

PERCEPTIONS OF CONTROL, JUSTICE AND HOPE: A STUDY CONDUCTED
IN THE LILLOOET COMMUNITY

by

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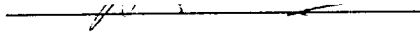
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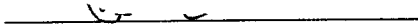
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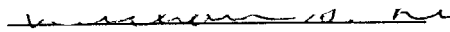
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Abstract

In this study perceptions of control, justice, and hope were explored in the Lillooet community using both structured and semi-structured questionnaires. Specifically, the relationships between the constructs of Locus of Control, Just World, and Anasakti (Indian construct of "non-attachment") were elucidated. The study also determined the extent to which these constructs were predictive of Hope. There were eighty one participants in this study. Twenty one had First Nations status, and 60 did not. Participants were of both genders, came from different employment sectors, had different educational levels, and were affiliated with different "interest groups" in Lillooet. Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire composed of two parts. In the first part they were given Miller's Hope scale, Levenson's Locus of Control scale, Naidu and Pande's Anasakti scale, and Lipkus's Just World scale. In the second part of the questionnaire they were asked to select the issue of greatest concern to them in the Lillooet community, and to describe the issue. They were also asked to indicate how hopeful they felt about the future with regards to this issue and how much control they had over it. Finally, they were asked similar questions about a resource related issue which they also selected. Analyses revealed significant correlations between Anasakti and Locus of Control ($p < .001$) and between Internal Locus of Control (a subscale of Locus of Control) and Just World ($p < .001$). Locus of Control and Anasakti contributed significantly to the

prediction of Hope for the entire sample ($p < .001$). Participants with First Nations status were found to be less hopeful ($p < .05$), and less Anasakt ($p < .01$) than their non-First Nations counterparts. For the sample as a whole, issues involving native and non-native relations were identified as being of greatest concern followed by issues about the youth (e.g., alcoholism, drugs and vandalism). Implications of these results for the community and for future research are discussed.

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Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore relationships between perceptions of control, justice, and an Indian spiritual concept known as "Anasakti". It was also to determine the extent to which control and justice would predict hopefulness and whether Anasakti, a construct from the country of India, would add to these predictions. Control, justice and hope, were explored not only as general perceptions, but also in the context of community issues selected by participants as being of particular importance at this time. Lillooet, the locale for this study, is situated outside of the lower mainland in British Columbia and is inhabited by both native and non-native people. This locale was selected because members of its community expressed an interest in having such research conducted locally. Also, the Lillooet community itself is in social, economic, and ecological transition and so issues of control, justice and hope may be particularly salient ones there at this time. Following an examination of the aforementioned constructs, the situation in Lillooet is described and the relevance of this situation to these constructs is discussed. This order reflects an orientation of traditional psychology to move from a nomothetic to an idiographic focus. In a nomothetic focus the goal is to elucidate principles that are generalizable across individuals and cultures. In an idiographic focus, the goal is

to explore phenomena that are unique to an individual or to a single culture but which do not necessarily lend themselves to generalization.

Rationale for the Choice of Constructs

The constructs of justice, control, and hope were selected for a number of reasons. First, although their specific expression may vary across cultures and contexts, the underlying issues of control, justice, and hope are likely to apply to everyone. In almost every society there is some kind of political and social hierarchy, and the amount of control that an individual has is likely to be influenced by such things as his or her social rank, caste, and gender. Within a social position however, there are likely to be differences in the extent to which individuals believe that they can control and influence their own futures. Perceptions of justice and injustice are also likely to be important, because a consequence of almost every social or political order, from tyranny to democracy, is that some people in the system will believe that their needs have not been met. In a democracy, for example, the majority vote will determine various outcomes for everyone. Members of minorities may feel that they do not have control over their own affairs and therefore perceive injustice in the system. In tyranny, only the tyrant may exercise effective control. The amount of control people believe they have and the extent to which people believe they have been treated justly may further impact how hopeful they feel about their futures regardless of specific context. To some degree, through examining the

relationships between the constructs and determining whether control and justice predict hope in both native and non-native sub-populations, this study will test the assumption that the constructs of control, justice, and hope apply in these different cultural contexts.

A second reason for choosing the constructs of Locus of Control, Just World, and Hope is that they each have been found to have implications for "well being", a loose concept that is operationally defined and measured in a number of different ways (e.g., psychological and somatic stress measures, absence of psychopathology, etc.). Furthermore, some of the interrelationships between these constructs have been explored in past studies (e.g., Lipkus, 1991; Ward & Kennedy, 1992). The introduction of the Indian concept of "Anasakti" will add a new dimension to previous research. Anasakti may in one respect be considered an Indian "emic" concept as it is based on an Indian philosophy from the Bhagavad-Gita. A concept is emic to the extent that it is meaningful to only the culture in which it was developed. On the other hand, the Anasakti construct may also be an eligible "etic" because it has western parallels, which will be later discussed, in sports psychology and in psychotherapy. A construct is an "etic" to the extent that it applies universally to all cultures. Anasakti, like Locus of Control, Just world, and hope has been found to relate to well being in an Indian sample (Pande and Naidu, 1992). The Anasakti questionnaire, developed by Naidu and Pande (1990), up until this point has been used only in India.

Introducing Anasakti in this study, will provide an opportunity to determine whether this "emic" of India predicts hopefulness and whether it relates meaningfully with the western emic constructs of justice and control.

A third reason for the choice of constructs in this study was that as a group they do justice to a model known as the "trilogy of the mind". This trilogy implies a philosophical model of the person that posits that there are three different aspects of the mind: the cognitive, affective, and conative. Cognition refers to one's thoughts, affect to one's emotions, and conation to one's "will" to act. A holistic perspective of human beings entails an integrated understanding of these three factors. The constructs of Just world, Locus of Control and Hope incorporate all three of the faculties: affect, cognition, and conation. Hope, Stotland (1969) argues, is primarily an affective measure although clearly there are cognitive and conative components in it as well. Locus of Control, although not directly a measure of volition, does assess the extent to which people believe that they are able to translate their intentions into action. There is also a clear cognitive component in this construct because perceptions of control also entail understandings about the way the world is and the way that it functions. A belief in a just world is a perception about the way the world works and is in this sense a cognition. Therefore, there is clearly a lot of overlap between the constructs in their assessment of affect, cognition, and conation. In combination,

they do, however seem to, indirectly or directly, address all aspects of the trilogy of mind.

Hope has been treated as an outcome variable in the present study for a number of reasons. First of all, there is a widespread belief among psychologists that changing an individual's cognitions, or the way that a person thinks, will influence how he or she feels. Although there is some despondence to this position, many psychologists believe in the primacy of cognition over affect (e.g., Lazarus, 1984) and this is itself the basis of much of cognitive therapy. Therefore, having made an assumption about the primacy of cognition over affect it follows that hope is a suitable criterion variable. Hope has also been found in the past to be critical in helping people deal with life challenges. For example, in a group of patients diagnosed with the AIDS virus, a feeling of hope was positively correlated with well being (Verna & Soeken, 1990). It has also been associated with greater psycho-social maturity (Brakney & Westman, 1992). In a nursing study (Reed, 1987; as cited in Verna & Soeken, 1990) hope was positively related to spiritual well being in a group of patients. When people who are under the assumption that they are receiving a drug treatment are actually administered an inert substance (known as a placebo) their conditions often improve nevertheless. It seems that the mere anticipation of recovery is enough to foster improvement (e.g., Rosenberg, 1994). A history of faith healing practices may similarly work by engendering the belief in people that they will

get better. A feeling of hope, it seems, is closely linked with the expectancy of a positive future and therefore hopefulness may be crucial to recovery, adjustment and well-being.

Previous psychological research has explored some of the relationships between Locus of control (LOC), Anasakti, belief in a Just world and Hope with each other and with different measures of well being (e.g., Lipkus, 1991; Ward & Kennedy, 1992). Locus of Control is a construct devised by Rotter(1966). According to Rotter, those with an internal Locus of Control tend to view events as being within their own control and those with an external Locus of Control attribute events to external factors such as luck and chance. Anasakti advocates a detached style in dealing with life's tasks. It involves among other things, a focus on the process of completing a task rather than the eventual outcome. It also advocates a strong effort orientation. Just world beliefs refer to the extent to which people feel that they and others "get what they deserve" (Lerner, 1970).

Locus of Control

A number of studies have demonstrated the importance of a perception of control on well being and task performance. Fisher (1975) suggests that the extent to which an individual experiences stress may depend in part on his or her perception of control. This perception, furthermore, may have consequences independent of the reality of the situation. For example, the perception of apparent control (Holmes and Houston, 1974; as cited in Fisher, 1975) has

been shown to reduce reported anxiety and physiological arousal in advance of stressful events even when in reality people have little or no control. This reduced anxiety may then lead to improved performance (Fisher, 1975). When a person feels that he or she lacks control, the result may be "learned helplessness", a state characterised by depression (Seligman, 1975). A perception of control on the other hand may lead to "learned resourcefulness", a sense of self efficacy (the belief that one can effectively accomplish a goal), and well being (e.g., Rosenbaum, 1989).

Other research has incorporated the use of Locus of Control scales and found that scores on these scales do correlate with different measures of well-being. Ward and Kennedy (1992), for example, found that in a group of people undergoing a cross-cultural transition Locus of Control was predictive of mood disturbance and depression. Yukura & Yoshimori (1993) found that an internal Locus of Control was positively related to happiness. Results regarding the Locus of Control construct have not, however, been uniform. Kunhikrishanan and Stephen (1992), for example, found that internality was related to a general sense of well being in men, but unrelated to a sense of well being in women. Some studies have also suggested that an external locus of control may be more adaptive in "collectivistic" cultures (Khanna & Khanna, 1979).

