is interesting to note that the one Metis girl who did finish high school completed it under the Northland School Division and not the Lac La Biche Division, since the school in Kikino had not yet been centralized. She was furnished with board and room in town, spending money, clothes, books and supplies. Both the Northland School Division and the Metis Branch helped her considerably. In discussion, she emphasized that she could never have made it without their help. Since the school has merged with Lac La Biche, other teenagers have not been receiving this help. Metis children who live off the colony are not eligible for it and only two ninth-graders from Kikino were given any help at all, according to the Metis Branch. A majority of the parents of Kikino feel that if their children had substantial help after the age of 15, they too would continue in high school.

The Metis people in our survey see the problems of providing school lunches, clothing, supplies and books as a real threat to the education of their children. In their responses to the question, "Do you think your children have any special problems in school because they are Metis?" one wonders why everyone did not answer the question in the affirmative. Perhaps it is because they see these problems in terms of poverty and not being Metis. Another possibility is that the parents interpreted "problems" as meaning academic problems, and they were thus defending themselves. In any case, it is clear to anyone who knows these families or visits their homes that they do have problems in obtaining an education -- both because they are poor, and because they are Metis.

These problems, as seen by the Metis parents, have a direct bearing on some of their attitudes concerning education. These, and other attitudes related to education, are discussed in the next section.

Attitudes of the Metis Parents Concerning Centralization

The one topic that these parents seemed to feel the most strongly about, and about which the most disagreement was found, concerned centralization of the schools in Lac La Biche. This will be discussed separately for each of the areas which we studied.

Centralization in Kikino

Three years ago the school in Kikino was moved, building and all, to Lac La Biche. According to reports, many of the parents were quite upset about having it leave Kikino. However, many more felt that their children had not been receiving an adequate education in Kikino. Now, three years later, 80 per cent of the parents of Kikino would not want the schools returned to the hamlet except for Grade 1 and possibly Grade 2. A majority of the parents do feel that the distance, the cold weather, the lack of hot lunches, and the long hours, make the trip and the day too long for the younger children attending in Lac La Biche. Twenty per cent of them would like to have the younger ones going to school in Kikino, but prefer the older ones in Lac La Biche. Sixty-four per cent of the parents of Kikino prefer to have their children attend school with White children. Only 12 per cent want them separated. One parent seemed to sum up the view of the Kikino parents: "Our children seem to learn more when they go with Whites. They are not shy as we were when we were children and around Whites."

Centralization in Owl River

Owl River School is the next school in the area to be affected by centralization. It closed its doors in July, 1966, and the children of that area will now be bussed into Lac La Biche. Basically, the parents are opposed to this action -- 99.3 per cent stating that they were against it. However, many qualified their statement by saying that they wanted the schools to continue in Owl River only if qualified and competent teachers were placed there.

Other reasons the parents do not want centralization include the long bus ride into Lac La Biche, especially for the younger children, and association with the "bad influences" found in town. Contrary to this, however, was the fact that 78.6 per cent wanted their children to go to school with Whites and not just Metis, as was the case in Kikino. The parents verbalized their feelings that their children "will have to mix sooner or later", and that "they can learn from the Whites". However, they apparently also fear the negative aspects of this "mixing" and prefer to have their children in their own area -- where they themselves went to school.

Centralization in the Mission Area

The parents of the Mission area express quite an opposite point of view concerning centralization than did the parents of Owl River. The children of these parents attend a predominantly white school in Plamondon. All of them

(100 per cent) indicated that they want their children to go to school in Lac La Biche, and not Plamondon. Thirty-eight per cent qualified their preference in some way, some wanting the younger children to attend school closer to home, preferably in the Mission area. Two factors appear to contribute to the majority view expressed. First of all, most of the men of the Mission area grew up there and have many personal and business ties, as well as relatives in Lac La Biche. Few have any ties with Plamondon. Secondly, the Metis children form a minority in Plamondon and many of the parents feel that their children are discriminated against. This was discussed previously in the section on "School Problems in the Mission Area".

Attitudes of Metis Parents Concerning Education

A variety of attitudes regarding education were expressed by the mothers of the various areas in the course of answering interview questions. These dealt with universal education, amount of education for girls, and sex education, and they were asked of the mothers of schoolchildren in our sample.

Over half (52.6 per cent) of the Metis parents preferred having their children attend school with White children. The differences between settlements on this topic have already been described. The feeling on the need for universal education was very strong. Over 60 per cent felt that high school was necessary.

The mothers of Kikino had the highest educational aspirations for their daughters, with half stating that completion of high school was necessary, even if their daughters planned to marry and raise families. The mothers of the Mission area held the lowest aspirations for their daughters. Some 42.9 per cent of them stated that no high school education was necessary for their daughters if they planned to marry and raise families.

Of all the Metis women in our sample, 47 per cent felt some high school was necessary for their daughters, even if they planned to marry. Twenty-nine per cent, however, felt high school completion was necessary, while the same percentage felt none was necessary.

Several of the mothers volunteered that they would like to see sex education in the schools. One mother said, "They know more about teaching these things to kids than we do." Other attitudes concerning the completion of high school and job training will be discussed in later sections. It is

interesting to note that attitudes of the parents concerning education were not significantly related to the amount of education of the parents.

Communication between the Home and the School

In areas where the teachers and the children are from different socio-economic or ethnic backgrounds, communication between the teachers and the parents is doubly important, if the child is to become educated. This section will discuss the importance of this communication and some of the problems that arise between Metis parents and white teachers. It will also point out problems that arise when communication or understanding is lacking.

Unlike most White middle-class parents, most of the parents of the Metis children either have not attended school at all, or have not attended public schools. Furthermore, their contact with printed mass media is nearly non-existent. Therefore, one should not expect these parents to understand or be familiar with the type of modern education that their children are being exposed to. Nor should we expect the teachers and the system to be aware of the problems facing the Metis in their efforts to motivate and send their children to school. This understanding is not easily obtained, but it must be if effective education of Metis is to take place. When the schools can provide a more personal experience for the Metis child, interest will be communicated to the parents through the children.

It is necessary for the teacher to have a fairly good knowledge of the home background of the child in order to know what to expect from the child and to understand him. Before the teacher can educate the child, he must know something of the child in his own context and not merely judge him by the teacher's own standards. Some of the teachers and administrators interviewed seemed to be excusing themselves from responsibility for the achievement or behavior of the child by saying, "The child is not in his own environment". They seemed to expect the child to meet the school on its own terms, and partially denied any real responsibility for helping him adapt to the school -- much less adapting the

school to better address itself to his situation. If the child cannot meet the school on its own terms, his chances of obtaining even a minimum education are very slim.

Communication between the parents and the teachers is one way for each to get a glimpse of the other and of the problems that each faces in the education of the child. The parents need to have some understanding of the school. Their primary opportunity for this is a conference once or twice a year at school. The school provides the school bus to transport the mothers from Kikino to the classroom. By and large, this is a meaningful experience for the mothers, and by summer some of them were still talking about "Tommy's teacher". This is usually the only point of contact between the parent and the teacher. During this conference, the teacher discusses the child's achievement and behavior in school from an evaluation sheet he has made out which becomes part of the child's permanent file.

Just as important as having the parents meet the teacher in the school would be for the teacher to meet the parents in their homes, since real communication -- and thus education -- can only take place when each understands something of the life of the other. In talking with the teachers, both elementary and secondary, we found that few of them had very realistic ideas concerning the backgrounds of the Metis children who were in their classrooms. Most are still unaware of the many hardships faced by the Metis people. Some were surprised, for example, to learn that almost all of the houses in Kikino lacked running water and electricity. Many more were surprised that over 50 per cent of the families lacked their own transportation into town. Many of the teachers and administrators view the Metis with the same stereotyped view that most people have of the Indian -- "their parents are like children"; "the children have no concept of money"; "why can't they wipe their runny noses?"; "if so many of their parents weren't so lazy, there would be less on welfare"; "there is no excuse for the way some of them come to school"; "if we could just get them into some kind of vocational training program." One parent told me of instances when their child came home

from school with hurt feelings because a teacher had said: "Stop acting like an Indian." A few parents stated that some teachers made disparaging remarks to the children if their parents were on welfare -- especially in reference to paying for school supplies. Several parents indicated that the teachers were often not discreet in handling such matters and this caused their children embarrassment in front of the other children. Another parent felt that her children were discriminated against because they were Protestant and the teacher reportedly called her child a "Protestant heretic" for not taking catechism.

One kind of misunderstanding involves a form teachers are to fill out in reference to preschool children who will enter in the Fall. "Metis" is listed as a language among "French," "Syrian," "English," etc., that the children speak at home. More than a few teachers had indicated that the children spoke "Metis" at home. Since "Metis" is not a language, perhaps "Cree" would have been more accurate, except for the fact that almost all children speak English at home -- even in Kikino. Very few children can speak Cree. Teachers did not seem to be aware of this. Thus, we see various forms of prejudice, misunderstanding, lack of information, and stereotyped statements on the part of teachers, that were reported by parents or that we ourselves observed in the course of our research.

It must be pointed out, however, that only 40.9 per cent of the parents of Kikino and 16 per cent of the parents interviewed in Lac La Biche indicated that their children had had problems with teachers, relating to the fact that their children were Metis. Parenthetically, 59.1 per cent of the Kikino parents indicated that they had had no problems and 84 per cent of the Lac La Biche parents so indicated. One administrator said, "We bend over backwards to help these kids." Other teachers showed a special concern for the Metis, and a few seemed to have considerable knowledge and understanding of them. One teacher is seriously interested in starting a kindergarten for Metis children in Lac La Biche, but does not yet have the funds. Another teacher reportedly invited a Metis child to accompany her on her vacation. Many teachers want to "help the deserving ones."

The Student in the School

The previous section discussed the way in which the teacher views the Metis child and his home situation and the way in which the parents view the teachers and the school. Both of these have a direct bearing on the child in the school situation.

This section will deal with the approach of teachers and administrators to the Metis child in the school setting, and problems which the curriculum poses for Metis children.

Approach of Administrators to the Metis

It seems clear that although the teachers and administrators do much to encourage and help these children, the children do not seem to be an integral part of the present educational system. This is illustrated in a brief submitted to a Committee of the Cabinet of the Provincial Government recently by the Board of Trustees of the Lac La Biche School Division.[2]

> The figure (representing the amount of 'Indianness' pupils in Grade 1) has increased significantly to approximately 55 per cent of the total Grade 1 enrollment. There is no doubt, then, that the Indianness populace is developing into a silent, but significant majority in the region, (emphasis added).. .sic

One wonders at this "silence" of a majority. Apparently, the children are part of a system which is not designed to include them or to meet the changing need of the local population. In part, it is because they are brown children in a White system; because they are poor children in a more affluent system; and because they are rural children in a more urban system. Their silence suggests their alienation from the system.

From the report as a whole, one can infer that the Metis are "significant" primarily because of the problems they create in the system. One problem apparent to the administrators is that of costs. In an analysis of a recent 604 students passing through the Lac La Biche School Division between 1962 and 1964, the Board of Trustees made the following estimates concerning costs of education. Table 3 represents an adaptation

of several tables used in the Trustee Report which elucidates their results. The Metis primarily fit in the "unemployed, etc." category.

CHAPTER VII TABLE 3

PER CENT OF SCHOOL BUDGET SPENT FOR SELECT "EDUCATIONAL TYPES"

Educational Type	Budget Spent-- Number of Students	Per Cent of Budget Spent-- Cost to Educate	Per Cent of Population*
Further training	76	13.0	12.6
Semi-skilled	164	27.0	27.1
Unemployed, non-skilled, leisure	364	56.0	60.3
Miscellaneous		4.0	
TOTAL	604	100.0	100.0

*This column was added by this writer and not from the Trustee Report.

It is clear from the Trustee Report that 56 per cent of the school budget is spent to educate the "unemployed, etc.", which includes most of the Metis. The report elaborates considerably on this point....that they spend more to educate the unemployed "for leisure" than those who go on for further training. However, when one considers the per cent of the whole population that each of these "educational types" constitutes, which was not done in the Trustee Report, the picture becomes more realistic. The "unemployed" category comprises 60.3 per cent of the population, therefore one would expect about 60 per cent of the budget to be spent on their education. In fact, when considering costs per capita we find that the cost to educate the unemployed is less than for other categories of students. Table 4 shows the amounts spent per capita on education by the School District. The "unemployed" and those educated for "leisure" (which includes the Metis) have cost the district less per capita than those educated for "further training" or for "semi-skilled" jobs.

CHAPTER VII TABLE 4

PER CAPITA COSTS TO EDUCATE STUDENTS

Educational Types	Amount Spent	Per Cent of Total Population	Cost per Capita
Further training	$ 294,405	12.9	$3,874
Semi-skilled	616,572	27.2	3,760
Unemployed, leisure	1,292,682	60.3	3,551

(A miscellaneous category completes the total)

The significant fact, however, is that of the 604 students who had left school in School Division 51, 60.3 per cent of them were unemployed, or "at leisure" as the report put it. Thus, the problem is more serious than it first appears. Considering the amount of human resources currently wasted, a higher per capita expenditure for education of this "category" seems highly justifiable. From the Trustee Report, it seems evident that their budget could not incorporate such an expenditure.

Another apparent problem for the teachers and administrators concerns the educability of the Metis child. They see the situation in these terms:

> The educationally and economically deprived Metis may themselves be partially responsible for the present problem. Being of a totally different culture than the 'Whites,' their attitudes are totally different and very often conflicting.
>
> The Metis attitude toward education, money, liquor, material possessions, work, provisions of future needs appear to be completely contrary to the role these things play in a White society.[2]

Much of our report on the Metis points out that most of the attitudes of the Metis are, in fact, not "totally different" from those in the white society and only a small percentage could be considered "conflicting". Perhaps the Metis is more educable than they assume.

The Metis child may have problems in the school, however, because of communication problems. Although his command of English is not necessarily limited 'even though he may live on a colony' his experiences are

very much more limited than those of a "White, town" child. A curriculum that does not communicate to him may indeed impede his education. The next section discusses this subject.

The Curriculum and the Metis Child

Toilet, kite, streetcar, giraffe, lightbulb -- these are words that we take for granted that every child knows before he starts school or soon after. And yet, there is no reason to assume that a child who has never looked at books or magazines, with the possible exception of comic books, who has never been to the city and who lives without many modern conveniences would understand these words. Communication is again the key. Unless the teachers can communicate to the child, nothing happens positively in the educational sense. Is the teacher justified in saying "the child is in the wrong environment"? If he is to reach the child, he must learn to communicate with him. Perhaps then the "silent majority" will learn to speak.

As we walked down the halls of the new, modern high school in Lac La Biche, our ears were filled with chants -- choruses of answers in unison being repeated to the teacher. In the elementary school the chants seemed more enthusiastic, and were heard oftener and in more classrooms. Alphabet chants, geography chants and other chants unidentifiable to us were heard during the several days that we visited the schools. We wondered how effective these methods were in teaching children for whom the modern world seems quite remote.

As school came to a close for the summer, various children from Kikino showed us, rather proudly, their completed notebooks. One second-grader showed us his science notebook expressing clear concepts of the movement of the earth and the sun and the meaning of day and night. We were indeed impressed at the amount of his learning until we discovered that he couldn't read his own notebook, but had copied -- no doubt with great effort -- the information from the board over the course of the year. Another child showed us her catechism notebook. She could read what she had copied but could not explain to us its meaning.

Many problems for the Metis child are created by the textbooks themselves. For example, history and social studies texts continue to view the growth, development and progress in North America in terms of the "White man." According to the texts, history "began" in Canada when the White man arrived. The Indian was the "savage" who was there to meet the White man. Little does the Metis child know that one of these White men may have indeed been an ancestor. Yet, no one helps him to make this identification, which is so easy for the White child. Instead, the White man today forces the Metis to identify with the Indian, and the Indian is pictured as one who made little, if any, contribution to the growth and progress of Canada.

Perhaps new methods and materials are needed that will communicate to Metis children. No one should expect a curriculum or methods developed for urban populations to necessarily communicate to rural children. Nor should brown children be expected to identify with White children in the readers -- where, according to the teachers' guide, pictures and identification are used as primary sources of motivation and learning. Nor should children of Indian ancestory be expected to appreciate their heritage when it is deprecated -- even falsified without their knowing it -- in the textbooks they read at school. Some new curricula are desperately needed, if education is to have meaning for the Metis child.

However, until curriculum changes are made, the schools do not begin where the children begin and the children do not end up where the system does. The schools teach and administer, but many of these children do not become educated in the contemporary meaning of the word. Those who are finished with school are not ready for the world that awaits them. Many end up unemployed or "at leisure" according to the administration. True enough, these teenagers can write their names -- unlike some of their parents. They can read, at least elementary material. Almost all the Metis children of the Lac La Biche area have, or will attain an educational level beyond that of their parents. Minimum age regulations for attendance have seen to that. But this may be the most significant statement that one can make concerning the education attained by the majority of the Metis youngsters in this area. Only when

curriculum is presented to a child in his own terms, taking into account the concepts and experience he now has, and allowing the child to react upon that presentation, will the child begin to experience education. Until then he is only repeating the words -- or remaining a silent majority.

Preschool and the Metis Child

Problems of communication and curriculum begin for the Metis child during a three-day "preschool". Most of the children who will be enrolling in Grade 1 the following fall attend. In Lac La Biche School Division 51, the evaluation of the child in school begins during the three-day preschool trial period before the child reaches first grade. The first-graders are excused from school for three days while the preschoolers attend. An important part of this program is for the teacher to determine if the child is ready to attend Grade 1 the following fall and into which ability group he is to be placed. It is an important period for the child also, for it gives him his first impression of school and, even more important, he sees himself possibly for the first time, competing with the " hites."

The school sends a list to the parents indicating the preschoolers who are to attend. This causes much excitement among the children and there is much talk of "I'm going to school". but this also means the purchase of suitable shoes, crayons, pencil, eraser, scribbler, and perhaps new socks. He will most likely wear "handed down" clothing or, if he is lucky, he may have his first new clothes. Certainly these are his first crayons and writing supplies. With anticipation high, he enters the school bus, often for his first time away from his parents and is taken to the "outside". Eight or nine hours later he arrives home again. What has happened to him and what he is thinking, only he knows for sure. This has probably been his first encounter alone with White people. He has probably never before eaten away from home, never used a porcelain toilet, never washed his hands in running water and never talked or played with a White child before. He may have never looked at a book before, nor drawn with crayons, nor heard "children's" music before. He certainly has never

stood in line before. He obviously has never taken a test before. And yet, largely on the behavior of this child, plus his score on the Metropolitan Readiness Tests, the teacher decides if he is ready to enter school and into which ability group he is to be placed. In those first three days he passes or fails, unless he is seven years of age, in which case he must begin regardless of achievement. During these days he competes for the first time with White children. Needless to say, he is ill-prepared. In these first three days he may begin to see himself as a failure in the school setting. Success, which many of the White children are prepared for, is almost impossible for him.

On the basis of this period of observation, through informal and formal testing, the teacher evaluates the preschooler in the following areas: conformance to classroom discipline, performance of work assigned, difficulty with language, language spoken at home, maturity for school-work, mental ability for school-work, health habits, use of bathroom facilities, estimate of student performance, score on the Metropolitan Readiness Tests, whether he should attend first grade next year or not and, if so, his placement by ability in a group. On most of the above, all children were graded "very good", "good", "poor" or "unsatisfactory". In all cases there were no significant differences between the Metis preschoolers of Kikino and the Metis preschoolers of Lac La Biche. Our sample was approximately divided between the two. As tables 5, 6 and 7 show, the majority of the Metis children were marked as having difficulty with language, low performance in work assigned, a low estimate of school performance and low mental ability.