Use of the Locus of Control construct in its original form (i.e. Rotter's LOC construct) has been somewhat problematic. For one thing, it assumes that the

internal - external dimension is unidimensional and therefore that it measures a unitary construct. Studies using factor analysis suggest that the LOC scale is, in fact, multidimensional. Levenson (1973) has broken the original scale down into the following sub-scales: Powerful Others, Personal Control, and Chance. The rationale behind this particular differentiation stems from the possibility that the implications for those with a more external locus of control may depend on whether control is perceived as being in the hands of other people or due to chance events. A belief that the world is controlled by powerful others implies that the world is still ordered, whereas a belief that chance factors are responsible implies that events are unordered. Levenson's Locus of Control scale will be used in the current study for the following reasons: First, it deals with the multidimensional nature of the LOC construct. Second, his tripartite differentiation makes sense on conceptual grounds and is also supported empirically by factor analysis of responses to the questionnaire.

Anasakti

Anasakti, according to Naidu and Pande(1992, p. 3), refers to an "intense though disinterested action, performed with a spirit of passion, without nurturing concerns regarding success or failure, loss or gain, likes or dislikes". The ultimate goal of Anasakti is "self realisation". Naidu and Pande (1992, p.6) further describe the Anasakti philosophy as follows: "if the goal is fixed inwards, the emotional impacts of external success and failure are minimised and the

consequences, good or bad, will be cognized as milestones on the path to self realisation, rather than reflections of personal capabilities".

Pande and Naidu (1992) cite studies showing that emotional and cognitive distractions can impede performance on a task; they suggest that adopting a focus on process rather than outcome may reduce such distractions and lead both to superior performance and to lesser stress. They find in their study that those scoring high on a scale of Anasakti do in fact experience less stress and less strain in their dealings with difficult life events.

The Indian philosophy of Anasakti has two parallels in western psychology. The first is the distinction between performance and outcome orientation in sports psychology. The second is process oriented psychotherapy. In sports psychology, when one sets performance rather than outcome goals, later performance tends to be better. With attention paid to the process, a person is less likely to be distracted by a concern with outcomes. This link is an interesting one in that it suggests that Anasakti, although an Indian emic, may also be a meaningful dimension on which to understand people in the west. This scale was selected for this study mainly because of its possible relevance in more than one cultural context.

Belief in a Just world

The belief in a just world, according to Lerner refers to an "attributional process whereby people get what they deserve and deserve what they get".

Such a belief may be socially conditioned -- the economic structure of a society, its legal system, and its religious orientations may all contribute to a person's perception of how fair the world is. This belief also may stem from an individual's personal experiences. One might expect therefore, that there will be general cultural differences in how just, people feel, the world is, and also individual differences within each of these cultures.

The need for people to maintain their belief in a just world may account for why victims of misfortune are derogated. Many believe that people in poverty are experiencing their just desserts for earlier sins. In fact, in the Hindu world view, the law of Karma states that how one behaves will affect what happens to that person later in this lifetime or in another lifetime (Khanna & Khanna, 1978). Empirically, it has been shown that, if allowed, participants will reward apparent victims of misfortune, but if not allowed to do so, will later rate them unfavourably on a questionnaire (Lerner and Simmons, 1966). This derogation preserves their sense of justice. A sense of justice has further been shown to be associated with well-being. Bulman and Wortman (1977), for example, found that those who were able to maintain their view of a just world despite having had spinal cord injuries reported themselves to be happier than other victims.

A number of scales have been developed to measure Lerner's construct. These scales are designed to assess the extent to which individuals believe that the world is just. Rubin and Peplau (1973,1975) developed a scale that assumed that the just world was an unidimensional construct. Later studies using the scales produced mixed findings; some suggested that the scale did in fact measure a unidimensional construct (e.g., Ambrosio & Sheenan, 1990). Other studies have explored the scale and revealed a multidimensional factor structure (e.g., Whatley, 1992). Furthermore, factor analysis also suggests that the dimensions of the construct may vary with gender and with culture. Whatley (1992), for example, found that the analysis of women's responses to the scale revealed an eight factor solution, whereas the analysis for males revealed only a two factor solution. It has been found consistently, however, that males believe more in a just world than females (e.g., Lipkus, 1991).

Although the original Rubin and Peplau scale may tap into different aspects of the just world construct, Lipkus (1991) insists that there is still a "global belief in a just world" and offers an alternative 7 item scale to measure it. All items in his scale correlate highly with one another and with the total score suggesting that it has high internal reliability; it also has high construct validity (Lipkus, 1991). The factor structure that emerges is the same for both males and females which eliminates possible confounds due to gender; all items load onto a single factor which suggests that the scale does indeed measure a

unitary construct. The Global Belief in a Just World Scale (GBJWS) also correlates highly with each of the sub-scales on a multidimensional belief in a just world scale of Furnham & Procter (1988a; as cited in Lipkus, 1991) suggesting that it is tapping into each of the sub-scale domains. This scale was selected for the present study because of the psychometric properties described above and also because of its brevity in light of the fact that participants were expected to fill out a number of other questionnaires.

Interrelationships between the Constructs

Having discussed the meanings of the constructs in this study, it is now possible to hypothesise ways in which they may relate to one another.

Individuals who are more Anasakt may have a more internal locus of control because they focus more on the process of dealing with difficulties and challenges in life than in concerning themselves with possible outcomes. The process of completing a task involves strategies and tactics which one voluntarily employs and these are by their very nature within a persons control. Outcomes, on the other hand may depend more on other people and on a host of environmental factors.

A stronger belief in a just world is expected to be associated with being more Anasakt. Belief in a just world implies a belief that good things will necessarily happen to good people and bad things to bad people. It also implies that efforts will be rewarded. A belief in a just world may enable a person to be

more Anasakt if a focus on process is facilitated by a belief that the world is orderly. A number of earlier studies have shown that stronger belief in a just world is associated with a more internal locus of control (e.g., Rubin and Peplau, 1973). If the world is lawful and predictable and one in which efforts pay off, then it follows that through action one should have considerable control over what happens.

Hope may tie in with Locus of Control, Justice and Anasakti in the following way: An internal locus of control should lead to hopefulness since in being able to control, one can select a favourable future. Brackney and Westman (1992), found that, indeed, a lack of hopefulness was related to the perception that external factors control one's life. A belief in a Just World may also make one feel hopeful because in a just world favourable futures become lawful consequences of appropriate behaviour. Finally, an Anasakt attitude should lead to greater hopefulness for the following reason: In focusing on the process of dealing with life's challenges instead of worrying about success or failure, "task excellence", Pande and Naidu (1992) suggest, results. Therefore, through a focus on process, an Anasakt person may not only have a greater perception of control, but may also be more successful at dealing with life's challenges. A hopeful future may, therefore, be more easily within reach of the Anasakt person.

The Lillooet Community

The opportunity to study in Lillooet came up as a result of the investigator's involvement with another research project (to be discussed later). General issues of control, justice, and hope were identified as being of particular significance during a meeting of the Shastri project team members with Lillooet community members. A First Nations community leader in the meeting connected pervasive feelings of powerlessness and lack of control to local youth problems and suicides. He also expressed a need for more psychological work to be done in the community. Therefore, the present study, endorsed by members of the Lillooet community, was an effort to explore the issues of control, justice and hope and to do so in a psychological context.

The main aim of the study was to elucidate relationships between constructs of Locus of Control, Justice and Hope at a level that would potentially be generalizable across contexts. Lillooet, a small community experiencing many social, environmental, and economic changes (for reasons to follow), was considered an ideal context in which to explore interrelationships between control, justice and hope as these issues seemed from conversations with community members to be particularly salient and meaningful ones there at this time. Also, because there were both native and non-native populations in the community, Lillooet was considered a suitable locale in which to explore the extent to which the aforementioned constructs would meaningfully relate to each other in different cultural contexts.

Lillooet is a small resource-dependent community located in the southwestern interior of British Columbia. It is inhabited by both tribal and non-tribal people. The community may be subdivided into a number of socio-political groups: the Loggers, B.C. Hydro workers, the Government workers, and the Fisheries' workers. Some of the tribal people live on reserves within the Lillooet district and others live in the town of Lillooet itself. Since the take-over of Lillooet by the white man, there has been economic and political tension between the First Nations and non-First Nations groups as native stakeholders have made land claims for areas that were taken from their ancestors (Drake, 1989). The following demographic statistics are from the Lillooet Advisory Committee's 1994 to 1996 Strategic Plan. According to the report, the population of the "catchment area of Lillooet as a whole" is approximately 5,000 residents, and the population in the area surrounding the village boundaries is about 2,900 (excluding First Nations reserves). The First Nations reserves have about 1,000 residents. Seton Lake is the largest reserve with about 475 residents. Fountain reserve has about 175 residents, Lillooet reserve has about 125 residents, Bridge River band has about 100 residents, Cayoosh Creek band has about 95 residents, and Pavillion band has about 55 residents. About 30 percent of residents in the Lillooet district are between 1-19 years of age.

Education levels in the Lillooet area are somewhat lower than in the Province as a whole. About 45 percent of the population has Grade 9 to 13

education whereas about 15 percent has less than Grade 9 education, and about 15 percent has university education. The unemployment rate in Lillooet is about 14 percent which is higher than the Provincial unemployment rate of about 8.5 percent. According to the Lillooet Strategic plan, factors affecting unemployment include, "uncertainty concerning the future of the cutting levels in the Timber Supply Area" and restructuring of BC Hydro and the Lillooet hospital. The Lillooet Strategic Plan also notes that unemployed people who have literacy or "numeracy" challenges are particularly disadvantaged in the Lillooet community since it is a "knowledge based economy". Forestry related industries are the largest employment group accounting for 26 percent of the working population in Lillooet. The two major employers in the forest sector in Lillooet are Ainsworth Lumber Co. Ltd. which employs about 240 people and Bridgeside Higa Forest Industries Ltd. which employs about 70 people. Within the agricultural sector, the major employer is the ginseng industry. Ginseng is a medicinal plant used widely in Chinese medicine.