CHAPTER VII TABLE 5

TEACHERS' ESTIMATES OF LANGUAGE DIFFICULTY AMONG METIS PRESCHOOLERS IN FAMILIES STUDIED

	No	Yes	Total
Estimate of Difficulty	38.9%	61.1%	100%

CHAPTER VII TABLE 6

TEACHERS' ESTIMATES OF PERFORMANCE OF METIS PRESCHOOLERS

High	Average	Below Average	Total
0.0%	35.7%	64.3%	100%

CHAPTER VII TABLE 7

TEACHERS' ESTIMATES OF METIS PRESCHOOLERS MENTAL ABILITY AND PERFORMANCE IN PRESCHOOL WORK

	Very Good	Good	Poor	Total
Mental ability	0.0%	36.8%	63.2%	100%
Preschool performance	0.0%	35.0%	65.0%	100%

These findings are to be expected when one considers the "culture shock" that these children must face during these three days. Considering the newness of their experiences, one should not expect them to act in a way considered intelligent by the teacher. They have had no previous patterns for their behavior. They are no doubt bewildered. The following comments written by various teachers concerning some of the Metis preschoolers may illustrate this: "he daydreams"; "_____has a short attention span"; "quiet, just sits -- uninterested"; "tires of school work." These statements are possibly reflective of the bewilderment of the child. It is not surprising that only 26.4 per cent were considered as not "conforming to classroom discipline". Again one wonders at the "silent majority". Does bewilderment explain, in part, low performance and participation, as well as a quiet "disciplined" child? The way a five or six-year-old responds to a totally new situation should not necessarily be considered as a reflection of his mental ability. Such a child's performance cannot be expected to be satisfactory from the teacher's frame of reference.

Teachers rated 79.1 per cent of the children as having good or very good health and cleanliness habits, and 21 per cent as having poor or unsatisfactory habits. Perhaps this is indicative of the efforts of the parents who have high hopes for their children in terms of education.

Fifty-five per cent were judged as having "maturity for school-work" and 45 per cent as having a poor or unsatisfactory showing.

In 1964, 90 per cent of the preschoolers were accepted for Grade 1 the following fall and only ten per cent were rejected. In one case, the teacher felt that the child "should remain at home one more year but will probably learn more at school than at home". This indicates the predicament of a school that has no kindergarten. The teacher did not feel that the child was ready for Grade 1, and yet he must either go there or not begin school for another year. We suspect that few Metis children, unless they are ill, really profit in terms of school achievement by postponing their enrollment a year. After a child reaches age five or six, probably the best possible way for him to "get ready" for school is to attend. He will most likely not be any more ready if he stays home until he is seven.

The most "objective" means that the teacher has of evaluating the preschool child is through the Metropolitan Readiness Tests. This is a series of six tests administered to the child in a group over the course of the three days he attends school. The scores of the tests are totalled into one "readiness" score and is given in terms of percentile ranks. Almost 95 per cent (94.5 per cent) of the Metis children fell at or below the 34th percentile, which means that 66 per cent of the child population scores were above them. According to the test manual, children who fall within the range are considered "poor risks" in terms of "readiness status". The manual elaborates by saying: "chances of failure high under ordinary instructional conditions. Further kindergarten work, assignment to slow sections, or individualized work is essential." Because there is no kindergarten, almost all of these children begin Grade 1 as "risks".

The remaining 5.6 per cent of the children fall between the 49th and the 55th percentile. These children are given a "readiness status" of "low normal" with the following comments: "likely to have difficulty in first grade work. Should be assigned to slow section and given more individualized help".

Thus, it is clear that all (100 per cent) of the Metis children are not expected to succeed when they begin Grade 1.

It should be noted, however, that there are significant problems involved when one determines readiness or lack of it from a test. Tests 1, 2 and 3, according to the manual, measure the child's "understanding or comprehension of language". It seems more evident that it measures the child's experiences. For example, from four pictures a child is to "mark the thing you put a letter in to mail it". The choices are a piece of paper, a tablet, a mailbox and a desk with an open drawer. According to the manual the correct answer is the mailbox. However, when a Kikino child mails a letter he hands it to the postmistress, who could very well be sitting at her desk with the drawer open. In another case, the child is to "mark the thing to use for pressing clothes". None of the answers given would be correct for a child who did not have electricity. Other test items given related to experiences very remote to a Metis child living in any of the areas in our study. And yet this child was competing with other children whose experiences in the home and the wider world would have given them the correct answer.

Perhaps it is true that the tests indicate that the Metis child is not yet ready to understand and decode the symbols of the "White, urban" text that uses pictures and words that are beyond his experience to understand -- but it does not necessarily mean that the child is not ready to learn to read something that might be within his range of experience, no matter how limited. The materials need to be made meaningful to him if he is to begin to learn to read; and his experiences with the wider world need to be expanded in order that he can eventually learn to decode the material in Grade 1.

As it is, the child is handicapped in school until his experiences widen enough to make school meaningful. Meanwhile he is failing.

Test 5, according to the manual, measures "number knowledge". Most of these children have had very little experience with numbers or arithmetic, even in simple forms -- and especially written forms. Writing numbers would be virtually impossible for almost all of them, since most of them have not had paper and crayons before, even for scribbling.

Test 6, called "Copying", measures "a combination of visual perception and motor control such as that required in learning to write". Again, children who have never even experimented with marking on paper with a pencil or crayon cannot be expected to be able to visualize a written symbol and copy it with any accuracy. One could only expect them to scribble.

It is interesting to note that one of the general directions given for administering this test is that "very immature pupils should be given some experience in using pencils or crayons with paper before the tests are to be given". Perhaps "inexperienced pupils" would be more accurate phrasing. One wonders how much "some experience" is, and how much these children have had. There are no doubt other problems in administering the tests, since many of the children have perhaps never "read" the pictures of a book before; and therefore would not know that one reads from left to right, or which side is up, front, or back. Also, since he possibly could not recognize many of the pictures given, he would be faced with a barrage of meaningless symbols upon opening the cover. Often, to teach an inexperienced child these things take time and patience, and yet the teacher is expected to help the child make sense of this in just a few minutes. It may be the child's first experience in sitting for long periods; it may be the first "work" he has ever done; and it may be the first time he has been rigidly controlled. It is small wonder that the child does not do well.

On the basis of these Readiness Tests, plus the teacher's observations, the child is assigned to one of eight "groups" in which he is expected to participate the following year. Of the Metis children, 91.3 per cent fell into groups 5,6,7 and 8, which are at the lower end of the scale. When the child begins school in the fall, he is perhaps quick to notice that "his group" -- the Metis -- are together in some sections, while "the others" are together in other sections. Segregation has in effect taken place, even though it is in terms of "ability". It does not take the child long to learn who are considered the achievers and who are not. He is at the bottom and he knows it.

The problems of the Grade 1 teacher are difficult enough under "normal teaching conditions", but with Metis children he must, in effect, provide a type of kindergarten background for the child as well as teach Grade 1. However, if the classrooms are grouped "by ability", then a particular teacher may have only the "low" or primarily the Metis children. The teacher of Metis children is now, in effect, teaching kindergarten, but without the benefits of suitable materials, classrooms, or philosophy. The children are in need of broad meaningful experiences; non-competitive interaction with Whites; an opportunity to experiment with books, paints, crayons, pencils and paper; and an opportunity to learn what is expected of them in school without being evaluated. Instead they must be "taught" Grade 1. In effect, these children need kindergarten. The Grade 1 teachers we interviewed in Lac La Biche felt that kindergartens are absolutely necessary -- especially for the Metis child. The Board of Trustees in its report to the government pleads for a government grant for kindergartens; they feel that without it, the Metis do not have a "fighting chance to succeed".[6]

Many of the Metis parents we talked with also see the necessity for kindergartens for their children. The mothers in Kikino felt that a kindergarten situated in their hamlet would be especially beneficial to the

children, since the problem of long hours, school lunches and clothing would become increased if the children were bussed into Lac La Biche.

Having presented a picture of the Metis child in the preschool situation, we will now view the grouping, and evaluation of the elementary, junior and senior high school child.

Elementary and Secondary School and the Metis Child

Any child who passes the rigors of preschool selection or any child who has reached the age of seven attends elementary school. Since the largest part of our sample attends school in Lac La Biche, this section will refer only to Metis children who come from Kikino and Lac La Biche and who attend the Lac La Biche schools. In some cases, data relating to these Metis students will be compared with data referring to non-Metis students who also attend school in this district. The first part will deal with teachers' grouping of the students according to ability, as found in the children's cumulative records. The second part will discuss marks the children receive in school. In some cases, data from our sample will be used; and in other cases, total data for the school population during the 1965-66 school year will be used. Since it seems to hold special significance for the Metis child, Grade 9 data will be found at the end of this section, separate from the other data.

Achievement Grouping

As was mentioned previously, during the three-day preschool sessions, the children are placed, according to the teachers' estimates of their ability, into one of eight groups -- group 1 being those of highest ability and group 8 being the lowest. Although comparable non-Metis data was not available for Grades 1 to 6, we did find some slight differences in grouping between the Metis of Lac La Biche and Kikino. Approximately ten per cent more Kikino Metis children were placed in the upper half of the 1 to 8 scale than Lac La Biche Metis.

Comparable data is available showing distribution of Metis and non-Metis in the ability groups for Grades 6 and 7. Metis data is divided by community -- Lac La Biche Metis and Kikino Metis. This information is found in Table 8.

This scale is reminiscent of the preschool distribution according to ability, where we found the Metis children at the lower end of the scale and the non-Metis children predominantly at the upper end. In Grade 6 we found about one third of the Lac La Biche Metis in the lower range, while just over ten per cent of the non-Metis fell into this group. We found a similar distribution for Grade 7. Between Grades 6 and 7 we saw a sharp increase in the percentage in the higher group and a decrease in the percentage in the lower group. This is somewhat confirmed by a brief study of the fifth and sixth-graders from Kikino, tracing their attendance, grades and groupings over a three-year period. There is a strong tendency for the children to stay in the same groups in which they were placed during the preschool trial period. We can perhaps see this as further evidence that the child, early in his school career, views himself as unequal to the non-Metis child. This possibly becomes reinforced as he continues through school.

Teacher Evaluations as Shown by Marks

The children in Lac La Biche School Division receive marks on report cards at four intervals during the school year. These marks are recorded in the children's cumulative records from which the data seen in Table 9 were taken.

Viewing the distribution of marks by percentage for the Metis children in Grades 1 through 8 shows that their spelling marks were significantly higher than any other. This was true both for Kikino and Lac La Biche children, with Kikino children rating higher than the Lac La Biche Metis. Nearly 63

per cent (62.7 per cent) of the spelling marks for Kikino children fell in the "Honors" or "A" categories. Another significant finding was the lowness of the social studies marks, particularly for the Lac La Biche Metis. A high proportion (62.6 per cent) of the social studies marks for the Lac La Biche Metis children fell in the lowest, the "C" category. Twenty per cent of the Kikino children's grades were in this category. One explanation for these two findings might be that they reflect the children's experience. Spelling, which one can excel in through rote, would not be dependent upon a child's experience with the wider world. Perhaps, of all the subjects, it is the least contigent upon experience. By contrast, social studies is concerned with concepts involving experience with the wider world. The Metis child lacks this breadth of experience, as was previously discussed in the section on "Curriculum of the Metis Child".

In comparing the evaluations of the Metis in Lac La Biche with the Metis in Kikino, no significant differences are seen. In areas where the Kikino child is low, so is the Lac La Biche Metis. High marks also seem parallel in terms of subject matter.

Comparing the Metis with the non-Metis in terms of school achievement, one teacher indicated that the white children did better in all subjects, except music and art. In these, the Metis children were superior ("They are very artistic and musical"). This is interesting since it is a stereotype common to other minority groups also. Perhaps these are areas in which the teachers encourage the Metis child to excel. Or the Metis child may be given more confidence in these areas since he is not evaluated in terms of right or wrong as he is in other subjects.

Table 9 shows the average of grades given for Metis and non-Metis children in reading, arithmetic and social studies where more "objective" evaluation is possible. Comparable data were available for the grades shown -- Grades 6,7 and 8. Total populations were used for these three grades,

CHAPTER VII TABLE 8

METIS BY COMMUNITY AND NON-METIS SHOWING DISTRIBUTION
BY NUMBER AND PER CENT OF STUDENTS IN GRADES 6 AND 7 ALONG AN "ABILITY" SCALE

"ABILITY" GROUPS FOR GRADE 6 FROM "HIGH" TO "LOW"

		GROUPS								Total	
		1 - 2		3 - 4		5 - 6		7 - 8			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Metis	Kikino	0	0.0	3	25.0	5	14.6	4	33.4	12	100.0
	Lac La Biche	3	14.3	1	4.8	4	19.0	13	61.9	21	100.0
Non-Metis		18	29.5	23	37.7	13	21.3	7	11.5	61	100.0

"ABILITY" GROUPS FOR GRADE 7 FROM "HIGH" TO "LOW"

		GROUPS								Total	
		1 - 2		3 - 4		5 - 6		7 - 8			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Metis	Kikino	1	7.2	3	21.4	3	21.4	7	50.0	14	100.0
	Lac La Biche	2	7.4	7	25.9	11	40.8	7	25.9	27	100.0
Non-Metis		27	49.1	17	30.2	8	14.5	3	5.2	55	100.0

CHAPTER VII TABLE 9

AVERAGE GRADES IN PARTIAL SUBJECTS FOR GRADES 6, 7 AND 8 FOR KIKINO AND LAC LA BICHE METIS AND NON-METIS, USING TOTAL POPULATION FOR EACH GRADE

Subject		Grade 6 Ave. Grade	Letter Grade	Grade 7 Ave. Grade	Letter Grade	Grade 8 Ave. Grade	Letter Grade
Reading	Kikino	52.18	B	59.63	B	68.00	A
	Lac La Biche	52.05	B	60.90	B	55.44	B
	Total Metis	52.12	B	60.27	B	61.72	B
	Non-Metis	61.11	B	55.43	B	65.90	A
Arithmetic	Kikino	40.00	C	36.90	D	62.14	B
	Lac La Biche	44.35	C	41.20	C-	51.22	B-
	Total Metis	42.16	C	39.05	D	56.68	B
	Non-Metis	55.46	B	56.24	B	58.27	B
Social Studies	Kikino	50.16	B	42.00	C	51.57	B-
	Lac La Biche	50.93	B	47.59	C	41.66	C-
	Total Metis	50.55	B-	44.59	C	46.12	C
	Non-Metis	70.00	A	59.18	B	52.99	B
Ave. Grade for Three Subjects	Kikino	47.55	C	46.18	C	60.57	B
	Lac La Biche	49.11	C	49.90	C	49.44	C+
	Total Metis	48.33	C	48.04	C	55.00	B
	Non-Metis	62.19	B	56.95	B	59.05	B

except where children attended school only part of the year or incomplete grades were recorded. If we view the grades in terms of the letter equivalent of the percentage grade (with the range being from high to low -- H,A,B,C and D), the most striking pattern is that in almost every case the Metis child is one letter grade below the non-Metis child at every level and in every major subject. In reading, the Metis and non-Metis child most closely approximate each other, with the non-Metis average moving up to an "A" in Grade 8. The biggest divergence is in Grade 7 arithmetic where the Metis child's average is "D" and the non-Metis is "B" -- two steps difference. This may again reflect the Metis child's apparent inexperience with the larger world, since it is through such experience that one becomes familiar with quantitative or numerical concepts. As a Metis child, he has little experience with the concept of time. In the rural setting, urban schedules are irrelevant. Experience can give a child a background for numerical concepts. Thus, we could expect the Metis to have less understanding than the "town, White" child.

In some cases we notice a slight tendency for Metis eighth-graders to have a higher average than either sixth-or seventh-grade Metis. The non-Metis grades show more of a tendency to remain constant -- the sixth grade total average being in the same letter category as the seventh and eighth grades. In the case of the Metis, this increase in average grade is probably due to the fact that those who were making low grades tended to drop out of school. A view of the school populations for Grades 6,7 and 8 as seen in Table 10 gives further evidence of this. The sharp drop in school population for Metis children between Grade 7 and Grade 8 is apparent.

One of the few variables which was significantly correlated with "grades in school" was "grade level in school". For all subjects there was a tendency for the Metis children in the lower grades to make higher marks than those Metis children in the upper grades. The exception to this, discussed above, is the increase in the quality of marks between Grade 7 and

CHAPTER VII TABLE 10

SCHOOL POPULATION FOR METIS AND NON-METIS SHOWING NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE

	Grade 6		Grade 7		Grade 8	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
School population for Kikino	11		11		7	
School population for Lac La Biche	20		22		9	
TOTAL METIS	31	33.7	33	37.5	16	18.2
TOTAL NON-METIS	61	66.3	55	62.5	72	81.8
TOTAL	92	100.0	88	100.0	88	100.0

Grade 8 for Metis children. Although this tendency was found in all subjects, the correlations were statistically significant in social studies, arithmetic and science. The Metis children in the lower grades made considerably higher marks in these subjects than did the Metis children in upper grades.

Although we do not have comparable data for the non-Metis students, the teachers interviewed asserted that this was true for Metis children but not necessarily for non-Metis. One teacher expressed a view that many held:

> When the children are younger, they can be motivated by the teachers; when they are older, they can't be.

Many teachers also expressed the view that the older children are more aware of the differences between Metis and non-Metis than are the younger ones. Teachers put this in the context of the older children doing more poorly in school than the younger ones. One teacher seemed to sum up these views held by her colleagues:

> They keep up with the others until about Grade 4, and then they start dipping in achievement. Maybe by then their home background catches up with them. The home takes over. They are more aware of what's around them.

Reviewing the problems of the Metis child in the section concerning the "Preschool", we suggest that the Metis child does not have the background of experiences to achieve equally with the non-Metis child. The curriculum does not begin where the Metis child is. He in fact begins school "below" the non-Metis. The curriculum moves away from him, as it becomes more complex. Perhaps not until Grade 4, as the teacher suggested, does the disparity between the Metis child and the non-Metis child become blatantly apparent. Perhaps by then, the feelings that he may have harbored since his first encounter with the white children become even more apparent to himself. He was not successful in preschool; he was in the lowest groups in Grade 1 with others of "his kind"; and as he continues through school he continues to realistically view himself as a failure in the school system. His marks fall because he is not achieving as well as the white child with whom he is competing, and because he views himself as a failure. If he has failed a grade -- or several grades -- he reaches the legal droup-out age of 15 sometime between Grades 6 and 8. The children who remain in school beyond this point are the ones who are making higher marks, and thus the average mark for these children goes up. This is further confirmed by a study of the ninth graders.

Achievement in Grade 9

By Grade 9 most of the students who were failing and who have reached the age of 15 have left school. The Metis students who are left in the schools -- those who have not previously failed and thus have not yet reached the legal drop-out age, and those students who despite their environmental handicaps continue on in school -- provide data that sharply contrast with that previously shown for the lower grades, but continues the trend begun in Grade 8.

During the school year 1965-66, there were approximately 22 Metis children enrolled in Grade 9. Of these 22 students, two transferred early

in the school year to other towns (one of these was sent to live with a relative in another town because the parents felt that their child "had a better chance somewhere else"). Two others quit school, again early in the year -- one was in achievement group "C" and not failing, but pregnant; and the other one (also a girl) was in group "D" and quit for unknown reasons. This left approximately 18 Metis students remaining to take the Grade 9 Departmental examinations -- nine girls and nine boys. Approximately 18 per cent (18.1 per cent) of the Metis left Grade 9 before these standardized examinations. By contrast, only 4.8 per cent (three out of 67) of the non-Metis left.

Table 11 compares the Metis and non-Metis populations by "Achievement Group" placement in Grade 9.

CHAPTER VII TABLE 11

METIS AND NON-METIS POPULATION BY "ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS" FOR GRADE 9

From High to Low

	"A"		"B"		"C"		"D"		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Metis	4	19.2	3	14.2	9	42.8	5	23.8	21*	100.0
Non-Metis	20	29.9	18	26.8	17	25.4	12	17.9	67	100.0

* Group not shown for one Metis

From Table 11, we see that approximately two thirds of the Metis ninth-graders were placed in the lower two groups, while less than one half of the non-Metis were in these groups. This is surprising in light of the performance of both of these groups on the Grade 9 examinations. These examinations are standardized province-wide and are graded in Edmonton. In every subject tested, the Metis students of the Lac La Biche area were not significantly lower than the scores for the non-Metis. The failure rates for Metis and non-Metis were 27.8 per cent and 26.6 per cent respectively.