Since the take-over of Lillooet by the white man, many of the tribal people have lost touch with their cultural past. At one point during the take-over of the native lands, residential schools were built with the explicit purpose of stripping the native community of its cultural roots. Such practices as not allowing native children at these schools to communicate with family members

ensured that the indigenous values were not handed down to the next generation. A native woman working for the tribal council in Lillooet suggests that the loss of native culture was primarily the result of the implementation of these residential schools.

In addition to stripping the native community of its culture the implementation of these schools had another effect, according to several youth workers in the community. This was that the children of the schools were generally not raised with sensitivity, love, and care that real parents may have offered to them. Now, as parents themselves, they may model the authorities who were their surrogate parents at the residential schools, and have difficulty raising their own children in a healthy manner. According to community youth workers, there were also many incidents of physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect by the leaders in the residential schools. Community health workers indicate that today, the Lillooet community experiences the highest suicide rate in Canada, and also rates high on its incidence of alcohol abuse, and family violence. The current feeling of powerlessness felt by First Nations people may be the result of several factors: the loss of economic and political power (and therefore of land and resources), and the loss of identity and a way of life resulting from a stripping of cultural roots.

Lillooet is currently in a major socio-economic transition. Associated with concerns about treaty negotiations and about land use planning is worry about

the future of the forestry industry, particularly as it is the business on which Lillooet depends most heavily for employment and revenue. Community members also express concern that much of the money that is earned in the mills leaves Lillooet and is not put into its development. Another resource for which there is concern is fish as the number of salmon in the Fraser river has dropped steadily over the past few years . This is of concern to everyone, and perhaps of particular concern to First Nations people as their traditional way of life depends on this resource both for practical and for spiritual reasons. In addition there is much political tension raised by the native land claims and the simultaneous efforts to expand the Lillooet municipality to include the areas that are being claimed (personal communication).

In light of the concerns around treaty negotiations, land claims, and particularly in light of the high suicide and substance abuse rates among the First Nations youth, an exploration of perceptions of control, justice and hope may be of particular relevance in the Lillooet community at this time. An elucidation of the relationships between the aforementioned constructs may shed some light on possible avenues for intervention. Also, a comparison of First Nations and non-First Nations people with respect to these constructs may provide some insight into areas in which their perceptions and assumptions about the world differ. Of particular relevance to this question is a study conducted by Janoff- Bullman (1989) in which she found that people who have

been abused tend to believe less in a meaningful world, less in a benevolent world and tend to have lowered self worth. The First Nations people are in many ways an abused people. The abuse is not only historical either as patterns of family violence, emotional abuse and sexual abuse have been passed from generation to generation since the implementation of the residential schools (personal communication). These patterns persist in the First Nations community today. As a result of the hardships that First Nations people have faced and continue to face today it was expected that they would perceive less control, be less hopeful, less Anasakt, and believe less in a just world than their non-first nation counterparts. Previous research has found that members of disadvantaged groups do in fact manifest lower just world belief scores (e.g., Glennon and Joseph, 1993) and that they exhibit a more external locus of control (e.g., Schmidt, Lamm, & Trommsdorff, 1978; as cited in Hui, 1982).

Against this background of issues in the Lillooet community, a study was planned. The first part of the study used standard psychological questionnaires to assess general perceptions of control, justice and hope. The second part of the study used semi-structured questionnaires to explore perceptions of control, justice, and hope in the context of issues that participants selected and felt were important at this time in the community. The purpose of using both standard psychological questionnaires and semi-structured questionnaires was to be able to explore both "decontextualized" and "contextualized" perceptions of control,

justice and hope. In this study it is expected that general perceptions of hope, justice, and control would meaningfully relate to their counterparts in the context of community issues. This last point will be explored further below.

Structured Questionnaire: Purpose and Hypotheses

As indicated earlier, participants were asked to respond to the following questionnaires: Levenson's (1973) Multidimensional Locus of Control scale, Naidu and Pande's (1990) Anasakti scale, Lipkus's (1991) Global Belief in a Just World scale and Miller's (1988) hope scale. There were three specific purposes for the structured questionnaire. The first was to elucidate the relationships among the constructs of Locus of Control, Just World, Anasakti, and Hope. The second was to assess the extent to which Locus of Control, Just world, and Anasakti predicted Hope and the third was to compare First Nations and non-First Nations people on Hope, Locus of Control, Anasakti and Just World beliefs. For reasons described earlier, the following hypotheses were made:

1/ More hopeful individuals were expected to believe more in a just world, to be more Anasakt, and to have a more internal Locus of Control (i.e. those who score low on the Miller hope scale (were more hopeful) were expected to score low on the just world scale and low on the locus of control scale).

2/ More Anasakt individuals were expected to believe more in a Just world and to have a more internal Locus of Control.

3/ Those who have a more internal Locus of Control were expected to believe more in a Just World.

4/ First Nations people were expected to have a more external Locus of Control, to believe less in a Just world, to be less Anasakt, and to be less Hopeful about the future.

5/ Locus of Control, Just World beliefs, and Anasakti were all expected to contribute significantly to a prediction of hopefulness.

6/ Locus of Control, Just world beliefs and Anasakti were expected to predict Hopefulness better in First Nations than in non-First Nations samples since these issues may be more salient to them at this time.

Semi - Structured Questionnaire

The specific purposes of this part of the study were to 1/ determine which general issues, and which resource related issues participants felt were of greatest importance in the community 2/ determine how the selection of issues would vary among different sectors or interest groups in Lillooet and 3/ explore perceptions of control, justice and hope within these issues. In order to make the questionnaire as community based as possible, participants were asked to select a general issue that they saw as being of greatest concern in Lillooet and to describe it. They were then asked to select any natural resource that they felt concerned about rather than being forced to describe a particular one. The

analysis of the semi - structured questionnaire was intended to be more descriptive than inferential and so only the following hypothesis was made:

7/ Within both general and resource related issues, those who perceive greater control are also expected to be more hopeful about the future with regards to the issue.

Relationships between Structured and Unstructured Questionnaires

The question addressed in relating structured and semi-structured questionnaires was whether general perceptions of control and hope (as measured by the psychological instruments) would correspond to context specific perceptions of control and hope. Those who believe that they generally have control (i.e. those who have an internal locus of control) were expected to believe that they have greater control in social, economic and political realms and hence in the context of specific issues in Lillooet. Those who are, in general, more hopeful about their futures were also expected to be more hopeful about the future in regards to specific issues within the Lillooet community. It is assumed not only that general perceptions will affect how a person views a particular issue, but also that the reality of social and political situations associated with the different issues are likely to affect one's general world view. Belonging to a disadvantaged group, for example, that has little political or economic control, is likely to impact how much control a person feels he or she

has, in general, over his or her life. The hypothesized links between the structured and unstructured parts of the study are as follows:

8/ Greater Hope as measured by the Miller Hope scale was hypothesized to be associated with correspondingly greater hope and personal control in the context of specific issues.

9/ A more internal Locus of Control was expected to be associated with greater hope and personal control within the context of specific issues.

10/ Within particular issues, greater hope about the future of the situation was expected to be associated with greater perceived personal control.

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited from both First Nations and other communities through a number of avenues. Some of the non-First Nations participants were selected through door to door canvassing. People were approached in houses from many areas in the Lillooet community and from neighborhoods of varying socio-economic levels. An effort was made to avoid a bias toward any segment of the population (e.g., the apparently more affluent). Questionnaires were also distributed to school teachers at the Cayoosh elementary school, to workers from Bridgeside and Ainsworth logging companies, to the forestry office and to a number of smaller shops in the Lillooet town. First Nations participants were

recruited from the tribal council, from the adult education center, from a life-skills program, and from the Lillooet friendship center.

Eighty one persons from the Lillooet community and surrounding district took part in this study. Forty eight of the participants were female and 28 were male. Twenty one of the participants had legal status as First Nations people compared with the 55 participants who did not. Of the fifty five participants who did not have legal status five considered themselves to be First Nations people. Fifty five of the participants were from within the Lillooet town and the remaining 18 were from outside the town but within the district. Most of the First Nations participants came from the various bands that surround the Lillooet town. There were representatives from Lillooet band, Cayoosh Creek band, Mt. Currie band, Fountain band, Seton Lake band, and Bridge River Band. Often participants lived on one reserve but were affiliated with a different band.

Participants were informed that the investigator was from Simon Fraser University and was doing masters research as part of the "Shastri project". A brief description of the current study and of the investigator's association with the Shastri project (which will be discussed later) had been put in the Lillooet news, and as result a number of people were aware that it was going on. Participation was on a completely voluntary basis and participants were informed that they could terminate their participation in the study at any time. The participants were also informed that the questionnaires were anonymous and

confidential. Initially participation was on a voluntary basis but at a later stage in the study, participants were paid \$5 for completing a questionnaire. Of the participants approached directly by the investigator, roughly one quarter agreed to complete the questionnaire. Of these approximately two thirds completed the questionnaire. For those individuals who failed to complete the questionnaire, most claimed that they had not had a chance to fill it out. Others claimed that the questions on the structured part (e.g., item 12: I am positive about the future) were overly personal. For still others the purpose of the questions in the structured part was not transparent or the questions were not felt to be meaningful. Although an effort was made to get participants from all social-economic strata, the acceptance and return rate was much lower for those approached in the low income housing areas in Lillooet.