Table 12 shows the average grades for both the Metis and the non-Metis from the Lac La Biche Area.

CHAPTER VII TABLE 12

AVERAGE GRADES FOR METIS AND NON-METIS POPULATION
ON THE GRADE 9 DEPARTMENTAL EXAMINATIONS

	Language	Literature	Reading	Social Studies	Arithmetic	Science
Metis	2.6	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.5
Non-Metis	2.8	2.6	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.8

(For purposes of calculation, the following equivalents were made:

"Honors" - 5 points; "A" - 4 points; "B" - 3 points; "C" - 2 points; "D" - 1 point)

Thus, in all subjects, the Metis who remain in school do as well on the examinations as those who are non-Metis. Even though many of these students are in "low achievement" groups, their achievement is not below the non-Metis. The failure rate for the Metis students was 27.8 per cent and for the non-Metis 26.6 per cent. Thus, the difference is slight.

From our data several patterns become clear. First of all, Metis students do attain, on the average, one grade point lower in all subjects in the lower grades. By Grade 8, the achievement in terms of grades for the Metis and the non-Metis tend to become more alike. We can perhaps assume that at this point those who are failing leave school, leaving those who can compete favorably with the non-Metis. Secondly, according to the Grade 9 Departmental examinations, the Metis students achieve equally as well as the non-Metis students, even though most of the Metis are still classed in the "lower achievement" groups.

It seems evident from this, then, that the Metis students who pass the Grade 9 examinations -- and yet still drop out of school -- are not dropping out because of failure! This seems to be true only for the Metis

students who drop out before taking the examinations. Therefore, we must look to further reasons for the Metis leaving school after Grade 9. Many have already been implied in terms of expenses, clothing, etc. The following section has relevance to this problem.

Social Relationships of the Metis in the School Setting

How well a child does in school cannot be reflected solely in the marks he receives. Teachers speak of the child's "social adjustment" as being also important. This section will briefly deal with the social relationships of the Metis child in school.

If a child does not do well academically in school, he is not necessarily alienated from the school as a whole. Clubs, organizations, sports, play activities, dances, school "hangouts" at lunchtime and after school may help to make the child feel a part of the school. If the child cannot gain status academically, perhaps he finds compensation in the activities of his peer group. But this does not seem to be the case for the Metis child. Neither academically nor socially are the majority of Metis children a part of the school.

In elementary school, the primary social setting is the playground. The teachers seem to be in agreement that "they mix on the playgrounds". One teacher stated that the "little ones are too young to notice the difference". Another said that "there are too many Metis for prejudice". However, after spending two recesses on the playground and observing the children at play, we noticed only one "mixed" game of dodgeball. Pals, often joined together by an arm or a hand, were either both White or neither White. One must put this in perspective, however, by noting that children tend naturally to play with those children whom they know -- those who live near them or those who are related to them. One would expect the Metis to play with the Metis and the White with White, since they live primarily in geographically segregated areas. In the classrooms where the children

are grouped by "ability", we again find the Metis child with other Metis children. This means that their contacts with White children may be somewhat limited, even though they attend school together. The teachers do organize play periods, however, which "mix" the children.

A principal indicated to us that most of the fighting on the playground was between the Metis children themselves. This would again point to evidence that there is little social contact betwen the White child and the Metis. One teacher, in discussing the children of Kikino, said that "they are not aggressive in the playground". It seems that the main socially acceptable means of aggression open to the Metis child is in the area of sports. Many of the Metis and non-Metis boys play on the Little League baseball teams. But, again, these are organized on the basis of where they live and thus are segregated. The Kikino Metis children play against the White teams in Lac La Biche. There were apparently no Metis children on the Lac La Biche team the one time this team was seen during a game.

Older boys compete in sports in school and some excel. One of the first things we heard after arriving in Kikino was that two junior high school boys had done very well in track and would be attending an important track meet in Cold Lake. Just before the weekend that they were to go, according to the mother of one of the boys, the two boys were told that they would not be going. They were left behind with no apparent explanation of the change. The mother said, "It sounds funny, doesn't it." When she was questioned further on this, it became quite clear that she felt her son did not go because of discrimination.

After-school sports, clubs, organizations or social "hang-outs" are not possible for the children who commute to school by bus, therefore it is not surprising that only four Kikino children belong to organizations. Over half (51.7 per cent) of all the Metis children belong to no clubs or organizations. Comparable data were not available for the Whites.

Several Kikino parents indicated that their children couldn't attend a particular dance or graduation dinner because they "didn't have any dressy clothes". This is true for other Metis children also.

The school "hang-out" is a cafe across from the high school. Of the many times we were there at noon or after school, we never saw a Metis child in this cafe. Lack of spending money and after-school buses contribute in part to his not going.

If one considers eighth grade graduation and high school graduation as "milestones" in the school career -- only one Metis child has reached the latter and only a few the former. Thus, we have illustrated that the Metis child, neither academically nor socially, is part of the system.

Even though academically and socially the child may not be a part of the system, physically he is very much there. The next section will view the school attendance for the Metis and the non-Metis.

School Attendance for the Metis and the Non-Metis

School attendance could be considered both as a cause and an effect of social and academic failure. From the data presented in this section, a stronger case seems to be made for the latter; that the child's school attendance drops because of his failure in school, and not the reverse.

This section will show trends in school attendance over the course of three years for a small sample of Metis children, and compare average number of days of school attendance for Kikino and Lac La Biche Metis children with non-Metis children in Grades 6 through 10, including the "opportunity" rooms from School Division 51.

In a brief study done of 23 Kikino students now in Grades 5 and 6, we find by tracing their attendance records back for three years that the number of days they attended school dropped some between third and fourth grades and dropped sharply between Grades 5 and 6. Of the total Kikino fifth and sixth-graders, 60.8 per cent dropped in attendance over a three-

year period, 26.1 per cent remained approximately the same, and 13.1 per cent attended more days. We do not have comparable attendance data for non-Metis children in the lower grades.

For Grade 6 and above we have comparable data for Metis and non-Metis enabling us to compare school attendance in Grades 6,7,8,9 and 10, and "opportunity" rooms. These data can be seen in Table 13. In this table we see that at every grade level the non-Metis students attend a higher percentage of days of school than the Metis students either from Kikino or Lac La Biche. Considering the problems of illness, transportation and low achievement, all discussed previously, this is not surprising. It is interesting to note that the table shows an increase in the average days of attendance for both the Metis and the non-Metis from Grade 6 to Grade 9. Then, at the Grade 9 level, the Kikino Metis show an abrupt drop of 20.5 per cent, while the Metis in Lac La Biche and the non-Metis show a continued increase. Beyond Grade 9 there are no tenth-graders from Kikino. At this point their school career is over. Dropping out was preceded by a drop in attendance. Although the drop is not so abrupt for the Lac La Biche Metis, their attendance in Grade 10 drops 16 per cent while the non-Metis attendance drops only 3.4 per cent.

Attendance for the non-Metis students in the junior and senior "opportunity" rooms is higher than for the Metis, thus following the same pattern as in the other grades.

Given the drop off in attendance rates for the Kikino Metis in Grade 9, and in Grade 10 for the Lac La Biche Metis, it is no surprise that a drop in the school population follows. This is discussed in the following section.

CHAPTER VII TABLE 13

AVERAGE NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DAYS OF ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOL IN SCHOOL DIVISION 51, SHOWING METIS FROM LAC LA BICHE AND KIKINO AND NON-METIS FOR GRADES 6 - 10 AND OPPORTUNITY ROOMS*

		METIS						NON-METIS		
		Kikino			Lac La Biche					
Grade	No. Days Possible Attendance	Number of Students	Ave. No. Days Attended	% of Total Possible	Number of Students	Ave. No. Days Attended	% of Total Possible	Number of Students	Ave. No. Days Attended	% of Total Possible
6	191	11	163.8	85.7	20	166.5	87.1	61	179.8	94.1
7	192	11	169.1	88.0	22	172.7	89.9	55	184.2	95.9
8	192	7	172.6	89.8	9	170.0	88.0	72	182.2	94.8
9	187	2	129.7	69.3	12	174.6	93.3	67	177.7	95.0
10	184	0	0.0	0.0	6	160.7	87.3	45	168.7	91.6
Junior Opportunity	193	0	0.0	0.0	7	180.9	93.7	5	186.0	96.0
Senior Opportunity	193	0	0.0	0.0	6	138.2	71.6	6	164.8	85.3
Total Ave.	190.3		158.8	83.4		166.3	87.3		177.6	93.3

* Those who transferred or quit are not counted.

The Metis Child and Incomplete Education

In previous sections we have presented a picture of the education of the Metis child. However, the education which he receives is incomplete; Metis children do not follow it through to its designed end. This section will discuss the number of such children, and propose some suggestions as to why children drop out of school and, in so doing, will recapitulate some of the material already presented.

Number of Metis with Incomplete Education

Of the 42 children from Kikino in Grades 6,7,8 and 9, 21.4 per cent left school before the school year was complete. This does not include those who moved or transferred, but only those who quit. Two Grade 10 students -- the entire Grade 10 enrollment from Kikino -- left, one in October and the other in December. Of the four Grade 9 Kikino students, half of them left school (one of these transferred to a nearby school but quit soon after). Of the nine Kikino eighth graders, two left before the year was over. Over 20 per cent (21.4 per cent) of the Grade 7 students quit.

Of the 100 Lac La Biche Metis children in Grades 6,7,8 and 9, seven per cent left before the school year terminated. By grade level the Lac La Biche figures are not so high, with only 18.2 per cent in Grade 8 leaving, 7.7 per cent in Grade 9 and no children leaving school during Grade 10.