Instruments

Participants were given the following structured questionnaires:

Levenson's (1973) Multidimensional LOC scale, Naidu and Pande's (1990) Anasakti scale, Lipkus's (1991) Global Belief in a Just world scale and Miller's (1988) Hope scale (see appendix A for these questionnaires). A 6 point Likert scale was used for the Just world scale and a 5 point Likert scale for the others. The reliability of Levenson's Locus of Control scale was .67, .82 and .79 for the Internal LOC, Powerful others and Chance scales respectively (Levenson, 1973). The scale also has good construct validity (Levenson, 1973). The

reliability of the Anasakti scale was .72 for the total score. The reliability of the Global Belief in a Just World scale is .827. It also has good construct validity (Lipkus, 1991). Miller's hope scale has good internal consistency and construct validity (Miller, 1988). For some of the items the questions were phrased so that a higher numeric response indicated greater hope, control, Anasakti, or just world beliefs. For other items this scoring was reversed. For each of the measures a total score was calculated by adding the scores for individual items together and changing the values of the reversed items as necessary. Also, sub-scale scores were computed for the Locus of Control measure (i.e. for Internal Locus of Control, Powerful Others and Chance subscales). The total scores on the scales and sub-scales were calculated such that higher scores meant that individuals were less hopeful, less Anasakt, had weaker beliefs in a just world, and had a more external locus of control.

Participants were also given a semi-structured questionnaire. In this questionnaire they were required to specify an issue that they believed was of "great importance or concern" at this time in Lillooet and to describe the issue. They were then asked to indicate how serious they thought the issue was, how hopeful they felt the future was in regards to this issue, how much personal control they believed they had over it, to what extent they thought that justice had been served with respect to this issue, and what could be done by the community to improve the situation. They were then asked to indicate whether

they felt that the "availability of natural resources (e.g., fish, timber, etc.) was of concern. If they answered "no" they were asked to explain why they felt this way. If they answered affirmatively, they were asked to indicate which resource was of greatest concern. They were then asked the same list of questions as in regards to the general issue of concern, but with reference to the resource issue.

Additional questions were posed which related directly to the resource (e.g., what are you doing to preserve the resource). Participants were also asked to indicate from a list provided, any "groups" or "departments" in Lillooet to which they felt affiliated. This list had been developed with the help of Lillooet community members in the course of the initial pilot study. Participants were also given an opportunity to include any groups they felt had been missed. The last part of the semi - structured questionnaire asked participants to speculate on alternative human-nature relationships and to evaluate a Kluckhohn's (1961) categorisation scheme of "man(sic) - nature" relationships. Finally, participants were also required to provide some demographic information about themselves including their age, their gender, whether they considered themselves First Nations, their educational level, and their employment status. Age was broken down into three ranges: 18-25, 26-35, 36-50, and 51+ . Location was broken down into two mutually exclusive categories: Lillooet town for people who lived in the town and Lillooet district for people who lived in the district but not in the town itself. For employment status people could choose homemaker, student,

employed, other, or a combination of the above categories. Finally, for educational level achieved the mutually exclusive categories were some high school, high school, and university or college.

Parts of the semi - structured questionnaire were exploratory and were not analysed for the purpose of this study. Also, it became evident at a later point in the study that even the questionnaire modified from the pilot was too long. An abridged version was developed as a result. For more information about any of the questionnaires please refer to Appendix "A".

The Anasakti scale was changed slightly from its original version. A number of items had been removed from the scale by its originator (Naidu and Pande, 1990) due to their high social desirability - this modified version was used.

The ordering of these different parts of the questionnaire was as follows:
1/ a cover sheet describing the study and providing information about where participants could inquire further or address any complaints that they had about the study
2/ the structured and the unstructured questionnaires. The relative order of presentation of these two parts was counterbalanced across participants.
3/ A demographics page.

Procedure

Pilot Study. An initial pilot study served a number of functions. In order to make the study as community-based as possible, leaders of the Lillooet

community (e.g., the advisor of the tribal council, the chair of the Economic Development Committee etc.) were asked to comment on the suitability of the questions and to contribute any additional questions that they felt had been left out. The wording of some of the questions on the semi-structured questionnaire was considered potentially problematic for those with lower levels of education and so this wording was changed accordingly. Also on the initial pilot questionnaire participants were asked to list groups that they believed made up the Lillooet community. This list was used when developing the questionnaire for the main study. The pilot version of the questionnaire required participants to select and answer questions about three issues of greatest concern in Lillooet. Participants indicated that the questionnaire was too lengthy and so for the purpose of the main study were only required to discuss a single general issue (plus answer questions about a resource related concern).

Main Study. Participants were informed that the investigator was conducting this study as part of his masters research and also that he was affiliated with the "Shastri project", an interdisciplinary team working out of Simon Fraser University, University of British Columbia, and the Barkatullah University of Bhopal in India. Many participants were already familiar with the Shastri project as it had been in the local paper on numerous occasions. It was hoped that this connection would lend additional credibility to the current study. Participants were given the package of questionnaires and were also informed

that it would be picked up by the investigator within a designated time period (that varied from two days to a month). Upon collection of the questionnaire participants were thanked for their efforts and in the case of participants in the later part of the study were given \$5 for their efforts. Occasionally participants expressed interest in discussing their answers and so a follow up discussion occurred.

Results

Frequencies and Descriptive Analysis

Distributions of the First Nations and non - First Nations samples (combined and separately) are presented in Tables 1 to 3. The variables include gender, age, location (of residence), legal status (whether participant considers him or herself a First Nations person), employment status, and educational level achieved. For the legal status group the demographics also include reserve (of residence) and band (membership).

Structured Part of Questionnaire

Reliability Tests

The reliability of the four scales was assessed by Cronbach Alpha. This test determined the extent to which questionnaire items related to each other. For the total sample (N=81) it was .83 for the Just World scale, .75 for the Hope scale, .56 for the Anasakti scale, and .76 for the Locus of Control scale. For the First Nations sample alone, the reliability of the Just World scale was .84, of

the Hope scale was .86, of the Anasakti scale was .52, and of the Locus of Control scale was .70. For the non-First Nations sample the reliability of the Just World scale was .83, for the Hope scale was .60, for the Anasakti scale was .60 and for the Locus of Control scale was .79.

How are the Constructs of Control, Justice, Anasakti, and Hope Related to One Another?

The correlation matrix for scale scores for the total sample(N=81) on Just World, Hope, Anasakti, Locus of Control and its sub-scales are provided in Table 4. There were significant correlations between Locus of Control (total score) and Hope and between each of the Locus of Control sub-scales and Hope. Locus of control was also correlated with Anasakti. Hope was correlated with Anasakti; Internal LOC was correlated with Just World.

Are First Nations People Less Hopeful and Less Anasakti? Do They Have a More External Locus of Control and Do they Believe Less in a Just World?

T-tests were conducted to compare First Nations and non-First Nations groups on the total scores for each of the scales (and the sub-scales for the Locus of Control measure). Table 5 provides the cell means and standard deviations for each of the groups on each variable. Significant differences were found between First Nations and non-First Nations groups on Hope and Anasakti but not on Locus of Control or Just World beliefs.

Other Findings

Post-hoc analysis revealed the following:

Gender differences. Females were found to believe less in a just world ($p < .001$) and were less Anasakt than males ($p < .05$). Once a Bonferonni correction had been made treating these two gender difference comparisons as a family, only the sex difference on Just World Beliefs remained significant.

Education and hopefulness. An Anova revealed a main effect of education on hope ($F(2,72) = 13.41, p < .001$). T-tests revealed a significant difference between participants with "some secondary education" and participants with "secondary education completed" ($t(33) = 3.34, p < .01$) but no difference between participants with high school education completed and those with college or university education. Both of the aforementioned significant findings remained significant after a Bonferroni correction was made which treated the Anova and the two t-tests as a family.

Education and control. An Anova revealed a main effect of education on Locus of Control ($F(2,74) = 4.89, p < .01$). Two further t-tests revealed a significant difference between participants with "some secondary education" and participants with "secondary education completed" ($t(33) = 2.67, p < .05$) but no significant difference between those with secondary and those with university or college education. When the Bonferroni correction was made treating the three preceding analyses as a family, only the main effect of education on Locus of Control remained significant.

Order effects. There were no order effects on any of the four constructs.

Which Constructs or Set of Constructs were the Best Predictors of Hope?

A multiple regression analysis was conducted for the First Nations and non-First Nations sample separately including Locus of Control, Anasakti, and Just World Beliefs as predictor variables. The residual sums of squares for the two groups were compared and found to be non-significant. Then, the standard errors of the regressions of the two groups were compared and also found to be non-significant. On the basis of the non-significance of these two tests the groups were combined for the subsequent regression analysis.

An all possible subsets analysis was performed with hope as the dependent variable and Locus of Control, Just World, Anasakti and legal status as potential predictors. This procedure was repeated twice: once with legal status entered in all subsets as a predictor variable and once without legal status entered in any of the subsets of predictors. The rationale for this decision was that legal status as a dichotomous variable of group membership was considered conceptually different from the other continuous variables. Legal status, was not viewed conceptually as a predictor variable at all, but rather as a conditioning variable. In the first set of regressions the constructs of Locus of Control, Just World and Anasakti were entered as possible predictors of hope with an adjustment made for legal status. In the second set of regressions, no such adjustment was made.

For the subsets without legal status (ls) entered into the analysis their order in terms of the adjusted r square correlation coefficients was as follows

(from most highly predictive of hope to least predictive): 1. Locus of Control and Anasakti (.46) 2. Just World , Locus of Control and Anasakti(.45), 3. Locus of Control (.39) 4. Just World and Locus of Control (.39) 5. Anasakti (.27) 6. Just World and Anasakti(.26) 7. Just World (.001). For the subsets with Is entered in all the subsets the following order occurred: 1. Locus of Control and Anasakti ($r=.49$) 2. Just World, Locus of Control and Anasakti ($r=.48$) 3. Locus of Control (.44) 4. Just World and Locus of Control (.43) 5. Anasakti(.29) 6. Just World and Anasakti (.28) 7. Justice (.08). These findings indicate that the best predictor set of Hope was Anasakti and Locus of Control in both sets of regressions. They also indicate that both Locus of Control and Anasakti were significant predictors of Hope, but Just World was not.

The beta weights and mean squares for the best predictor subset with and without Is entered in the analysis are provided in Tables 6 and 7.

A subsequent multiple regression analysis was conducted for each of the groups separately with Anasakti and Locus of Control, the best predictor subset entered as predictors. The results of each of these regressions is shown on Table 8.

Semi Structured Questionnaire and its Connections with Structured Questionnaire

Participants' choice of the "Issue of greatest importance" in the Lillooet community was coded as one of the following categories: 1. Native / non - native

issues 2. Youth issues 3. Economic issues 4. Leadership or bureaucratic issues and 5. Other issues. The inter-coder reliability for this stage of the coding procedure was $k=.94$. Table 9 shows the frequency of each issue chosen by the sample as a whole, and by legal status. Subsequently the Native/non native category and Youth category which were the two selected most often, by the sample as a whole, were broken down into sub-categories. The Native /non-native category was broken down into 1. Issues and concerns about 1st nations people 2. Issues and concerns about non-1st nations people 3. Racism (no single direction emphasized) and 4. General concerns about the outcome of land claims. The inter-coder reliability of this breakdown was $k=.71$. The Youth category was broken down into 1. Alcohol related concerns 2. Drug related concerns, 3. Crime/vandalism related concerns and 4. Other. The inter-coder reliability of this breakdown was 78 percent agreement (note that "percentage agreement" was calculated rather than "kappa" when sub - categories were not mutually exclusive).

Coding of participants' selection and description of the resource of greatest concern resulted in the following categories being created:

1. timber 2. fish 3. water 4. land 5. other single resource 6. some combination or interaction of resources (this last category included responses of people who had listed more than one resource or who had indicated that disturbing a balance between several resources was more important than any individual

resource). Inter-coder reliability was $k = .86$ and the frequencies for each of these categories is presented in Table 10. The categories of timber and fish were broken down further into sub-categories. The timber category was broken down into 1. focus on impact on economy and 2. focus on exploitation and depletion of resource. This inter-coder reliability was $k = .71$. The fish category was broken down into 1. pollution and 2. over - fishing and 3. depletion (no cause stated). The inter-coder reliability of this categorization (50 % agreement) was considered to be too low and so the categories used were changed to 1. pollution 2. overfishing 3. other. Categories 1 and 2 were not mutually exclusive with each other but in combination were mutually exclusive with category 3. The new inter-coder reliability was now 75 percent agreement.

Table 11 shows the correlations and significance levels of relationships between people's ratings of hopefulness and perceptions of personal control in the context of specific issues with measures of Hope and Locus of Control on the structured questionnaires. Within the resource issue and within the "Issue of greatest concern" there is a correlation between hopefulness about the specific issue and a sense of personal control over the issue. There is also a positive correlation between the total score on the Miller hope scale and hopefulness about the resource related issue. A post-hoc finding was that those who feel that they have personal control over the general issue of concern that they specify also perceive greater control over the resource related issue ($r = .40, p < .001$).

Discussion

Summary of Findings

The results of this study were in partial support of the hypotheses. As expected, Locus of Control and Anasakti were significantly correlated. However, contrary to expectations, Just World beliefs did not correlate with the total score on Locus of Control or Anasakti. It did, however, correlate with the Internal Locus of Control sub-scale score on the Locus of Control measure and so lends partial support to the hypothesis that Just World beliefs and Locus of Control would be related. An all possible subsets multiple regression analysis revealed that the Locus of Control and Anasakti subset was the best predictor of Hope. When the Locus of Control and Anasakti subset was entered into the equation for the two groups separately, the variance accounted for by this predictor set was greater for the First Nations than for the non-First Nations sample although the standard error was also larger in the former group. First Nations people were, as predicted, less Hopeful and less Anasakt than non-First Nations people but did not perceive less control or less justice in the world.

In coding of community issues it was found that for the sample as a whole and for non-First Nations participants alone, the issues of greatest concern centered around "Native and non native issues" followed by "Youth issues". In the Native sample, however, "Youth issues" were at least as important as "Native/non-native issues". The resource of greatest concern to the sample as a whole was timber followed by an "interaction or combination of resources".

Finally, there was partial support for the hypothesis that context dependent perceptions of control and hope would be associated with the structured questionnaire measures of control and hope.

Interpretation of Findings

Relationships between constructs. Associations between the constructs followed, for the most part, the predicted pattern. First, those who were more Anasakt perceived greater control over their lives. As suggested in the introduction, this may have been the case because "Anasakti" entails a focus on process. Process is, by its very nature, more within a person's control than outcome. The outcome of a person's efforts will depend on not only his own efforts, but also on other people and on a host of environmental factors. It follows, therefore, that a focus on process will lead to a greater perception of personal control. Anasakti correlates significantly with not only the total score on the Locus of Control measure, but also with each of the sub-scales. The correlation between the Internal Locus of Control sub-scale and Anasakti can be explained by the same reasoning used to explain the correlation between the total score on the LOC scale and Anasakti. The correlation between Anasakti and the Chance sub-scale scores makes sense if we assume that the greater perceptions of personal control afforded to the Anasakt person will lead this individual to see "chance" as being less influential in determining what happens to her. The high correlation between the Anasakti and the Powerful Others

subscale can be explained as follows: Part of the Anasakt philosophy advocates "emotional equipoise" in the face of success or failure. To the extent that one is affected by others' comments, be them good or bad, and to the extent one is dependent on external validation, one is also less Anasakt. It follows therefore, that an Anasakt person would perceive "Powerful Others" as having less of a controlling influence over his or her life.

The correlation between the Internal locus of control sub-scale score and the Just World score supports the earlier speculation that a belief in an orderly world, or one in which efforts pay off and people are treated justly, would enhance an individual's perception of control. The finding that Just World beliefs do not correlate with the Powerful others or Chance sub-scales makes sense in light of the fact that for different respondents, the Powerful other(s) envisioned may or may not be benevolent, and the "chance" that one refers to may or may not be in one's favor. Those who believe that benevolent Powerful others are in control, would probably also believe that the world is just whereas those who believe that non-benevolent others are in control would believe that the world is unjust. Therefore any correlation between the Powerful Others subscale and the Just World scale would be contaminated by a "benevolence of the powerful other" factor. Similarly, someone who believed that chance had worked in her favor would probably also believe the world was fair while another person who believed that chance had dealt her a tough hand, would feel that the world

was unfair. The finding that only the "Internal locus of control" sub-scale correlates with the Just World measure is a replication of a finding made by Lipkus (1991) although Lipkus did not provide an explanation for why the other two sub-scales of the Internal locus of control measure did not correlate with Just World beliefs.

Anasakti, contrary to expectations, did not correlate with a belief in a Just World. Possibly, this is because all the items on Lipkus' s Just World scale ask that participants to rate the extent to which people in general get what they deserve. A person may believe that the base rate of justice in the world is low but that he is being treated justly. An individuals ability to focus on process may only be hampered if injustices affect him directly.

Do Locus of Control, Anasakti and Just World predict hope? The finding that Anasakti and Locus of Control are jointly the best predictors of Hope can be explained as follows: First, a perception of control may lead individuals to believe that they are able to select a favourable future for themselves. They may be more hopeful as a result. An Anasakt person may be more hopeful at least partly because of the enhanced perception of control afforded to someone who is process - oriented (as discussed previously). However, Anasakti has been found to contribute to the prediction of hope for the whole sample, above and beyond that of Locus of Control. Perhaps in addition to being able to control what happens in the future, the Anasakt person feels optimistic about alternative

futures. For the "ideal" Anasakt person whose goal is simply to do the best he or she can do within the constraints imposed by the realities of the world, future contentment may not balance precariously on the turn of events. Within some limits any turn of events will provide opportunities for the Anasakti person to strive toward the Anasakt goal of "self realization". A further effect of being Anasakt is that in not being distracted by worries and concerns about outcome, a person is able to deal better with life's challenges, and achieve a more favourable future. A more hopeful future therefore be more easily attainable to the anasakt person.

Just World scale score were not predictive of Hope. This may be because, as suggested above, Lipkus's GBJWS is only assessing people's perceptions of the base rate of justice in the world rather than beliefs about how justly they themselves had been treated. A person could be quite hopeful about his or her own future, it would seem, as long as her efforts were paying off and she was being treated fairly.

The finding that the variance accounted for by Anasakti and Locus of Control in the First Nations sample is greater than that accounted for in the non-First Nations sample supports the original hypothesis that these constructs would predict hope better for the First Nations group because the issues were more salient to them. However, this interpretation should be taken with caution in light of the small first nation sample size and in light of a larger (but not

significantly larger) standard error in the separate regression for the First Nations group. The greater variance accounted for in the First Nations group, could also be a reflection of the greater variance on their hope scores. Correlations are such that greater variability in an outcome variable (i.e. hope) will spuriously raise the variance accounted for by the predictor variable(s) (i.e. LOC and Anasakti).

How did First Nations and non First Nations people differ on the constructs? First Nations people were found to be less hopeful and less Anasakt than non - First Nations people. The first of these findings makes sense in light of the high rates of suicide, substance abuse, and family violence in their communities. It also makes sense in light of the exploitation that they have experienced as a group since the takeover of Lillooet by the "white man" and particularly since the implementation of residential schools. The reason why First Nations people were found to be less Anasakt is not as clear. Perhaps having to contend with the violence, alcoholism, and suicides in their community makes it much more difficult to be process oriented and to not be emotionally invested in outcomes. An Anasakt attitude may, therefore, be one that only privileged people can adopt, or at least adopt easily. Also, associated with abuse is lowered self worth (Janoff-Bullman, 1989). If First Nations people have lower self worth due to the systematic abuse they received in the residential schools or in their families, they may be more dependent on external validation,

since they might not value themselves enough as judges of their own behavior. An ability to resort to oneself for validation may, furthermore, be much easier for people who are not oppressed by others. The First Nations people by virtue of their socio-economic situation have had little power as a group and have been, in a sense, at the mercy of those around them.