At the close of the 1965-66 school year, Kikino had only two students in Grade 9 and none above. There were no Lac La Biche Metis children above Grade 10. Thus, it is evident that many Metis students leave school in the spring at the close of the school year and do not return in the fall. It is even more evident that with the exception of one girl, virtually every Metis in Lac La Biche and surrounding area has an incomplete education in the formal sense of a school education.

Most Metis children do not finish high school and most people perceive these children as "drop-outs". But we would suggest that they have not actually "dropped out", just as the school faculty has not pushed them out. Neither gives a true picture of the situation. To "drop out" implies that something sudden occurred -- that the child was on the edge and suddenly went over. But our data show that the Metis child, in terms of an education, has always been on the edge. His quitting seems to be a natural step in the processes he has gone through. Just as it is natural for the White child, who has been an integral part of the system, to continue on and for the majority to finish high school; so it is natural for the Metis child to leave school. Because school was a failure for him, he must leave in order to preserve his ego. He has had enough; he is fed up. He hasn't suddenly "dropped out", and our data sums to support this interpretation. But what of the Metis students who have not left school, have completed Grade 9, taken the important Grade 9 examinations, and achieved equally as well as the Lac La Biche non-Metis? Why don't they complete high school? They have not quit because they were failing. Perhaps the following sheds some light on this problem.

Suggestions Relating to the Metis and Incomplete Education.

This section will discuss various contributory reasons why Metis students do not complete high school.

First of all, the Metis student has no model with whom to identify in terms of an education. His parents have not finished high school, his friends have not, none of his relatives have -- he possibly knows of no Metis high school graduate with whom he can identify. This can be pointed out by an example which was related over and over to us by parents in our sample when discussing education. It was mentioned by school administrators when discussing the school system.

In 1963, a Metis girl graduated from Lac La Biche School Division 51. She then continued on at the University of Alberta where she completed a

teaching program. She will be teaching in Northern Alberta in the fall of 1966. She was known and spoken of with pride -- even held as a model -- in all four areas of our study. Comments like "We need more like this"; "I want my daughter to finish like _____ did"; "If there was just one boy my boy could look up to like the girls do _____ maybe he would go on" were common. For all the Metis girls there is only one person who finished high school who might serve as a model. For the boys, there is none.

Secondly, the school situation is often realistically viewed by the Metis student as a failure situation. He does not succeed socially or academically. He is defined by the school system as a "poor risk" from the very beginning -- his preschool evaluation -- and continues on in the "low" groups.

And fourth, the Metis teenager views the school system as having little relevance to him. What he learns in school has little value for him in terms of his future life as he can anticipate it. In terms of actual training, the school does not prepare him for the kinds of jobs that are available to a Metis boy. The school does not educate him to solve the problems that are facing him as a Metis. He views the school as keeping him from becoming a man, from identifying with the men who serve as his models. He sees the school as having little relevance to his getting a job.

For the teenage girl, the situation is similar. She tends to see herself in the role of a wife and mother. The school is largely irrelevant to this role.

It seems that for most Metis teenagers to find their identity they must leave the school situation. They have not been able to identify with it and they see it as serving no purpose for them. In effect, in order for the Metis child to complete his education, he must leave school and become a part of the larger world.

The tragedy in this, however, is that even though the Metis teenager may leave school in order to gain his identity and preserve what is left of his ego, it is this same step which often increases his problems in terms of finding a job, etc. This was discussed in a previous section on economic problems.

Vocational School

One major change that could perhaps make Metis education more relevant is an opportunity for job training as opposed to preparation for university entrance. The Board of Trustees of Lac La Biche consider this of utmost importance and presented detailed arguments for such a school program to the government in its 1966 report to the Executive Council. Many students -- Metis and non-Metis -- could benefit greatly from such training.

But one should not be ready to assume that this would solve all the problems of the otherwise incompletely educated Metis. We should not assume that all Metis students aspire only to jobs for which a vocational school would prepare them. Nor should we assume that the Metis is inherently incapable of academic study and only suited to vocational training. Social scientists agree that mental ability is not limited to any one race, nationality, or ethnic group.

When the parents in our sample were asked, "Which do you think is more important for your son -- a high school education or job training?" 75.3 per cent answered in favor of a high school education, without qualifications.

When Metis parents were asked which subjects they felt were more important for their children in school, mathematics was listed as more important for boys (36.2 per cent) than vocational courses (17.2 per cent), and for girls English was considered more important (31.7 per cent) than home economics (23.3 per cent).

Thus, both academic and vocational education are relevant to the Metis.

Adult Education

Once a teenager leaves the school system in the Lac La Biche area there are no facilities available to him for more education. If a teenager decides to end his education at age 15, there is no later recourse. Considering the large number of unemployed and uneducated people in the area, some kind of adult education program would certainly seem worthwhile.

Almost all (97.5 per cent) of our Metis sample wished they had more education. However, only 28.8 per cent indicated that they might or would go back to school if given the opportunity. The others (71.2 per cent) stated that they probably would not or could not go back to school.

Of those who felt they would go back to school, various answers were given concerning their interests. Many of the women in Kikino felt the need for home economics courses where they could learn sewing, cooking, and preserving food. A few mentioned child care courses. As for the men, interest in vocational training was high. Many indicated an interest in the Fort McMurray Vocational Training School in Fort McMurray.

Some of the men and women mentioned more academic interests. Three of the men in Kikino wanted to learn the skills for a "desk" job. Several women wanted to know more about arithmetic. Two mentioned training to be nurses' aides. Several would like to take correspondence courses at home in order to complete high school or Grade 8. Two of them stated that lack of money for the course prevented them from continuing.

Summary

The families in our study represented approximately four fifths of the Metis schoolchildren in the Lac La Biche area. These included children from only Kikino and Lac La Biche. Students who live in the Mission area attend school in Plamondon, while those who live in the Owl River area attend school there. All of these children are distributed disproportionately through the grades, with over 80 per cent below Grade 6.

About half of the fathers and one third of the mothers of these children had no education, with the model grade completed by both the men and the women being from Grades 5 to 6. The amount of education of the parents seemed more highly correlated with the facilities available in the locality they grew up in than with other variables -- such as personal motivation.

The parents clearly see various problems which threaten the education of their children. Although the problems of providing school clothes and school lunches loom high for them, the problem of providing supplies and books is the most serious. Evidence suggests that if the Metis were relieved of the financial burden of sending their children to school, the children would remain in school longer. Most parents feel that if their children don't receive aid now so that they can continue in school, they will need it later in terms of welfare payments.

The majority of the parents in Kikino are strongly in favor of the centralized school in Lac La Biche. The main exception to this is that most of the mothers feel that the long walk or wagonride to the bus for some, then the long bus ride, and the cold lunches at noon, especially in the winter, are particularly hard on the six- and seven-year-olds, and that therefore a local Grade 1 would benefit their children. A strong majority of the Owl River parents were opposed to the imminent centralization, while the parents of the Mission area were unanimously in favor

of it because of reported discrimination in Plamondon.

Concerning attitudes of the Metis parents and education, over half preferred their children to go to ethnically "mixed" schools. Almost all were in favor of universal education and showed high educational aspirations, even for their daughters who may plan to marry and raise families. Several mentioned that they would like to have sex education in the schools.

We found that many of the teachers and administrators were naive or misinformed about the Metis child and his home background, and that the parents were generally uninformed about the school system. The former influenced the approach of the teachers and the administrators to the child. The school seems to view the Metis child in terms of his cost to the system and his apparent ineducability. Metis children and no doubt teachers alike struggle with the inadequacies of a curriculum designed for White, urban children. Even the texts omit or distort the place of the Metis' ancestors in the history and progress of North America.

In terms of teacher evaluations of the Metis child we find that from the time he is in the three-day preschool until he leaves school, usually at age 15, he is in the lower "ability" groups, and up until Grade 8 makes on the average one grade point less than the non-Metis in almost every subject. The preschool seems to set a pattern of failure for the child, since his first experience with the school is a somewhat negative one. The teachers, parents and administrators are all in agreement concerning the desperate need for kindergartens, especially for the child inexperienced in the White society. Academically, the Metis elementary schoolchild did best in spelling and poorest in social studies; the former being minimally contingent upon social experience and the latter highly contigent upon it. Thus, experience seems to be one determining factor in the school achievement of the Metis child. Social scientists would agree that no minority group

inherently lacks a normal distribution of mental ability. By Grade 8 the Metis students' achievement is more nearly the same as that of the non-Metis. By Grade 9, according to the provincial matriculation examinations, the Metis students and the non-Metis students are achieving equally well. There is no significant differences in their scores. It is apparent that by Grades 8 and 9, those Metis students who cannot compete favorably with the non-Metis leave school. Those that remain achieve as well as the non-Metis on the examinations, but are disproportionately placed in the "lower achievement" groups.

While the Metis' average grades tend to drop as they move through the elementary grades, their attendance seems to increase -- until it drops off sharply, apparently just before they leave school. Those Metis students who remained in school through Grade 9 and took the standardized Departmental examinations soon left school also, even though actual academic failure does not seem to be the cause. Other suggestions can be made. Socially, as well as academically, the majority of the Metis children are not an integral part of the school. Residential distance from the school; lack of suitable clothing; little, if any, spending money; and perceived discrimination tend to isolate the Metis child from social satisfactions in the school.

Thus, it is not surprising that the Metis students "drop out" of the school scene. The school does not begin where the child is, and the child does not end where the system ends. Since Metis students do not finish high school, there are no Metis models for other Metis to follow in school. In order for the Metis teenager to find his identity, he must enter the working field, or raise a family. Most Metis have failed in school. To preserve what is left of his ego he must leave. He must complete his education in a way relevant to him.

Although the Metis and the School Trustees are highly in favor of a vocational training program, it cannot be assumed that Metis aspires only

to non-academic vocations. Both academic and vocational education are shown to be relevant goals for the Metis.

Nearly 100 per cent of the Metis whom we interviewed wished they had more education and a large number of them indicated that they would go back to school -- some for academic and some for vocational training -- if given the opportunity.

As it stands now, the educational facilities that are available are not preparing the Metis to find a responsible and contributive role in the larger society of Alberta.