Contrary to what was hypothesized, First Nations people did not have a more external locus of control than non-First Nations people. Furthermore, there was no difference between the two groups on any of the Locus of Control subscales. It is not clear exactly why they would feel less hopeful and be less Anasakt and yet not perceive less control over their own lives. It seems surprising, in particular, that they would not feel that powerful others (i.e. the non-native majority) were in control of their lives. Perhaps part of the healing process has involved the instillation of an attitude in First Nations people that they do have control over their lives. A belief that one has control, it seems, would be a catalyst to a person's taking action to make changes in his life and in the greater social-political system. Perhaps this attitude has been successfully instilled but the existing realities of family violence, racism, and youth suicides still threaten the perception of a positive future.

The above explanation can be expressed in another way: In predicting hopefulness with control in the regression we made an assumption about the primacy of cognition over affect. This alleged primacy may be supported by the

finding that the native group was less hopeful and yet perceived similar levels of control as non - First Nations people. The idea here is that hope, the more affective component, has not yet "caught up" to the perception of control. The great variance in First Nations hope scores may further suggest that for some First Nations people, hopefulness has caught up, and so the affect has accompanied the cognitive component. For the others, perhaps a feeling of hope will, in time, develop. Perceptions of the world may often linger on after a situation has ended. Janoff - Bullman (1989) found, for example, that not only did the basic assumptions of victims of abuse change as a result of the abuse, but also that these changes persisted. Instilling an attitude that one does have control may have several effects. First, it may lead an individual to take charge of things in her life that are realistically within her control. Second, it may empower and motivate a person to work towards changing the political and social structures that impose constraints on one's control in the first place.

The above interpretation should, for several reasons, be considered with some caution. First of all, with regards to the greater variability in the scores of First Nations people on Miller's Hope Scale, it is not clear at this point if this variability is a reflection of actual variability of how hopeful people are in the First Nations population, or if it is an artifact of a small sample size, sampling error, or a cultural predisposition to use a wider range of values on the Likert scale. Second, with regards to the lower hope scales of the First Nations

participants, this may be specifically a reflection of their typically low levels of education in the sample. Given that there are significant differences between those who have "some secondary education" and those who have completed their secondary training in their levels of hope, the difference between First Nations and non-First Nations people on hopefulness may be a consequence of the fact that there are proportionately more First Nations than non First Nations people with only "some secondary education". The differences between the samples on hopefulness may therefore be related to the different levels of education achieved by participants and the greater opportunities afforded to those who have completed secondary education. It is interesting to note that there is no difference between those who have secondary and those who have university or college levels of education in terms of how hopeful they are. One of the participants has suggested that if this same study was conducted in an urban setting this difference might be significant. The reality of the situation in Lillooet is that secondary education is sufficient for most jobs, although this in time may change.

The finding that there were no differences between the just world beliefs of First Nations and non-First Nations people contradicts previous findings (e.g., Glennon and Joseph, 1993) which have found that members of a disadvantaged group score lower on Lipkus's Global Belief in a Just World Scale. Judging by responses on the semi - structured questionnaire, there were feelings of

resentment towards both first-nations and non-First Nations people in the Lillooet community. It seems from content analysis of the Native/non native related issues that many First Nations people felt that they were not respected as people or for their values and beliefs whereas the most common concern of non - First Nations people was that natives were getting special treatment from the government at their expense. Perhaps both groups felt that justice had not been served. The mean score on the Global Belief in a Just World scale in Lipkus's sample was very similar to the mean score on the scale in the present study and so perceptions of injustice in Lillooet were typical of other places as well.

At least as many First Nations participants chose youth related issues as Native/ non-native issues. In the non First Nations group, in contrast, considerably more people chose Native - non-native issues. This may be a reflection of the high suicide and alcoholism rates in Lillooet among the First Nations youth. Further examination of the demographics reveals that in particular, female First Nations participants selected youth issues as being of primary concern. No First Nations males made this same choice. In contrast with the First Nations sample, the non-First Nations sample was more evenly split along gender lines in its selection or non-selection of youth related issues. Perhaps with the men at work, First Nations women take the brunt of worrying about and dealing with the youth. This finding may also reflect a sample bias in

that at least a few of the female First Nations participants were youth workers at the Lillooet Friendship center. Another interesting finding was that the most frequently chosen category of First Nations participants was "Other". "Other" included resource related issues that participants had brought up when asked to list a "general" issue of concern. It seemed that for First Nations participants the issue of resources was a very important one.

The findings connecting the structured with the unstructured parts of the study as a whole only partially support the prediction that general context independent perceptions would correlate with their contextualized counterparts. Locus of Control did not, for example, correlate at all with perceptions of personal control in the context of community issues. Although the structured questionnaires have been referred to as "decontextualized", people may interpret them in their respective contexts. In agreeing or disagreeing with statements like " My life is chiefly controlled by powerful others"(item 11) a person may conjure up a number of different contexts and make ratings based on the choice of context. One of the purposes in asking many similar questions in a psychological questionnaire is to balance out different contexts and in so doing establish reliability. However, if a person consistently framed the questions in a single context (e.g., the interpersonal context of her immediate environment) the perception of control would be very much contextualized rather

than general. This might explain why ratings on the Locus of Control scale did not correlate with perceptions of control in the context of community issues.

There are other explanations for why general perceptions of control and context dependent perceptions of control were not associated. First, there was only a single item in the semi-structured questionnaire on which people could rate their hopefulness or personal control over an issue. This alone is not a particularly reliable or valid measure of context dependent perceptions of control. Second, in the context of community issues people, in general, felt they had so little personal control that the five point scale was not sensitive enough to discriminate between them.

There is some support for the idea that general "decontextualized" perceptions of control and hope correlate with corresponding perceptions in the context of community issues. For example, it was found that scores on the Miller Hope scale did correlate with either perceptions of hope within the context of an issue and perceptions of control within the context of an issue.

Within the context of an issue, perceptions of hope and control were found to be highly related as they had been on the scales. This suggests that even within the context of an issue, one's perception of personal control over the issue may affect how hopeful one feels about it. Control in the "context" of a resource related situation was significantly related to control in the context of a general issue and this same pattern applied to perceptions of hope. This

suggests that there may be some consistency across contexts in the degree of personal control and hope individuals perceive. However, it may also be a spurious relationship caused by a third factor of group membership in which relatively more disadvantaged individuals in the community are both less hopeful and perceive less control but not because control and hope are causally linked in any way.

One limitation of present study was the small First Nations sample size. This small sample size may have had an impact on the results in a number of ways. For one thing, with only 21 people to represent the First Nations population, this sample stands a good chance of being unrepresentative. The sample size provided only enough power to detect large size effects in the t-test comparisons between First Nations and non - First Nations people. If there were any small effects, they would not have been picked up.

Barriers Encountered in Conducting the Present Study

A number of barriers were encountered in conducting this study. The main obstacle was a low return rate, particularly amongst First Nations people. One reason for this was that access to people on the reserve usually involved a liaison person whereas people in the community could be approached directly and individually at their stores or at their homes. The investigator was informed that it was inappropriate to go from door to door on reserves but rather was advised to ask an elder or youth worker from the reserves to distribute and

collect the questionnaires. This approach turned out to have mixed results. Often the questionnaires remained unfilled or were lost. Also, given that the investigator was living in Vancouver with limited funds and restricted times in which to travel to Lillooet it was often difficult to maintain contact with the middle people.

Several other factors may have made some of the First Nations people reluctant to complete the questionnaires. One is that culturally biased interpretation of previous research has often portrayed First Nations people in an unfair light (personal communication) and that consequently many First Nations people are weary, in general, of questionnaires. Some of the participants may also have felt uncomfortable with the power differential reflected in their typically lower level of education than the researcher and reflected in the differentiation between those who study and those who are studied. Finally, questionnaires assume a certain level of competence and familiarity with a particular style of communication. This may not be shared equally by people of all cultures or of all educational levels. There may also be cultural differences in what people consider to be meaningful or useful ways to share and acquire knowledge. Interviews may be a more effective alternative for learning about First Nations people. It may also be easier to attain a more diverse sample using interviews since people from some cultural backgrounds,

educational levels, and walks of life may feel more comfortable talking than writing.

Interviews may be advantageous as well because they have the potential to be less directive and more reflexive than questionnaires particularly if they are open ended. Questionnaires generally impose a structure and an agenda that may only be meaningful to some of the respondents. In Appendix B an interview approach was adopted to explore a Lillooet community member's understanding of resource related issues. Included is an interview schedule and a process and content analysis based on qualitative methods of analysis. An effort was made to keep the questions as non - directive and as open as possible while still addressing the issue of resources.

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Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Sample (N=81)

Variable		Number	%
Sex	male	28	34.6
	female	48	59.3
	missing	5	6.2
Age	18-25	12	14.8
	26 - 35	23	28.4
	36 - 50	34	42.0
	51 +	7	8.6
Location	Lillooet town	55	67.9
	Lillooet district	18	22.2
	missing	8	9.9
Legal Status	yes	21	25.9
	no	55	67.9
	missing	5	6.2
First Nations	yes	25	30.9
	no	51	63.0
	missing	5	6.2
Employment Status	homemaker	4	4.9
	student	15	18.5
	employed	40	49.4
	combo+ other	16	21.7
	missing	5	6.2
Educational Level Achieved	some high school	10	12.3
	high school	25	30.9
	university or college	40	49.4
	missing		7.4

Table 2

Demographics of Sample by Legal Status

Variable		Number LS	%	Number Without LS	%
Sex					
	male	5	23.8	23	41.8
	female	16	76.2	29	52.7
	missing				
Age					
	18-25	3	14.3	8	14.5
	26 - 35	9	42.9	14	25.5
	36 - 50	8	38.1	24	43.6
	51 +	1	4.8	6	10.9
	missing			3	5.5
Location					
	Lillooet town	9	42.9	43	78.2
	Lillooet district	9	42.9	9	16.4
	missing	3	14.3	3	5.5
First Nations					
	yes	20	95.2	4	7.3
	no	0		51	92.7
	missing	1	4.8		
Employment Status					
	homemaker	0	0	4	7.3
	student	9	42.9	5	9.1
	employed	8	38.1	30	54.5
	combo+ other	4	19.1	12	21.9
	missing			3	5.5
Educational Level Achieved					
	some high school	8	38.1	2	3.6
	high school	6	28.6	17	30.9
	university or college	6	28.6	33	60
	missing	1	4.8	3	5.5

Note. According to the former chair of the economic development committee there are very few First Nations people in Lillooet who do not have legal status.

Table 3

Demographics of Legal Status Group by Reserve and Band

Reserve of Residence	Not on reserve	2	9.5
	Lillooet	7	33.3
	Bridge River	3	14.3
	Fountain	1	4.8
	Cayoosh Creek	2	9.5
	On reserve but not specified	2	4.8
		1	4.8
	missing	3	14.3
Band Membership	Lillooet	5	23.8
	Bridge River	4	19
	Fountain	1	4.8
	Okanogan	1	9.5
	Cayoosh Creek	2	4.8
	Mt. Currie	1	4.8
	Seton Lake	1	4.8
	Salosh	1	4.8
	Yes - not spec.	1	4.8
Missing	4	19	

Table 4

Correlation Matrix of Constructs

CONSTRUCT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Locus of Control	--	.52***	.85***	.72***	.46***	.14	.63***
2. Internal LOC		--	.19	-.03	.22*	.38***	.46***
3. Powerful Others			--	.53***	.45***	.09	.44***
4. Chance				--	.26*	-.15	.42***
5. Anasakti					--	.13	.53***
6. Justice						--	.21
7. Hope							--

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Note. lower values on scales represent greater hopefulness, a more internal locus of control, greater Anasakt, and greater belief in a just world

Table 5

Mean Scores for Native and Non-Native Samples on Hope, Control, Justice and Anasakti.

Variable	1st Nations		Non 1st nations		t-value
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	
Hope	96.90	23.11	84.15	15.30	2.34*
Control	50.67	10.08	47.12	10.14	1.37
Internal LoC	15.95	4.95	14.95	3.80	.94
Powerful Others	14.19	4.40	12.64	5.26	1.20
Chance	18.33	3.55	17.92	4.59	.37
Justice	27.76	7.55	25.87	6.53	1.08
Anasakti	52.90	6.81	48.32	6.50	2.71**

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Lower scores on scales represent greater hope, greater Anasakti, greater perceived control, and stronger just world beliefs.

T-test comparison for hope scores - correction made for heterogeneity of variance

Table 6

Summary of All Possible Subsets Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Hope (Legal Status is entered in all Predictor Sets)

Variable	B Full Model	SE B	β
Justice	.00	.23	.00
Anasakti	.73	.26	.27**
Control	.91	.17	.50***
Legal Status	-6.2	3.6	-.15

Best Reduced Model			
Anasakti	.73	.26	.27**
Control	.913	.167	.50***
Legal Status	-6.16	3.56	-.15

Note. Adj. R^2 = .48 for Full Model ($p < .0001$).

Adj. R^2 = .49 for best reduced model ($p < .0001$)

* $p < .01$ ** $p < .001$

Table 7

Summary of All Possible Subsets Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Hope (Legal Status is not entered in any of the Predictor Sets)

Variable	<u>B</u> Full Model	<u>SE B</u>	β
Justice	.06	.23	.02 .
Anasakti	.77	.24	.30**
Control	.89	.17	.49***
Best Reduced Model			
Anasakti	.77	.24	.30**
Control	.90	.17	.50***

Note. Adj. $R^2 = .45$ for Full Model ($p < .0001$).

Adj. $R^2 = .46$ for best reduced model ($p < .0001$)

* $p < .01$ ** $p < .001$

Table 8Summary Regression Analysis for Control and Anasakti Prediction Subset for First Nations Sample and Non-First Nations Sample Separately

Variable	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	β
Legal Status			
Anasakti	.66	.53	.19
Control	1.59	.36	.70***
No Legal Status			
Anasakti	.81	.27	.34**
Control	.65	.18	.43***

Note. Adj. $R^2 = .57$ for Legal Status Group ($p < .0001$).

Adj. $R^2 = .41$ for Non Legal Status Group ($p < .0001$)

* $p < .01$ ** $p < .001$

Table 9
Issues of Greatest Concern for Total Sample, Legal Status Sample, and No Legal Status Sample

	Legal Status (N=21)		No Legal Status (N=55)		Entire Sample (N=81)	
	male	fem	male	fem	male	fem
Native/ Non Native Issues	5 (24%)		23 (42%)		32 (40%)	
	2	3	11	11	13	16
Youth Issues	6 (29%)		16 (29%)		23 (29%)	
	0	6	5	11	5	18
Issues about Economy	3 (14%)		6 (11%)		9 (11%)	
	0	3	4	2	4	3
Issues about Leadership/ Bureaucracy	0		2(4%)		2 (2%)	
	0	0	1	1	1	1
Other	7 (33%)		7 (13%)		14 (17%)	
	3	4	2	5	5	9
missing	0		1(2%)		1(1%)	

Note. Sometimes male and female counts do not add to the total count in a cell. In these cases some of the subjects did not indicate their gender.

"Other" category includes resource related issues that were listed as general issues of concern. These were included in the demography of resource related issues by "interest group" presented in Table 10.

Table 10

Resource of Greatest Concern listed by Group of Affiliation

G R O U P	RESOURCE	Not concerned about resources	Timber	Fish	Combo/ Interaction	Missing
Whole Community		5	18	5	14	3
Forestry		0	9	1	3	0
First Nations		0	2	8	9	1
Tourism		1	3	0	3	2
Homemakers		0	4	1	4	0
Environmentalists		0	1	0	4	0
Fisheries		0	1	2	4	0
Business		0	3	0	1	0
Other		0	4	1	2	0
Column Total		6	46	18	44	6

Note. Group membership is not mutually exclusive - many participants perceived themselves as affiliated with more than one group.

Table 11

Correlation Matrix of Constructs

CONSTRUCT	5	6	7	8
1.Hope	-.16	-.24*	-.23	.07
2.Control	-.20	-.18	-.12	-.12
3.Justice	.12	-.13	-.09	-.22
4.Anasakti	.07	-.17	.01	.11
5.Hope 1	--	.25*	.38**	.09
6.Hope 2		--	.22	.30*
7.Cont 1			--	.40**
8.Cont 2				--

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Hope, Locus of Control, Justice and Anasakti refer to the structured questionnaires. On these, lower values on scales represent greater hopefulness, a more internal locus of control, greater Anasakt, and a stronger belief in a just world.

Hope 1, Hope 2, Cont 1, and Cont 2 are from semi-structured questionnaires. Higher scores on these represent greater hope and control.

Hope 1 = hopefulness about general issue of concern

Hope 2 = hopefulness about resource related issue

Cont 1 = personal control over general issue

Cont 2 = personal control over resource related issue.

Appendix A: Questionnaires

Appendix B - Qualitative Interview

An Interview with Ron: The Environment, Resources, and a Whole Lot More

The Interviewer and Interviewee

This interview was conducted in Ron ' s office, a small log cabin located just outside of the town of Lillooet. Ron (pseudonym) is an agronomist, a former chair of the Economic Development Committee of Lillooet and considered by many to be a leading member of the community (personal communication from other members of the Lillooet community). I had selected him to interview because I knew that he was well-informed in the area of natural resources.

I am a student at Simon Fraser University and conducted this interview for my qualitative methods course. I am also involved with an interdisciplinary team of scholars who have conducted research in Lillooet over the past year. My goals while conducting this interview were: to learn about the process of conducting interviews and to learn something about the community that I could share with other people on the research team. I had used questionnaires at an earlier time in Lillooet to investigate resource related issues. The responses on the questionnaires shaped some of my views on these issues and also helped me to develop an interview schedule. I tried to remain open, however, to the possibility, that the interview would go in a different direction than the schedule's agenda . I began this paper with a very brief introduction to the

interviewee and interviewer because, as Alcoff (1991) suggests, social location "has an epistemically significant impact on that speaker's claims". The perspective of the interviewee, and the choice of questions and subsequent interpretation of the interviewer could easily be influenced by the socio-economic status, age, and purposes of both interviewer and interviewee. Both Ron, and I are white, middle class, highly educated males and this could influence how we interpret the situation around resources. After an initial analysis of the process I will discuss themes and recurrent issues that I felt stood out in the content of the interview.

The Process

I showed Ron my interview schedule and I told him that we could discuss some of the questions listed on it if he liked. The first question read, "What do you see as possible relationships with nature". Ron initiated a discussion on this topic and the interview began. The interview did not follow, at least in any linear fashion, the questions outlined on the interview schedule. Ron took the interview in his own direction, and also discussed issues in a different way than I had anticipated. Consider, for example, the passage below in which I ask him what he thinks are the "general issues around resources". I was expecting that he would select a specific resource and discuss it.

Alex That's interesting (I cough).. I had a bit of a cough last night..o.k. on that note, what do you see as the big issues in Lillooet around resources?

Ron [Now, he makes a vibrating sound with his mouth - it seems that he is pausing to think about the question and the sound is his way of indicating this to me. I would have to confirm this speculation during a follow up interview with him]

The big issues in Lillooet around resources if it is one issue, it's basically who's going to make decisions.[He laughs lightly]

In this passage and in other parts of the interview I learned that for Ron, the big issue(s) around resources was not the availability or management of a single resource, but rather, the question of who makes decisions on resource issues in general. Fortunately, the question I had posed was general enough that it could be responded to in a variety of ways. Had I asked Ron to simply indicate which particular resource he was most concerned with, this may have denied him the opportunity to express what he felt was the core issue. In fact, at a later stage in the interview, I asked a question that was not only taken by him in an unexpected direction but which also turned out to be, in his view, unimportant. Specifically, I had asked him if he thought that traditional cultures were less exploitative of nature. This was his response:

Ron So obviously it's really too easy to take this holier than thou position and I'm...it's not my field, you know to really...try to investigate that I guess, but I also just don't think its important.

Alex Hm [I feel a little surprised]

Ron I think we have to realise that um..in all cultures there are people who want to exploit and um, if they are allowed to get away with it they will. You know, for their own personal enrichment. Um, and it just so happens that some cultures make it a heck of a lot harder to do because of cultural controls.

On responses in my earlier questionnaires many people had taken sides.

Some had blamed native people for the current situation around resources suggesting that they had over - fished or that land claims were a threat to the forest industry. Others had drawn attention to the non - natives who were cutting too much timber or who were over - fishing. This had led me to see resource

related issues as largely native / non - native issues. Ron helped me to think of resource issues in a different way. At other times in the course of the interview, my initial understanding of what Ron had told me was oversimplified.

Occasionally when I reiterated what he had told me he elaborated on points and this was useful in helping me appreciate the full depth of what he was communicating. For example, he had been describing the Clayoquat Sound scientific panel and the report it had come up with for a progressive and environmentally sound way of managing ecosystems. After much protesting on the part of environmentalist and native groups the government agreed to accept the report but emphasized that it only applied to Clayoquat sound. Consider the following passage:

Ronbut made the point very strongly to Harcourt, that it only applies to Clayoquat sound, right, that it doesn't apply anywhere else, it just applies to this very tiny spot on the island there. [We both laugh].

Alex Of course, because the environment is so different there from everywhere else [I say sarcastically].

Ron Yea, well I mean it is true, to take that philosophical approach that you do have to design the system. You're actual intervention has to be designed different for every piece of land.

Alex Every piece of land, o.k. I was saying it sort of sarcastically

Ron So that is o.k. However they are really afraid of course that the philosophical approach

Alex Yea

Ron Will want to be applied across the rest of the province

[We both laugh]

I had made the assumption that a single environmentally sound prescription for handling ecosystems could apply everywhere. Through dialogue and a little elaboration on his part I learned that it was primarily the philosophy that could be directly transferred but that the specific intervention would have to be different for every piece of land.

The location of the interview seemed to be an ideal one in many ways. It was in a small log cabin surrounded by trees and a beautiful view of the mountainside. I found it to be a comfortable place to conduct an interview. It was also his office and across from his home which leads me to believe that he may have felt comfortable in this environment as well. There were however, a few distractions. Aphids which had been attracted to a maple tree outside of the house sneaked into the cabin through the cracks in the walls and occasionally rested on our bodies. Although irritating, this situation did lead me to disrupt a stereotype which I had held up until that point. I had considered Ron an environmentalist, and all environmentalists, I believed, would save life unconditionally. When Ron informed me that the little jar he was putting these creatures into was filled with alcohol, my image of the prototypical environmentalist changed. In Schutz's words there was a small shift in my "stock of knowledge".

Despite the fact that I made efforts to ensure that the tape recorder was recording properly, somehow the last part of the interview was not recorded. It is possible that the record button simply was not properly pressed when the tape was reversed. I had checked the recorder occasionally for the first side of the tape but left it to faith that it would function after that. After leaving Ron's house and realizing that the second side of the tape had not recorded I wrote down

everything that I could remember from the last part of the interview. It turned out that I had lost only about 15 minutes because the tape was of extended length.

A final difficulty that I had in the process of conducting the interview came after the half hour period that Ron had agreed to spend with me came to an end. I knew that Ron had a lot of things to do that day and that he still had to pack his bags for an afternoon trip to Vancouver. I was concerned that I had not provided him with a opportunity to end the interview. Yet, I had mixed feelings about suggesting that we could terminate the interview, because I was aware from Celia's class that it was important to give the interviewee a sense of "infinite time". After the 40 minute point in the interview I tried to give him an opportunity to end the interview by saying o.k. in what I felt was a suggestive tone. When he continued to speak I was concerned that my suggestion had not been communicated and so I tried again sometime later :

Alex Hm.. I know you probably have to go (cut off)

Ron I don't know, maybe I'm too far from the reality of what has happened [We both laugh] Maybe that is why I'm optimistic but I'm optimistic from the point of view of being here in Lillooet.

At this point I realized that the option to terminate the interview had in fact been made clear to him and that he wanted to continue. I relaxed a little at this point knowing that he was continuing because he wanted to and not because he felt obliged. At times it also seemed that he was using the interview as an opportunity to address some of the issues that he would be discussing in Vancouver. This made me hopeful that the interview was of mutual benefit.

Ron So, (clears throat) I'm optimistic, I really am. I just feel that in general, ah when you take the whole spectrum of people that live in Lillooet they ah, I just put it here (refers to a page on his desk which he had mentioned on my

arrival was for a talk he will be giving later that day). [He reads] "from community commitment to their own process".

Examination of Content

With regards to the content of the interview, one major theme that seemed to come up again and again was the importance of integrating, or the bringing together of different voices, and different perspectives in the decision making process. He discusses integration in a number of different areas. For example, he seems to make an effort to integrate "economical" and ecologically sound ways of thinking about the environment. Although he makes it clear on several occasions that his own philosophy is "towards managing ecosystems" as opposed to dealing with "commodities", he suggests that the economist's view of the world is not incompatible with the ecologically sound alternative and that it can be informed by it. He begins by describing what he views as an economist's perspective on resources:

Ron Um, and I met a lot of people who just believe in a kind of absolute sense in the free enterprise system. That, you know, if it comes right down to this whole question of resources, that, we don't have to worry (emphasized) about..about using up all our resources, because as they get in shorter supply, their value gets higher and higher and so therefore the economic system looks for alternative resources (emphasis put on last word). And so therefore the whole question of shortage of resources is not a visual one

Sometime later he adds:

Ron If this sort of economic view of the world of what resources is is correct, and there..we're also sitting on other resources that we haven't yet identified. Because there isn't an economic value for them.[Laughs lightly...] And, so [clears his throat] interestingly enough, that economic view of resources comes back to say well, if that's the case then we have to be really super careful about how we plan to use our resources because we even have to be careful about the thing we don't know of as resources yet. And, so interestingly enough that argument doubles back to the precautionary management approach to say well, since we're not really sure what are our resources and so we're not really sure what's going to be more valuable in the future, we should try to be really conservative about what we exploit now.

Later he emphasizes the importance of local level decision making and the importance of all voices being heard in the decision making process.

Ron you don't want the question to be determined in boardrooms half way around the world, you want the answers, or even in ah by a bunch of bureaucrats sitting around tables in Victoria, or even bureaucrats in Kamloops for that matter (laughs), or even people, you know bureaucrats if you want to talk about, even bureaucrats in the Lillooet office.

Alex Hm

Ron You want to have the whole of the community involved in making those decisions. Because by doing so, you discuss it, it becomes a community issue, and, and, and, the values that are represented by the whole spectrum of the community get introduced into that whole decision making process

It seems from the above passage and from others throughout the interview that Ron is quite adverse to the idea of outsiders from the big centers making decisions for the Lillooet community. Furthermore he is adverse to the idea of the future of the community being decided by people who he later says "do not even have their feet on the ground". This perspective is echoed in a picture that he gave to me in which a peacock can be seen instructing a duck on how to be a duck by reading from a book labeled T.A. (technical assistance). The duck is shown on stilts, in emulation of the idolized peacock. The peacock represents the bureaucrats and outsiders who, with only textbook knowledge of Lillooet, make decisions for the entire community. It seems that Ron is also particularly concerned that voices are not left out in the decision making process.

Ron And it doesn't make sense for instance, to..for the other values to have to express themselves..in opposition.. by what is it, blockading roads or hugging trees or whatever they do in another part of the world.

His apparent view that minority voices should not have to express themselves in opposition or through confrontation comes up repeatedly. After the tape has cut off, Ron states that it is important that environmentalist perspectives are incorporated into mainstream organizations rather than remaining on the

periphery. In his role on the economic development committee he has an opportunity, he suggests, to express an environmentalist voice. This comment seems to support earlier speculations that he is trying to integrate economical and ecological perspectives. The theme of integration comes up again in terms of an integration of local and global decision making processes. Sometime later in the interview he also suggests that there should not have to be parks and protected areas and that such an approach is comparable to "putting nature in a museum". A precautionary management approach to handling the ecosystem should instead be integrated into practices everywhere.

The Process of Analyzing the Process and Content of the Interview

One difficulty that I had in the process of analyzing the content of the interview was to condense a wealth of information into only five pages. I found it difficult to describe general themes without oversimplifying Ron's perspective. I have not been able to take my interpretation back to Ron but believe that it would be a very worthwhile thing to do. I found that with each new read of the interview I learned something new. This rereading and gleaming of new information from the interview, it seemed, could go on forever.

Interview Schedule

What do you see as possible relationships with nature?
As an agronomist how do you see your relationship with nature?
Does everyone relate to nature in the same way?

What do you see as the big issues in Lillooet around resources?

? Fish?

What are the big issues for you around fish?

Depletion?

Pollution?

Pulp Mills?

Hydro Plants ?

Ginseng Plants?

Over - fishing?

If you could create an ideal situation around fish what form would this take?

How hopeful do you feel about the future with regards to the fish resource

? Timber?

What are the issues for you around timber?

deforestation?

protected areas?

land claims?

If you could create an ideal situation around timber what form would it take?

How do you feel that your former role on the Economic Advisory Committee has influenced your perspective on issues we have discussed today?

How do you feel that your background as an agronomer has influenced your perspective on issues we discussed today.

Are there any other questions I should have asked you?