CHAPTER VII FOOTNOTES:

[1] The originals, with names, are on file with the writer.

[2] Educational Programming as a Solution to the Imminent and Critical Problem of the Metis. A brief submitted to a committee of the cabinet of the Government of the Province of Alberta on Thursday, January 13, 1966, by the Board of School Trustees of the Lac La Biche School Division No. 51

[3] Ibid., page 11.

[4] Ibid., pages 3 and 4.

[5] Metropolitan Readiness Tests, Copyright 1948, 1949, by Harcourt Brace and World, New York and Tarrytown.

[6] Op. Cit., Trustee Report, page 16.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study was designed to assess human resources of Metis of the Lac La Biche area in Alberta. Four settlements were selected in which information was gathered. The investigation in each settlement was varied. Information was obtained from a variety of sources: on the basis of residence in the settlements; informal conversations with residents of the settlements; formal interviews with residents; and statistical data obtained from various provincial and federal sources. Socio-economic and cultural differences between the researchers and the Metis produced methodological difficulties not encountered in similar studies of White settlements in Alberta.

Much of the information for this report was based on information gathered during eight weeks' residence by the Research Assistant and his wife with a Metis family in the Village of Kikino, Alberta. In addition, one interviewer lived in the Town of Lac La Biche, and another lived in the Mission District west of Lac La Biche. Finally, two residents of the area assisted in gathering data from Lac La Biche, Mission, and Owl River settlements.

The area of the study is located about one hundred and forty miles northeast of Edmonton. The climate is typical for Northern Alberta. The soil condition and land use, however, mark this as an area of minimal agricultural value. One-third of the farmers in this area have been classified as financially distressed. The regional farming pattern is shifting in the direction of a decrease in the number of farms and an increase in the average acreage per farm. Only one-half of the land in the larger region of Census Division 12 is improved.

The present study is based on an estimated Metis population of 938. General information was obtained from 124 families and information on attitudes was obtained from 150 adult male and female members of these families.

The Metis population of the area is part of a larger society which consists of French, Ukrainian and British ethnic groups. The Metis population, together with the Indian population, constitutes roughly 12 per cent of the total population of Census Division 12.

An analysis of the housing of the Metis people presents a picture which is far from satisfactory. On two measurements of housing conditions designed for the Alberta prairies, almost 90 per cent of the present sample occupies the very bottom segment of the scale. In Kikino, the most frequent Edwards' score for houses is 0 points out of 30. The housing is insufficient, unsanitary, and often affords inadequate protection from severe weather conditions. It appears to be one major factor in the high rate of illness which covers these settlements. Typical housing consists of a one-room or two-room log cabin, insulated with mud, having no foundation, which houses a family of six or seven or more. These houses typically have no electricity. Bathroom facilities consist of a water basin, and an outhouse near the cabin. Windows are often broken or covered with cardboard.

A current cooperative house-building program in the Metis colony at Kikino is of assistance to settlers building new houses. However, lack of insulating and other materials in the first houses built has resulted in their providing little improvement in protection from the cold, rain and frost.

The health of the Metis is very much poorer than that of the non-Metis residents of the Lac La Biche area, according to reports from health officials in the area. Often families with disabled members find residence on the colony an economic aid, and a larger number of families with disabled members have taken up residence there than on the other three settlements. Tuberculosis has left its mark on the Metis population. In over one-in-four families, one parent has had tuberculosis. In 13 per cent of the families, BOTH parents have had tuberculosis. Minor illnesses like gastroentritis or measles sweep periodically through the settlements. Diarrhea is so common that most residents believe this is part of life and do not consider it at all unusual.

The people seem to accept the importance of medical care, and prefer treatment and contact with staff inside the hospital to treatment in their own settlements.

The diet of the people may be described as austere. Typical meals include bannock or home-made bread, lard, potatoes, and tea. Meat is served about once a day, about six days a week. There is some supplementation of diet through hunting, fishing and gardening.

It appears that an adjustment to a small daily intake of food may be accompanied by seeking satisfaction from "tasty" food and a shrinking of the stomach.

The water supply of the area consists of local springs, streams or drainage sources. The usual cost to those who must have their water hauled by truck from one of these sources is $1.00 per 40-gallon barrel. Where this is the case, the Metis pay some 222 times as much for their water as do people in Edmonton. In addition, many of the water sources are contaminated. Both major sources of water for the Village of Kikino are contaminated with an excessive bacteria count and the presence of feces material. The water in this area has often been reported as contaminated since 1960. As a result, gastroentritis and related afflictions are common among the people in the settlement. The water supply affects not only health in terms of consumption, but also in terms of washing problems. The presence of high nitrate content in water can contribute to cyanosis, a condition which is dangerous to babies.

The social organization of the settlements is a crucial resource to people living under the conditions which the Metis do. The wider kinship obligations perform some important tasks in carrying the additional burdens faced by these families. In crisis, they provide some security and shelter. They provide a home invironment for children born out of wedlock; and the wider kinship group provides babysitters when families must leave the settlement for a while. Economic sharing and cooperation are also common in many family groups. This element in social organization is being weakened, however, by the increased movement to urban areas. Even in those areas, it may provide the only security the newcomer knows.

Family groups normally consist of parents, children and others. In the urban area, the unmarried women who are mothers of children fathered by white men are very common. This results in severe demands by these families for support by some type of transfer payment. Elderly families are also somewhat dependent because they are unable to supplement their incomes and are more dependent on others for transportation and other forms of help. These are forgotten people who, on the colony, are often separated from relatives. They are extremely vulnerable, lonely, and often taken advantage of.

The so-called normal family grouping of father, mother and children is the predominant form of family in these settlements. Common-law relationships are more frequent, but these are efficient ways of surviving in this environment. For example, if a treaty Indian doesn't marry, but establishes a common-law arrangement with a Metis man, she and her children retain certain medical care benefits they would lose if she were to marry. The common-law relationship is a possible response to such situations. Parent-child relationships are often marked by what the middle class would call a weakness of traditional parental authority. The peer group does much to socialize the child. The parent can offer little to his child and often may feel inferior to him.

Community social relations usually do not culminate in any formal organization. Those formal organizations which do exist are weakly supported. The only strong community organization we encountered in the settlements studied was the Kikino baseball team. This is one of the few forms of community social organization that is actively participated in by its members. It provides one relationship with the larger society in which the Metis has a chance to compete on an equal basis. It appears that this equality is matched by a corresponding enthusiasm in participation.

One special form of social organization is the Metis colony. The history, background, and major relationships within this type of organization were examined. It was suggested that the Local Supervisor-resident relationship was most crucial. The Metis residents and the

representatives of the larger society view each other in stereotyped ways. Historically, and in the present, the Metis has been viewed by the larger society, and thus by its representatives on the colony, as a child. The Metis, on the other hand, often mistrust the administrators. There has been some difficulty in clarifying and understanding some dealings between the two parties. It seems clear that the Metis are not "children" and they respond unfavorably to treatment appropriate to children. Much of the apparent pressure to achieve a "program" contributes to a domineering attitude on the part of an administrator, which in turn may become paternalism.

The economy of the region is one of the least developed in Alberta. Farming is extremely difficult. Fishing provides a major source of income, but a large share of this fishing is for animal food and pays rather low return.

The Metis are employed at such seasonal work as is available, but they are dependent upon transfer payments for the largest share of their income. They do supplement their income in various ways, including hunting, fishing, gardening, etc.

As an alternative to the stereotypical view that Metis dislike work, a typology was suggested describing three major orientations to one's livelihood which were commonly seen in the settlements studied: self-sufficiency, self-support, and subsistence-welfare. The self-sufficient attempts to become self-sufficient through private ownership of some means of support. He is orientated toward the future; toward an ethic of hard work; and tends to have less education than the self-supporting. He tries to support himself on local resources. In some senses, he is very unrealistic, for very few farmers in the area are supporting themselves adequately, and he must save up a large amount of capital to invest in farming before he will be on the same footing as they are.

The self-supporting man works in the larger society and uses his Metis settlement residence as a haven. With lower costs of living there, he is able to support himself. Expenses in the city would make this

impossible. He tends to have more education than either of the other types. He faces the pressure of the larger society directly during the work week and returns to the Metis settlement on weekends.

The subsistence-welfare type has little education or experience, just as the self-sufficient does. He sees the hard work for pennies as useless in the modern age when the same minimal income can be had for "nothing" from social assistance payments. He thus lowers his subsistence level and accepts the stigma attached to this. Often, he may see illness as a reasonable justification for his behavior.

The consumption patterns of the Metis have been examined as part of the larger pattern of relations between Metis and White. The existing system, in which the Metis derives a great majority of his income from transfer payments and much in merchandise, gives him little experience in dealing with money. In all, the Metis has very few resources of capital. It is very difficult for him to get credit. In the Kikino store, it was pointed out that consumers are paying 9.3 per cent higher prices than if they bought in town. They are discouraged from redeeming their Social Assistance vouchers in Lac La Biche apparently because of an informal agreement between the Metis Rehabilitation Branch and the Public Welfare Department in Lac La Biche. The rationale for this is that the profits on merchandize taken at the Kikino store are thus returned to the Metis Trust Fund, which is almost entirely spent in support of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. The result is that the people are paying higher prices for their food than the society at large. Moreover, the store does not carry fresh fruits, fresh vegetables, eggs or milk.

The relations between the Metis and the larger society were analyzed in terms of transportation, communication, intercourse with urban areas, channels of contact with representatives of the larger society.

The existence of severe transportation problems in seen in the fact that a trip to Vilna from Kikino (about 30 miles) costs $15.00, while a trip by bus from Vilna to Edmonton (about 97 miles) costs $2.37. Residents must pay exorbitant fees for automobile trips in each of the

settlements outside Lac La Biche. Two trips to take a sick baby to the hospital and to pick it up can cost a family $20.00.

There are also problems with roads in the settlement areas. Several sections of road outside the settlements are not maintained and a number of children must ride several miles in a wagon to catch the school bus throughout the school year.

The only form of mass media communication available in these settlements is radio. Newspapers and television are practically non-existent. Telephone facilities are poor. Kikino, for example, is 14 miles from the nearest telephone. Telephone service was proposed in the late 1930's but has never been made available.

The relations between Metis and the representatives of the larger society tend to be marked by a dominance by the Whites and a submissiveness by the Metis. In the relations between the Metis and the Metis colony Supervisor, communication is inadequate. The only equalitarian relationships noted were the baseball tournaments between Kikino and other teams. Each of these is marked by enthusiasm and participation by the Metis. This is a marked contrast to the rest of relations between Metis and White. The White sees the Metis as polite, perhaps, but submissive, often irresponsible and uncommunicative. He sees the Metis often as a child.

One-third of the Metis people report that they have experienced discrimination--directly or indirectly. This seems to be a significant figure due to the controversial nature of the topic which led, we think, to under-reporting of discrimination by those we interviewed. Alcohol and its role in Metis-White relations is a topic on which research is sorely needed. It is suggested in this report that frustrations or privation can contribute to what unusual drinking behavior does occur. On the other hand, it is also suggested that the White view of Metis drinking behavior is stereotypical and misleading.

In all, the relations between Metis and White are seen as consistently one-sided. The dominant majority often views the Metis in these terms: the Metis is like a child, lazy, and irresponsible. These views are challenged in two ways: in terms of their accuracy and in terms of harmful consequences of this definition on the self-image of the Metis.

Whites in all capacities constantly repeat that the key to the Metis future is education. Our data show that Metis families are very much concerned about the education of their children. A particular concern is the fact that the added expense of school supplies which they will have to bear in 1966 for the first time will contribute to further humiliation of the student and privation at home. It is obvious from the data we have reviewed that the educational panacea to Metis problems is far from satisfactory. At present, only a handful of Metis children are approaching Grade 10. A major share of the responsibility for the failure of educational attempts with Metis children must be laid to the basic assumptions concerning the Metis and in the curriculum which has been devised for him. The school does not begin where the Metis child begins and the Metis child does not end where the school system ends.

Recommendations

It seems reasonable that certain recommendations would issue from the investigation which has been made. Basic to such recommendations, however, is a discussion of what role the Metis are to play in Alberta society.

Traditionally, there seems to have been two major perspectives on the role of minority groups in the larger society. The first is what might be called the "melting pot" approach. This viewpoint sees the results of social interaction as producing similar, and common individuals. It assumes that all groups will lose any particular features which set them apart and common features will be developed which all will share.

A second view of the goal of assimilation of minorities is that all minorities will eventually adapt to and "take on" the features and characteristics of the dominant ethnic group in that society. In the present case this would involve the "anglicization" of minority groups in Alberta society.

Each of these approaches has difficulties which make them unworkable. To expect, for example, that in Alberta different minority groups will "lose" or abandon all the features which make them distinctive seems implausible at best. Or, to expect that a majority of the population will come to accept and reflect the features of the dominant minority may be strongly desired, but is just as strongly unfeasible. These have been the dominant views which have historically determined the supposed goal of the relations between different ethnic groups.

A third perspective describes the present situation. It is the commonly accepted one in Canada, where <u>integration</u>, rather than <u>assimilation</u> of minority group members is a commonly professed goal. It is one which accepts heterogeneity as a central feature of the present society. Instead of attempting to envisage a future in which distinctive features of ethnic groups will either be erased or amalgamated, it seeks to accept the differences as given and to concentrate on means by which unity can be found amidst the diversity. Such an approach is probably more difficult and harassing in some respects. But it is also founded on the more realistic premise that to ignore present ethnic group standards which conflict in the present is to simply postpone the time when such encounters must be made. We do not accept the assumption that the Metis must necessarily assume all the features and standards of the Euro-Canadian citizens. Likewise, we do not assume that the goal of present Alberta society will be to produce individuals and groups who are essentially similar in all respects. Rather, we take as given the problem of finding amidst these diversities certain basic sentiments and actions which reflect the emerging character of Alberta society.

With this in mind, one can proceed to a discussion of the various recommendations. They are of two kinds: palliative, or short-run and remedial, and long-run. The former tend to emphasize the existing programs and social structure. The latter concern programs which are to be developed, which would shift the emphasis of many current programs.

Short-run Recommendations

1. Some plan for public transportation would eliminate much expense and difficulty in these areas. Our investigation suggested that (1) private transportation can cost as high as 30 times that of public transportation; and (2) in the case of the Kikino colony, both school bus vehicles and drivers are located on the colony.

2. An extension of construction and maintenance of roads and bridges in the area is urgently required. In several cases, the poor conditions of the roads contributed to absenteeism among schoolchildren.

3. Some program for extending minimal housing facilities to all citizens should be encouraged and increased. Both public health authorities and medical personnel saw inadequate housing as a large contributor to the high incidence of disease in the area.

4. Provision for inexpensive and sanitary water supplies should be made. Our investigation showed that prices people pay for water are as much as 200 times as high in some of these settlements as in Edmonton for those who must have their water hauled. It also showed that water facilities in the Village of Kikino were highly contaminated and have apparently been so for some time.

5. Provision for electrical power should be made, where possible. In most communities there is no such power, thus making impossible the use of many inexpensive labor-saving devices.

6. Provision for telephone communication into each settlement area should be made. Such a measure was first recommended for the Kikino colony in 1936. Thirty years later, such facilities are yet unavailable.

7. Provision for Metis rights to game and fish should be examined and protected. In the face of severe deprivation, fish and game offer a major source of inexpensive protein. Our research suggests that where such rights are protected, Metis people are more self-sufficient and successful in improvement of their present situation.

8. In government stores -- such as the Kikino store operated by the Metis Rehabilitation Branch -- provision for offering a supply of fresh fruit, fresh vegetables and eggs should be made. Means should also be found to make prices as comparable as possible with those in larger centers such as Lac La Biche.

9. Provision should be made for insuring adequate school books and supplies for all children -- Metis and non-Metis. The present cost cannot be carried by these families and the lack of adequate supplies is often the "straw" which makes the burden of continued frustration in school too heavy.

10. Metis men in this area offer a labor force which must be used in developing this area of Alberta. We suggest that provision for training and occupation in this area be offered these men. But this is not enough. Substantial provision for housing and living must be provided during this period of training. Further, short-range employment is not satisfactory.

Long-run Recommendations

1. A program aimed at the economic development of the entire region is essential for an improvement in the more local economic situation in the Metis settlements. Their status at the bottom of the social status hierarchy makes them most vulnerable and that position will most likely be improved only as the entire condition of the region is improved.

2. An extensive program of educational training is essential for the future of the Metis in this area. The following recommendations are made:

(a) A program of job and academic training for both young adults and heads of families should be related to the economic development of the region. This should be settlement-based.

(b) A program of kindergarten, other preschool and summer education should be undertaken to offset the apparent handicap faced by Metis youngsters in beginning school.

(c) Increased provision for school supplies, expenses for high school youngsters living in town, and for school clothing would tend tremendously to motivate parents and children in school programs.

(d) A program which includes hot lunches and vending machines which dispense milk, etc., is strongly recommended, both as a means to improve the diet and the attitudes of children toward nutritious eating. Another possibility is a "milk break" for youngsters. These should be provided without charge to those youngsters whose parents cannot afford to pay this additional expense.

3. A comprehensive program for the co-ordination and planning of development of this area should be considered. As an underdeveloped area, it seems essential that a co-ordinated effort of various governmental services be undertaken.

4. The services offered by the Metis Rehabilitation Branch should be carefully examined with a consideration of a more extensive sphere of responsibility for all Metis people. At present, a minority of Metis live on colonies. They do not participate in some of the advantages of the treaty Indians. As Metis move toward the city, existing Public Welfare facilities may be required to play a different role in Metis life. We suggest, therefore, an examination of the roles of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch, the Department of Public Welfare, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the federal and provincial governments in their relationships to Metis.

APPENDIX A

Figure 1

INVOICE FOR SCHOOL SUPPLIES FROM THE LAC LA BICHE SCHOOL DISTRICT

List of Books Supplied on Request to _____ Grade VI
Name of Pupil

Parent's Name _____ School Lac La Biche

Kikino East

Book Titles	Price
Rentals;	
Seeing Through Arithmetic Gr. VI	.55
Language Journeys Book VI	.45
Exploring Science Book VI	.60
Dent's School Atlas	.35
Thorndike High School Dictionary	1.10
Workbooks;	
P.O.V. Speller Gr. VI	.60
All Nails Set	.70
Total	$ 4.35

Figure 2

INVOICE FOR SCHOOL SUPPLIES FROM THE LAC LA BICHE SCHOOL DISTRICT

LAC LA BICHE SCHOOL DIVISION # 51
LAC LA BICHE, ALBERTA.

Date October 1/ 63.

Invoice of items Supplied on Request to _____ Grade VI

Parent's Name Kikino East School Lac La Biche Elementary

RESALE ITEMS	Price
1 paint brush	.05
1 Lettering Stencil	.15
1 Ball Point Pen ((198)	.70
1 Ruler	.10
1 Reinforcements	.05
1 Math Set	.35
L Pencil Crayons	.65
1 Poster Paints	1.25
1 Key Tab	.50
1 L.L. Open Binder	1.25
2 L.L. Refills @ .25	.50
1 pkg. dividers	.10
1 Key Pack Scribblers	.50
	6.65

Figure 3

LETTER FROM LAC LA BICHE SCHOOL DIVISION TO PARENTS,
REQUESTING PAYMENT OF SCHOOL SUPPLIES

LAC LA BICHE SCHOOL DIVISION

Number 51

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER
Lac La Biche, Alberta

November 15th,1963.

Mr. Raymond Bellrose,
Kikino East Supervisor,
LAC LA BICHE, Alberta.

Dear Sir:

Attached please find accounts for School Supplies and Book Rental for , daughter of , in the amount of $11.00. The Metis Rehabilitation in Edmonton have returned this account. Would you kindly collect along with accounts for their other children.

Please advise when we may expect payment of these accounts.

Yours truly,

S. J. Clarke,
Secretary Treasurer.

SJC/ac

PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT