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## American Indian Biculturalism Inventory - Pueblo

Royleen J. Ross

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AMERICAN INDIAN BICULTURALISM INVENTORY - PUEBLO

by

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Bachelor of Arts, University of New Mexico, 2002  
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A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

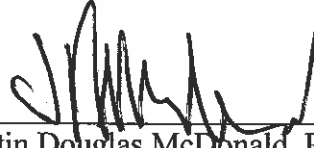
Doctor of Philosophy

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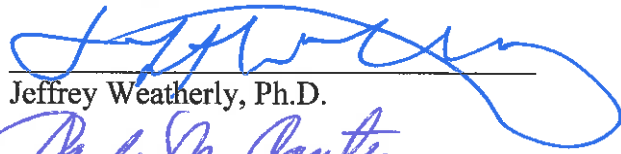
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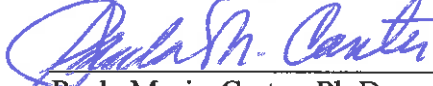
This dissertation, submitted by Royleen J. Ross in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.



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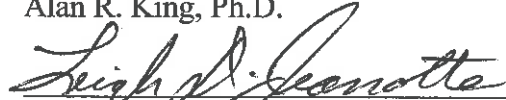
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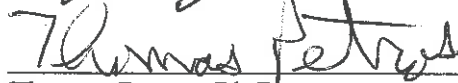
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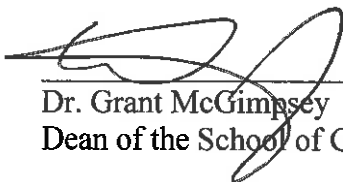


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February, 8, 2017  
Date

## PERMISSION

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Royleen Joan Ross (Ka schaa tsi)  
2/7/2017

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To

Our Creator, Our Mother, Our Father, and the Spirits

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Robert and Mary Jean Analla

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Barbara and Howard Russell

and

All of my parents

For my daughters

Amanda Royce Josanaraae

Maredyth Benjamine Raynelle

Whom I love and cherish

## ABSTRACT

A time in American history existed when Native Americans were not allowed to express, much less retain their traditions, culture, language, and livelihood. Today, Natives are thriving in various fields at many different professional levels and have not only mastered majority culture's ways, but have integrated them, on their own terms, into their lives. Warfare was declared upon Native Americans in the educational arena beginning in the late 1800's, resulting in many indigenous individuals not only meeting the educational challenge posed to them, but excelled beyond expectation. Thus, in contemporary society, many Native Americans have retained their traditional ways and obtained a higher education, as well as Native Americans who have had to reject their culture and acclimate to dominant society for survival, and those that fall all along this spectrum. A detailed discussion on these topics will be further explored in the body of this dissertation research project.

Native American cultural identification exists at various levels for indigenous individuals. Hence, it is critical to conduct valid cultural assessments to assist in areas of adversity confronting present day Native Americans. The majority of psychometric tools assessing the cultural identity of Native Americans were not developed by Native American scientists. There exists a dearth of clinical psychology literature and studies pertaining to Native American developed assessments tools for Native Americans clients.

Three hundred thirty adult participants from various Pueblo tribes participated in the development of the American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Pueblo (AIBI-Pueblo), a new psychometric assessment of Pueblo cultural identification. A demographic questionnaire and The Satisfaction with Life Scale were also used. Results showed American Indian Cultural Identification and European American Cultural Identification are consistent predictors of satisfaction of life.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In 1969, Deloria (p. 2) wrote, “To be an Indian in modern American society is in a very real sense to be unreal and ahistorical.” A time in American history existed when Native Americans were expected to vanish from the continent, which was in part, the basis of investigational movements by various scientific fields to study the North American aboriginal peoples (Vogt, 1957). The 2010 U.S. Census Bureau (2011) reported approximately 2.9 million American Indian & Native Alaskans, representing 0.9% of the United States (U.S.) total population, which directly obliterated the afore-referenced vanishing Indian hypothesis. Additionally, in census reporting, if individuals claimed more than one ethnicity, in combination with American Indian, those numbers climbed to 5.2 million, or 1.7% of the population (U.S. Census, 2011). As of 2015, The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (2015) reported a service population of 1.9 million. Depending upon the source and demographic specification requirements, variations in the U.S. Native American population exist.

Frantz (1993) contended, “Today a considerable number of American Indians live on reservations, separated from the rest of the U.S. population by different systems of law and government, and by their own sense of identity” (p. 10). The U.S. Census (2012) estimated 22% of Native Americans lived in “American Indian areas or Alaska Native Village Statistical Areas..., which include reservations, off-reservation trust lands,



Oklahoma tribal statistical areas, tribal designated statistical areas, state American Indian reservations and state designated American Indian statistical areas,” of which there are 617 legal and statistical areas. The U.S. Census (2011) reported in 2010 there were 334 federally and state recognized American Indian reservations in the U.S. These lands may be referred to as Indian Country, further defined within federal law 18 United States Code (U.S.C.) § 1151:

(a) all land within the limits of any Indian reservation under the jurisdiction of the United States Government, notwithstanding the issuance of any patent, and, including rights-of-way running through the reservation, (b) all dependent Indian communities within the borders of the United States whether within the original or subsequently acquired territory thereof, and whether within or without the limits of a State, and (c) all Indian allotments, the Indian titles to which have not been extinguished, including rights-of-way running through the same. (Tribal Court Clearinghouse, n. d., para. 4)

Today, Native entities are seeking the restoration of federal recognition as an Indian tribe numbering 356 (Heim, 2015). For example, since 1977 approximately 600 members of the Duwamish tribe in Washington State have attempted to regain federal recognition. Recently, on July 2, 2015, they were again denied recognition by the U.S. Department of the Interior (DOI). As part of the federal decision, DOI ruled “they did not evolve as a group from the historical tribe into the current group, which first formed in late 1925” (Associated Press, 2015, 2C). One of the forefathers to the present day Duwamish people was Chief Seattle. Incidentally, Chief Sealth loaned the City of Seattle his name (Tu, 2015). According to the Seattle Times, “Chief Sealth, along with co-

signers from other tribes, signed the Treaty of Point Elliott in 1855, relinquishing their land to the U.S. government, in return for land for reservations, fishing and hunting rights and a settlement of \$150,000” (Tu, 2015, para. 8) however, the Duwamish were not bestowed the same rights as the other tribes as a part of the Treaty of Point Elliot in 1855 (Tu, 2015).

Survival for Native Americans in the 21<sup>st</sup> century requires walking in two worlds, or at least to some degree, partaking of non-Native culture in some form or fashion, which may imply being “between two worlds” (Deloria, 1969, p. 86). Theoretical orientations differ about the psychological welfare of an individual living in two worlds. On this topic, Romero (1994) contended, “For the majority of American Indians, successful and comfortable participation in both Native and mainstream societies is achieved through the attainment of proficient competencies in both societies” (p. 54). Goldberg (1941) and Green (1947), in reference to marginal human theory asserted, “People who live within two cultures do not inevitably suffer” (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993, p. 395). In contrast, based upon Park (1928) and Stonequist’s (1935) positions, LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) presented another perspective: “Living in two cultures is psychologically undesirable because managing the complexity of dual reference points generates ambiguity, identity confusion, and normlessness” (p. 395). Thus, dichotomous perspectives about bicultural individuals navigating two distinct cultural worlds persist.

Today, one-word descriptions are used in public and professional forums to classify the 5.2 million American Indian and Alaskan Natives and degree of Nativeness. One can be full-blooded, enrolled, unicultural, monoethnic, traditional, bi-cultural,

mixed, intercultural, urban, assimilated, monocultural, acculturated, and multicultural, to name a few. Descriptive words are also used among Native peoples; which may not be as eloquent or flattering to describe ourselves, however, mostly we identify ourselves by our own traditional tribal affiliations assigned by our Creator. Weaver (2001) summarized this concept by stating, “Before contact, indigenous people identified themselves as distinct from other indigenous people and constructed their identities in this way” (p. 242). Some Natives would agree a simpler approach to identifying ourselves might be by an individual’s degree of humor! Shanley (1998) declared, “Anyone who knows anything about what it means to be Indian in the United States in the late twentieth century knows what an Indian car looks like. Rez Indians and Urban Indians alike know” (p. 130). Considerably, the audience dictates the identity categorization of Native peoples however, Native identification is further convoluted by the manner in which one self-identifies.

Regardless of descriptive categorization, these 5.2 million American Indians were part of the 566 federally recognized U. S. tribes, reported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (2012), which were sovereign nations but not inclusive of state recognized American Indians. Per the U.S. Census (2011), the median age was 29.0 years, approximately eight percent of the population was 65+ years old, and 30% were under the age of eighteen. Pertaining to health care, nearly 1:3 Native Americans were without health care coverage, which was about 29.2% of the population (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2013). Regarding financial hardship, as of 2011, nearly 1:3 Native Americans lived in poverty, which approximated 29.5% of the population (U.S. Census, 2012). According to Rodgers (2008), “One does not need to travel to a developing nation to find extreme

poverty. It is here, in America. In our own backyard” (para. 12). This poverty statistic has not changed much in the new millennium from 50 years prior, “when the United States declared war on poverty in the 1960’s, Indians quickly volunteered. They were experts on poverty; on some reservations the unemployment rate ran as high as 80 or 90 per cent” (Deloria, 1974, p. 372). Unfortunately, one-third of the aboriginal citizens of this country continue to struggle with less than adequate financial resources, accompanied by marginal employment opportunities.

The annual median income was reported at \$35,192 as compared to \$50,502 for the nation as a whole (U.S. Census, 2012). “Contrary to popular belief, the overwhelming majority of tribes are not wealthy by virtue of gaming” (Rodgers, 2008, para. 8), however “contrary to the stories that periodically appear in the newspapers and on the evening news chronicling Native poverty and despair, many of the tribes in North America are managing reasonably well” (King, 2012, p. 164). Wide variations of economic status exist amongst tribes across the nation.

In addition, according to the U.S. Census (2012), 28% of the Native population, age five and older, spoke a language other than English at home. Although a small minority, tribal nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century still teach their children their Native tongue as a first language, such as with some of the Pueblo tribes in the geographical southwestern U.S.; English language acquisition occurs later in life with the introduction of school and an orthodox educational setting. With respect to education, Snipp (2000) reported, “Indians have an excess of poorly educated persons (most likely older individuals) and a shortage of adults who are highly educated” (p. 52). While Snipp’s statement may be bleak and have some validity in comparison to dominant society’s statistical data, the

U.S. Census (2012) also reported that overall, 78.9% of the Native population had a high school diploma, GED, or alternative credentialing and 13.3% had obtained a bachelor's or higher degree. Further, in the 25+ age group, of those having a bachelor degree, 42% obtained their degrees in science and engineering, or other related fields (U.S. Census, 2012).

### **Assimilation and Acculturation Efforts – Journey to Equal Education Opportunities**

The assimilation and acculturation efforts directed at Native Americans documented in this section are not intended to be inclusive of all historical facts and factors associated with the indigenous history of Native education, a lengthy and robust dissertation. However, a brief historical account of events American Indians encountered impacting the education of Native peoples into contemporary times will be presented. Purposely, many excerpts in this section remain quoted in their entirety to retain their historical impact and sentiment. Further, unfortunately, the author of this scholarly project has recently encountered psychology professors in the graduate curriculum arena unaware of critical historical events affecting the higher education of Native American students, which precluded indigenous individuals from pursuing higher education degrees in the field of clinical psychology and other professional fields. In a 2016 American Psychological Association Convention symposium, entitled *Confronting Historical Trauma in Native American Communities*, the importance of discussing history was emphasized (Salazar, 2016). Frank Waln, American Indian artist and activist also stated, “Americans—Native and non-Native alike—need to educate themselves about the real history and current politics of America’s indigenous people” (Rehagen, 2016, para. 9). Thus, the historical events which will be presented, in concert with a multitude of other

dynamics, have impacted the culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification of present day Native peoples, including the substantial impact of a Eurocentric/ Western education.

Historically for many Native peoples, obtaining a quality education, much less a higher education, was a grim possibility. Many government policies were enacted, coupled with dominant society's stance, which created educational barriers to attaining a salubrious western education. This referenced western education would have been comprised of an education of equivalence including majority society's comprehensive curriculum, imparting a respectful acknowledgement of Native traditional values, beliefs, and practices, consequently laying a foundation for a Native pupil attaining a professional degree. Into the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, significant contributing factors preventing a higher education included physical warfare against tribal nations, including but not limited to events such as the Mankato Massacre in 1862 in Mankato, Minnesota, also known as the largest mass execution in the United States wherein 38 American Indians were hung (Hagerty, 2012); in 1877, the 1,400 mile pursuit of Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce in Oregon for refusal of his People to be placed on a reservation, referred to as "one of the most extraordinary Indian wars of which there is any record" (Nies, 1996, p. 287); and the Wounded Knee Massacre in South Dakota in 1890.

These aforementioned events occurred 40-70 years after the Office of Indian Affairs was created in 1823, which was originally a part of the U.S. War Department. In addition, the U.S. government did not regularly honor and uphold treaty obligations to many tribes, which had health, education, and basic needs implications in the daily lives of Native peoples. Government policy frequently wavered. "Between 1789 and 1886...

policy vacillated between making treaties with Indian tribes as land-owning, autonomous nations and compelling them to live as wards of the government, segregated on reservations. Certain bands were virtual prisoners..." (Brophy & Aberle, 1966, p.180). The governmental state of Native American affairs was in virtual disarray.

In 1871, the U.S. Congress ceased treaty making by law but the validity of compacts in existence were to be recognized (Brophy & Aberle, 1966). When reservations were established:

the tribe agreed to keep the peace with the dominant race and with other Indian bands and acknowledged dependence on the white man's government. It further ceded all its territory except for a part retained for its own use... Sometimes they were created in lieu of land the tribes surrendered elsewhere, or, if the Indians had failed to keep back enough for subsistence, Congress might later add to their holdings. It was by such means that the West was opened to White settlement. (Brophy & Aberle, 1966, p. 24-25)

In return for a tribe's cessions of land, the United States pledged its protection and typically agreed to compensate the affected tribal groups

cash and annuities; to erect schools, hospitals, churches, gristmills, sawmills and the like; to provide teachers, physicians, millers and blacksmiths; to furnish food, tobacco, and domesticated animals; and to supply the fruits of modern progress such as vaccines, farm implements, guns, steel, and blankets. (Brophy & Aberle, 1966, p. 26)

A multitude of books and articles have been written about historical government relations pertaining to indigenous peoples prior and into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, documenting Native American history, which may be referenced for supplemental information.

Historically, the U.S. government's sentiment on the American Indian population in various historical time periods was reflected in general public attitudes, which resoundingly trickled into the education arena. In the latter 1800s into the early to mid-1900s,

the American Indians were prevailingly thought of in American public opinion as a "vanishing race..." We were led to these comfortable assumptions about the vanishing American Indian by the fact that there *were* important population declines earlier in our history – many Indian tribes, in fact, became extinct – and by the observation that the Indians *had* undergone impressive changes in certain aspects of their cultures. It was anticipated that the population decline would continue and that the acculturative changes would proceed apace with all tribes and in all aspects of their culture as white American institutions impinged upon them. (Vogt, 1957, p. 137)

Between the late 1800s and 1950s, the education emphasis for the majority of Native Americans was on assimilation and acculturation efforts with a blatant disregard for traditional Native knowledge and teachings. According to King (2012):

Native people have never been resistant to education. We had been educating our children long before Europeans showed up. Nor were we against our children learning about White culture...North America decided that Native education had to be narrowly focused on White values, decided that Native values, ceremonies,



and language were inferior and had no value in a contemporary curriculum. (p. 119)

Generally, during this period, majority society perceived American Indians in this way captured by McGuire (1992):

Each person was born a *tabula rasa*, and it was the environment that made each what he or she would be. Primitives stood in a special relationship to nature, unsullied by the corrupting might of civilization, but such pure souls were ill prepared and unable to adapt to civilization. (p. 819)

Hence, laying a foundation for, “Kill the Indian in him, save the man” (History Matters, 2014, para. 1). However, King (2012) posited, “Richard Pratt was wrong. As it turned out, if you killed the Indian, you killed the Indian” (p. 120). Figuratively, killing the *Indian* had physical implications in *killing the Indian*.

Henceforth, government education policies were intended to mainstream American Indians as part of divisive assimilation effort campaigns. Opinions surrounding these efforts were diametrically opposed. Thompson (1957) declared, “the central purpose of early federal education was to civilize the Indian” (p. 97) however, LaFarge (1957) contended the intent of “systems of education [were] designed to destroy a rising generation’s tribal memories” (p. 44). In the early 1880s, Thompson (1957) stated, “public opinion with respect to Indian education was divided at that time into two opposing camps: those who believed in the capability of the Indian to take his place in society if given the opportunities of education, and those who believed such efforts would be wasted” (p. 98). From the outset, Indian education policy, especially regarding boarding school reform, was predestined to fail.

The boarding school era created insurmountable devastation. In the boarding school era, “reject(ion) of... ancestral heritage” (Brophy & Aberle, 1966, p. 138) was essential. Many Native scholars have weighed in on the destruction, including McDonald and Chaney (2003), “Beginning in the 1870’s, this policy which amounted to nothing short of war waged by the United States government against Native-American children merely represented a highly sanitized refinement of a systematic, yet unspoken, cultural genocide program that existed for nearly a century” (p. 44). According to Duran and Duran (1995), this educational approach was “one of the most devastating policies implemented by the government... which [was] primarily designed to destroy the fabric of Native American life – the family unit” (p. 33). Witko (2006) opined, “The primary purpose of the boarding schools and missions was to assimilate the Native people into American culture. Indian people were forced to adopt the ways of the dominant society and ignore the customs and spirit of their culture” (p.13). Duran and Duran (1995) further contended:

Children were physically made to look as close to their white counterparts as possible in order to strip them of their Native American-ness... the boys were placed in classes training for a trade, and the girls were usually taught how to sew and perform other housework. (p. 34)

Deloria (1974) maintained, “...The curriculum was aimed primarily at training in skills, with boys learning trades such as carpentry and the girls a version of home economics completely foreign to their homes in Indian country” (p. 360). Unfortunately, “many children died in boarding schools, so these children were taken from their parents and often disappeared forever” (McDonald & Chaney, 2003, p. 44). “Unquestionably the

boarding schools played their part in the assault on Indian communal strength, identity, and self-respect” (Deloria, 1974, p. 360). In this aggrieved educational system, retribution and fear were the penalty for refusal. “Parents who openly resisted giving up their children lost food rations or were jailed. Others hid their children or denied being Indian” (King, 2008, para. 49).

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the assimilation of aboriginal inhabitants of the United States was prevalent. At that time, majority society consensus was that the personality of indigenous peoples was deficient and void of desirable traits and characteristics. Peterson (1948) documented the following statement contained in an 1885 Commissioner of Indian Affairs annual report:

The Indian is the strangest compound of individualism and socialism run to seed. It is this being that we endeavor to make a member of a new social order... to this end we must recreate him, and make him a new personality. (p. 119)

Additionally, in 1885, the Bureau of Indian Affairs formalized an existing policy of ensuring the hegemony of the English language in a regulation for the Indian schools (Dussias, 2008):

All instruction must be in English, except in so far as the native language of the pupils shall be a necessary medium for conveying the knowledge of English, and the conversation of and communications between the pupils and with the teacher must be, as far as practicable, in English. (p. 11)

The Rules for Indian Schools provided that students were to be rebuked or punished for persistent violations of the policy... Punishments included spanking and whipping of students, washing students’ mouths out with soap, and forcing

students to stand still in a schoolroom or march around while other students played. (p. 15-16)

Some students did resist the effort to strip them of their mother tongue by continuing to use it for private conversations, out of the earshot of their teachers and other school employees. With the threat of punishment looming, however, most students were eventually worn down. (p. 17)

In 2008, King wrote of a Washington State Native politician's parent that had attended boarding school. "The father of state Rep. John McCoy, D-Tulalip, was fluent in the tribe's language but refused to teach it, saying 'they beat it out of me' at boarding school" (para. 25). This English-only policy undeniably had overwhelming detrimental effects on heritage, language loss, culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification.

Additionally, during the boarding school era, the General Allotment Act, otherwise known as the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, was legislated by the U.S. government. This Act, "intended to detribalize the Indians," (Dozier, Simpson & Yinger, 1957, p. 162), was basically created for individuals to own parcels of land and eradicate communally owned reservations. The objective was to reduce the amount of Indian-owned land and disburse tribal land in allotments of 40, 80, or 160 acres (Brophy & Aberle, 1966); however not all reservations were allotted. The basis of this Act promoted assimilation of Native peoples into American society "to make the Indian conform to the social and economic structure of rural America by vesting him with private property" (Deloria, 1969, p. 46). Acquisition of private property was a highly esteemed dominant culture value and "the magic of private property, which had been so beneficial to white

society, was seen as the light to guide the Indians' way to a civilized state" (Deloria, 1974, p. 357).

With regard to the status of the education of Native Americans at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Reyhner (1992) posited:

The continued failure of boarding schools and English-only education to make over Indians into white people in a few years (as the "friends of the Indians" had optimistically and naively predicted in the 1880's) led to the disillusionment at the turn of the century and a lowering of expectations. Increasingly, Indians were seen as blacks then were: as a permanent underclass who needed to receive a second-class, nonacademic, and vocational education (Hoxie 1984). (p. 48)

Into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, along the continuum of the education of Native Americans, there were massively different operational definitions as to what constituted education, intelligence, and giftedness. In the 1920's, according to Nies (1996), the education of a Bureau of Indian Affairs high school graduate was equivalent to an eighth grade education elsewhere in America. Also in the 1920s, intelligence testing was conducted with American Indians post Terman's development of the Stanford-Binet test.

Unsurprisingly, *intelligence* was based upon Western/European standards and predictably Natives did not perform well when assessed.

Generally, American Indians were deemed an unintelligent species based upon white, middle class normative standards. Studies documenting these concepts were commonplace, such as in *The Intelligence of Full Blood Indians* (Garth, Serafini & Dutton, 1925). In this study, 1,050 Native children's IQs and mental ages, between fourth and eighth grade, were assessed. The children were full-blooded and from plains,

southeastern, and southwestern plateau tribes, including some Navajo, Apache and Pueblo tribes. The study concluded the approximate IQ of full blood plains and southwestern tribes was 69, there was a constant tendency for IQ's to increase with education, and the mental age of whites, grade for grade, was 14% better.

Fortunately, in the last sentence of the conclusion, Garth, Serafini and Dutton (1925) conceded, "Because of differences in social status and temperament we cannot conclude that our results are true and final measures of the intelligence of Indian children" (p. 389). However, this translation of the IQ of full blooded Indians, especially in the field of psychology, meant Indians geographically covering the majority of the United States, were more than two standard deviations below the mean of 100 resulting in an unflattering label that has been generously applied to Native populations. The interpretations of these types of scientific results have had egregious implications on the cultural identity and cultural identification of Native Americans for generations.

In 1925 an article authored by Garth, entitled *A Review of Racial Psychology*, cited after a review of 73 studies pertaining to racial psychology, "These studies taken altogether seem to indicate the mental superiority of the white race" (Hansen, 1935, p. 28). Another study, conducted by Fitzgerald and Ludeman in 1926, *The Intelligence of Indian Children*, documented the use of the National Intelligence Tests and the Terman Group Intelligence Tests. Their results suggested a negative relationship between IQ and degree of Indian blood. They "found that the IQ of Indian children decreased as the degree of Indian blood increased. They report a median for all Indians of 87.5" (Hansen, 1935, p. 10). Through scientific methodological procedures, by parsimoniously reducing

ethnic individuals' intelligence to an inferior status, the intelligence of dominant society became inflated.

Studies were also conducted comparing the intelligence of tribal members of one tribe to another. In 1927, Garth compared the intelligence of the “nomadic” Plains and Southeastern Indians to the sedentary Pueblo, Zuni and Hopi Indians. The nomadic Indians scored on average 35% better than those of sedentary Indians on tests of higher mental process and the differences decreased with more education. Garth speculated the “nomadic” Indian populations were more acculturated than the sedentary Indians. Thus, discord amongst tribes was propagated via hierarchical intelligence strata.

Regarding the attainment of U.S. citizenship by Native Americans, according to Brophy & Aberle (1966), “On June 2, 1924, Congress conferred citizenship on all Indians born in the United States who were not already in that category. Since then, therefore, they have possessed the same rights, privileges, and obligations as other citizens” (p. 16), which was fallacious. “The Indian Citizenship Act graciously deemed American Indians citizens of their own land, earning them the right to vote in federal elections” (Indian Times, 2008, p. 3). This Act, also known as the Snyder Act, contained exceptions to blanket citizenship, associated with voting rights. Seven states still prohibited American Indian voting by 1948, which included Arizona and New Mexico, and Utah until 1957. These states failed to pass the required legislation for Native voters, thus full U.S. citizenship was denied. In New Mexico, “enacted in 1912, the denial of suffrage was based on Article VII, Section 1 of the Constitution of New Mexico” (Martinez, 2015). The Indian Times (2008) documented in 1948,

forward-thinking New Mexico still prevented Indians who lived on reservations (which, in 1948, was probably 99 percent of Indians in New Mexico) from voting in state elections under a provision in the state Constitution that prohibited "insane persons and Indians not taxed." In other words, if you were mentally ill or lived on a reservation, or both, you couldn't vote. (p. 3)

The Pueblo Indians in the southwest were prohibited from voting in government elections until 1948, post a lawsuit filed by an Isleta Pueblo tribal member, Miguel H. Trujillo, Plaintiff vs. Eloy Garley, Defendant, U.S. District of Court of New Mexico, No. 1353. Mr. Trujillo was a United States Marine Corps veteran and fought in World War II. Mr. Trujillo attempted to register to vote in Valencia County, New Mexico (Martinez, 2015), however he was denied and outraged he “could fight for the United States in war, but couldn’t vote in his home state” (Indian Times, 2008, p. 3). “An Indian young man after service in the armed forces does not return to his tribe unchanged” (Dozier, Simpson, Yinger, 1957, p. 159), thus Mr. Trujillo utilized legal conduits to remedy this injustice. Despite the passing of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico remained disenfranchised until 1948 when voting rights were finally gained via legal recourse (Sando, 1976, 1992; Dozier 1970).

Incredulously, prior to the blanket U.S. citizenship designation in 1924, numerous American Indians fought in World War I between 1914 and 1918, although these service members were not recognized as U.S. citizens. According to Peterson (1948), over 17,000 served in the armed forces. In World War II, approximately 25,000 Native Americans served in the armed forces and 550 died (Martinez, 2015), including disenfranchised Pueblo Indians.



The Indian Citizenship Act also had implications in the education arena. Thompson (1957) asserted, “until 1924 Indians for the most part were not citizens; therefore the states had no responsibility for providing education for Indian children” (p. 100). In 1928, The Merriam Report was released which contained major changes to the welfare of Native Americans, including education. This lengthy six volume report documented the conditions of the American Indian since the 1850s. Recommendations about western education were made, which included the following:

1. Keep education on the reservation as far as possible and keep it closely related to family and tribal life. Avoid sending children away from home as much as possible.
2. Make the day schools on the reservations into community centers which teach adults as well as children.
3. Humanize the boarding schools: limit them to older children.
4. Make Indian education fit the facts of postschool life for most Indians- stress vocational training in agriculture and handicrafts, health, homemaking, and so forth. Pay attention to occupational placement for graduates.
5. Provide high school and college opportunities for those who do well in school, through more secondary schools and through scholarship aid for able Indian students who wish to attend college. (Havighurst, 1957, p. 113)

The Merriam report recommendations established education policy for decades that followed. King (2008) contended it was estimated two-thirds of the American Indian population had attended a boarding school at some period in their life by the early 1930’s.

In the 1930's, Nies (1996) documented the U.S. Senate Investigating Committee confirmed Navajo children were systematically kidnapped to fill boarding school quotas.

In 1933, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was created as an entity under the Department of Interior, which fell under the auspices of the Department of War. Dozier, Simpson, and Yinger (1957) reported, "by 1933, 91,000,000 of the 138,000,000 acres owned by Indians in 1887 had ceased to be Indian owned" (p. 162). On June 18, 1934, the Wheeler-Howard Law, also known as the Indian Reorganization Act or the Indian New Deal, was enacted by Congress, which was federal legislation reversing government policies facing Native American assimilation "and gave the reservations their first taste of self-government in nearly half a century" (Deloria, 1969, p. 55). This Act purportedly was to "assist Indians to assume greater responsibility for their own affairs which was not always realized" (Brophy & Aberle, 1966, p.21) by encouraging written constitutions and charters through increasing self-governance and responsibility and decreasing federal control. The Act returned surplus lands back to the tribes; however approximately 90 million acres of tribal land had been lost since the passage of the Dawes Act (Deloria, 1969). The Act also established a revolving credit program for tribal land purchases, for educational assistance, and for aiding tribal economic development, resulting in the improvement of some of the tribes' economic positions. That same year, in 1934, the Johnson-O'Malley Act was passed, which allowed for the public education of Native American students, via compensation from the federal government to the states. The secretary of the interior could enter into contracts with states or territories to educate Native students (Reyhner, 1992).

Into the 1930's, the general sentiment toward the American Indian population was not positive. As an example, a study conducted in 1935, published as a thesis by Hansen, entitled *The Scholastic Achievement of Indian Pupils*, documented:

The Indian Not Yet Assimilated – At the present time, it is generally acknowledged that the Indian is not yet thoroughly absorbed into the American social fabric. There is a lack of adjustment on every hand. A veteran superintendent in the Indian Service states:

For more than three hundred years the Indians of North America have been in contact with the civilization of the white man, and for more than one hundred and fifty years the Government of the United States has been endeavoring to solve its Indian problem... And after all these years of effort and the expenditure of many millions on the part of the Government, and of the churches and other philanthropic organizations, for home and economic improvement and for the maintenance of schools, hospitals and missions, the American people are still confronted with an unsolved Indian problem. (p. 2)

The Indian Service veteran superintendent's identity was not revealed. Hansen (1937) further documented:

Health conditions among the Indians are far below standards that obtain in the population at large. Criticisms of the administration of Indian affairs on the field have frequently included reports of deplorable conditions as to individual and family health. From within the Indian bureau, as well, reports of serious health conditions have not been lacking. (p. 4-5)

Scientific studies concerning achievement, intelligence, and education continued to be conducted on the unsuspecting Native American population, unbeknownst to parents and guardians. The etiology of underachievement in the Native population continued to be explored through research with biopsychosocial hypotheses. In 1937, Hansen published an article entitled *The Scholastic Achievement of Indian Pupils*. At this time in history, consent to participate in research studies from a parent or guardian was not a requirement for the administration of assessments on children. Hansen's (1937) study documented:

Achievement tests were given to groups of Indian and white children enrolled in the same public schools and also to Indian boarding school students educated as segregated groups. No clear-cut difference in achievement was found between public and boarding school children of Indian blood. White children were definitely superior in general achievement to Indian children, showing more superiority to full-blood than to half-blood Indians. The marked variability of scores within the groups and the high percentage of overlapping of white scores by Indian scores is noted. It is also noted that the entire socio-racial pattern of influences is involved in the results and that the reality and relative weight of those factors which may be biologically innate remain undetermined. (p. 316)

Opposing evidence regarding the intelligence of the Native students began to show some optimism as contradictory evidence regarding intelligence testing by a minority of scientists reported positive results. One of these studies was conducted by Havigurst and Hilkevitch (1944), documented in *The Intelligence Of Indian Children As*

*Measured By A Performance Scale.* The following was contained in their discussion and conclusions:

The Arthur Point Performance Scale in a shortened form was used to measure the intelligence of 670 Indian children aged 6 through 15 in communities of the Navaho, Hopi, Zuni, Zia, Papago, and Sioux Indian tribes. Practically all the subjects were full-blooded Indians except for the Sioux, where the sample conformed to the pattern of blood-mixture on the Reservation. In most cases, practically all the children of a community were tested or a representative sample was tested. The Hopi subjects were definitely above the norms for white children on the test, and the remaining groups were approximately at the norms for white children... The results of this study indicate that Indian children do about as well as white children on a performance test of intelligence, and that differences exist from tribe to tribe and among communities within a tribe—differences of the sort that are found among groups of white children in various communities.

Taking into consideration the limitations of intelligence tests of the performance type, the following conclusions appear to be justified.

1. American Indian children from several different tribes do as well as white children on a performance test of intelligence.
2. Differences in test intelligence may be found between Indian tribes and between groups within Indian tribes, just as they may be found between various groups in the white population.
3. There is some evidence that the Indian groups which are least influenced had more white influence and more schooling. But this evidence is not

conclusive. White influence and schooling are probably only a part of a complex of factors which determines test performance.

4. The statement that Indian children work more slowly than white children on speed tests is contradicted by the results of this study.
5. The Grace Arthur Performance Test may be used successfully with Indian children in the shortened form which was employed in this study.
6. A performance test of intelligence would be more valuable for educational placement and guidance of Indian children in the Southwest than an intelligence test which requires much use of the English language. (p. 433)

Although the findings and recommendations of this study were published, they largely went unacknowledged until challenged in 1963 by Peters. Intelligence testing of Native American students continued status quo with inappropriate psychological instruments not normed on the Indian population.

In 1944, the O'Connor-Mundt House Committee on Indian Affairs reported, "progress toward assimilation had lagged because of inadequate land, education, [and] health guidance" (Brophy & Aberle, 1966, p.21). Simply, the Wheeler-Howard Law did "not accomplish its task of bringing the Indian people up to the level of their white neighbors" (Deloria, 1969, p.55). Post 1944, Deloria (1969) asserted the Congressional policy of termination of Native American tribes was still in place in 1954 and pushed vigorously for the next ten years. Dozier, Simpson, & Yinger (1957) remarked, "Since 1953, laws providing for the termination of federal supervision over certain tribes [had] been passed. The Indian status of some tribes [had] been ended, and Concurrent Resolution 108, Eighty-third Congress, First Session (1953), provided for the extension

of this policy as rapidly as possible” (p. 162). Based upon work by Ball (1998), termination had psychological implications. According to Caldwell, et al. (2005), after termination, research indicated post-traumatic stress disorder occurred at a rate ten times higher in tribal members as compared to majority society. Legal and judicial forums contend with these issues today, as well as the field of psychology when treating clients presenting with effects of colonization and historical trauma.

Based upon Fixico (1986), Snipp (2000) contended, “After World War II, a series of federal policies known as Termination and Relocation assisted Indians to move to preselected urban locations where, it was assumed, they would become employed and assimilate into the mainstream of American society (p. 45).” Deloria (1974) maintained this effort was

Another device to usher Indians into the American mainstream [known as] “relocation.” Under this experiment the government provided one-way bus tickets or train tickets from the reservations into cities and helped the relocated families get settled and find jobs. Some succeeded. For others the free ride merely meant a shift “from one pocket of poverty to another.” (p. 372)

Several metropolitan areas were targeted, which included Minneapolis, Chicago, San Francisco, Albuquerque, and Los Angeles, which have become areas of large populations of urban American Indians in 2017.

On July 1, 1955, health programs for American Indians transferred from BIA to the Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education & Welfare. During this period, the government education policy goals continued to revolve around acculturating and assimilating Native American students at all levels into western culture.

The emphasis remained on teaching trade skills, such as mechanics for males and secretarial skills for females, with minimal weight on higher education to cultivate professionals such as psychologists, medical doctors, professors, attorneys, etc.

Thompson (1957) reported in 1952, 52,960 Native students were attending public schools and the 1956 count was 71,956. However, the attitude toward these students was reflected in the following statements by Thompson (1957):

In my opinion, it can be conclusively stated that states are assuming their responsibility for the education of the Indian children as rapidly as the major roadblocks are removed; that any resistance on the part of state authorities and educational agencies toward acceptance of responsibility for the education of Indian children stems primarily from financial reasons and not from racial discrimination. The isolated individual resistance to Indians in the public schools is the exception, not the general attitude. The exceptions usually stem from individual attitudes which are historically based; primarily the attitude that Indians properly are a federal and not a local responsibility. (p.100)

Some of these aforementioned academic studies cited from 1957 were conducted and later published as part of the Indian Education Research Project, initiated in 1941, which can be referenced for additional information. This research project was an intersection between anthropology, psychology, and psychoanalytic psychiatry (Waldram, 2004).

Under the general circumstances pertaining to Indian education and the uncertainty of the status of Indian tribes, boarding schools remained popular although public education was an option. Matriculating into higher education and the pursuit of professional degrees remained nearly unfeasible for a great majority of Native



Americans. There remained an unwritten education policy wherein assimilation and acculturation remained at the forefront of educational efforts, establishing the foundation, or lack thereof, the pursuit of obtaining a higher education. Thus, this unwritten policy reverberated into the prospect of college, as Havighurst (1957) conveyed:

very few high-school graduates go on to college... In 1936 about one out of fifty Indian high-school graduates found his way to college, while, in 1950, one in six of the 597 graduates of Indian Service high schools entered college. Still this is a small number, and the total of Indians entering college, from all kinds of secondary schools, is in the neighborhood of 200. (p. 114)

Further, Havighurst (1957) wrote:

The culture of the Indian child equips him well or poorly for education in American schools, depending on how well his culture matches that of the American society which surrounds him. Motivation for school achievement, for instance, is poor by white standards among Indians of Indian tribes whose culture is based on co-operation rather than on competition. Innately, Indian children have about the same mental equipment as have white children, but their cultural status and experiences cause them to rank lower on educational achievement tests, especially in high-school subjects. (p. 105)

When his culture is quite different from that of the surrounding white community, as in the case of the Pueblo and Navaho Indians, or when his tribal culture has disintegrated and his group has not yet adjusted well to membership in the surrounding white culture, as was true in the 1940's of the Sioux, the Indian

child may be expected to do rather poorly in schools that are run according to white standards. (p. 109)

In the excerpts cited, Havighurst highlighted the collectivistic values paramount and esteemed in Native American cultures which contrasted generally majority society's values. Native culture, American Indian identity, and cultural identification were not valued in dominant society and were misconstrued and condemned.

Thompson (1957) surmised, "Wheelock's boarding school idea had by this time become entrenched so deeply in Indian thinking that it virtually had become a part of Indian culture" (p. 99). She described Wheelock's philosophy as "to free the children from the language and habits of their untutored and often times savage parents" (p. 97). At the time of the writing of the article by Thompson, she worked for BIA as the branch of education chief, thus her positions on Indian education were incredulous. Regarding the cultural conflict experienced by Native students in Indian schools, in 1969 Ralph Nader, as documented by Rehyner (1992), testified before the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, stating:

The student, bringing with him all the values, attitudes, and beliefs that constitute his "indianness" is expected to subordinate that Indianness to the general American standards of the school. The fact that he, the student, must do all the modifying, all the compromising, seems to say something to him about the relative value of his own culture as opposed to that of the school. (p. 53)

Nader's position on the Indian student presented the dichotomous two-world melee most Indian pupils navigated daily. One option was in the direction of forced acculturation and assimilation or subject his Native way of life to scorn and remain steadfast to

traditional ways, which created internal conflict and acculturation stress in many students. Dozier, Simpson, & Yinger (1957) stated, “A free society repudiates any thought of integration based on coercion” (p. 158), however underlying assimilation efforts for students were still in operation into the 1950’s. This was at a time in the late 1950’s when dominant society’s sentiment on Natives was captured by Havighurst (1957):

It is clear that, generally speaking, American Indian groups have not taken part in American education at the secondary and higher levels... Most Indian groups have clung to enough of their traditional cultures to prevent them from adopting fully the white American culture, including its attitudes toward education and its use of education as a means of social mobility and occupational achievement. (p. 114)

Individual Indians have done very well in the American educational system by committing themselves to learning the dominant American culture and living in it. The number of such people is relatively small and gives evidence of the great holding power of many of the traditional Indian cultures upon their members, even in the face of pressure and temptation to seek the advantages of the American culture. (p. 115)

One must contemplate exactly the advantages to which Havighurst was referring, as coerced pressure remained on the Indian student to conform and assimilate completely to dominant society’s standards. The decision was one of dichotomy, not a respectful integration of both worlds.

Negative views about the intelligence of Indian students prevailed into the 1960s. Peters (1963) conducted a study which found results contrasting to Havighurst & Hilkevitch's (1944) study pertaining to Hopi children. Peters assessed 59 Hopi children, aged 5-15 years old, using the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC), S.R.A. Primary Mental Abilities (PMA), the California Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM) and the Otis Alpha and Beta. Peters (1963) documented, "The testing procedures described in the test manuals were strictly followed" (p. 28). Peak performance was between the ages of seven and nine and was correlated with level of acculturation. The results reported:

Performance of any task which required language skills was severely depressed... there appears to be a definite curvilinear relationship between age and I.Q. scores... The Hopi have become partly acculturated, especially in the most general aspects of the American culture... The increasing Hopi cultural emphasis denies the child the same opportunities available to the children in the general population. This should not be construed to be a value judgment but merely affirms the fact that each person acquires his own unique culture.

The results indicate that it is possible to obtain a fair assessment of the Hopi child's intelligence with the Otis Alpha non-verbal and the WISC Performance scales. The other tests are heavily weighed with verbal and cultural content which handicap the Hopi child. (p.31)

As an observation in scientific study, the individuals assessed must clearly understand the language in which the test is administered and the instructions, thus the "fair assessment of the Hopi child's intelligence" results are suspect. Other studies continued to be

conducted, such as a study by Bloom, Davis and Hess (1965), where their findings exhibited the following:

The exact etiology for the lack of adequate identity in early adolescence is not known. However, there is a large body of evidence to suggest that self-image, industry, and self-control – important variables in academic achievement – are often lacking in Indians as well as youngsters of other minority groups. (Saslow & Harrover, 1968, p. 229)

Zintz (1969) included an excerpt from an article written by Spang (1965), which documented:

The cultural aspects that must be taken into account when counseling Indian students are reviewed here. Indians have little drive toward changing their lot. They have, as a group, a lack of information, no role models, and no reason for achievement; there is no desire to earn much money because relatives will move in. Indians are present-time oriented and have a lack of time-consciousness. The counselor must be careful not to force his value system upon the Indian. (p.48)

Additionally, Saslow and Harrover (1968) conducted research at the Albuquerque Indian School. In their article, *Psychosocial Adjustment of Indian Youth*, they make a “simple” point:

There is a failure in psychosocial development of Indian youth during the latency and early pubertal years which contributes heavily to the reported incidences of problem behavior and the reported differences between Indian and non-Indian youth. (p. 224)

Academically, dual positions continued to prevail about how the Native student educationally fared, depending upon their perceived cultural identification. Saslow et al. (1968) documented “students whose attitudes and beliefs show either a high level of traditionalism or a high level of acculturation achieve at the highest levels in school; those in a culturally intermediate position suffer academically by comparison,” (p. 229), which was based upon personal communication with Roessell. Regarding the results of some of these studies, in 1995, Slife and Williams asked pertinent questions about hidden assumptions in the behavioral sciences, which are relevant and applicable to the validity of the results of these historical studies.

However, an unprecedented transformational wave into mainstream education began to occur. At the end of the 1960s the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) was created.

During this time period, Deloria (1974) stated:

The movement of Indians into higher education in the 60's had accelerated everything in Indian affairs. In 1960 some 2,000 Indians were in college; a decade later the total came to 12,000 with several hundred in graduate school. For the first time the tribes were not forced to go beyond their communities to find qualified professionals. (p. 372)

In 1975, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (ISDEAA), Pub. L. 93-638, gave Indian tribes the authority to contract with the Federal government to operate programs serving their tribal members (Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, 2009). This Act was a major breakthrough for the emancipation of the welfare of Native Americans, as control of Indian education was

relinquished by the BIA and transferred to the tribes. ISDEAA was the first major Act which sanctioned government agencies to contract with federally recognized tribes. Some tribes, known as Public Law 95-638 tribes, took this opportunity to take ownership responsibility for their education and health care programs. The tribes received monetary funds from the U.S. government and determined the administration of the funding, resulting in many tribes opting to erect tribally operated schools and health care facilities, while meeting federal requirements and associated guidelines. This Act allowed many tribes the freedom to adapt programs to meet the specific needs of their tribal populations with an implicit understanding of collectivistic, spiritual, religious, and historical factors. In 1976, the Indian Health Care Improvement Act (IHCIA) was enacted (Warne & Frizell, 2014). This Act assisted in the efforts to improve the health of Native people via the enactment of a national policy.

Unfortunately, in the ISDEAA and IHCIA transitions and until recently, many non-culturally competent individuals were hired to provide services to Native American students and patients. Less than adequate education, medical, and behavioral health care was rendered. Duran (2006) surmised:

It is remarkable that deficiencies exist when one considers that most clinicians who work in Indian country also work in what are known as mainstream health care settings... None of these clinicians would ever think about getting away with such inadequate clinical work in a 'White' agency or hospital... Viewing people in a dehumanizing manner can only be described as racist, and because clinical practice is the issue, it makes sense to apply the term *clinical racism*. (p. 36)

Thus, as tribal entities compared services mainstream American society generally received to services tribal members were rendered, a large disparity in the quality of services to Native peoples became apparent. As a result, aggressive efforts amongst the tribes to educate tribal members in science, medical, and behavioral health arenas at higher levels have become paramount. The goal was for these individuals to return to their tribal lands to provide equitable and culturally competent health care and educational services to tribal peoples. In addition, Native scholars and graduates were undeniably tasked with redeveloping, rewriting, and establishing relevant policy on behalf of the Native population.

### **Contemporary Education Considerations**

The U.S. Census (2012) reported in 2011, Native Americans numbering 65,356, identifying solely as Native American, aged 25 years and older, had a graduate or professional degree. According to Ginder and Kelly-Reid (2013), as recently as 2011-12, Native student enrollment, totaling 252,314 students at all Title IV U.S. higher education institutions, comprised less than 1% percent of enrolled undergraduate students (232,929) and graduate students (19,385). In 2013, only 900 of 175,038 graduate degrees were conferred upon Natives (Tachine, 2015, para. 2). “A total of 126 American Indians or Alaskan Natives earned doctorates out of 52,760 total doctorates awarded in 2013, making them 0.2 percent of recipients, according to the National Science Foundation” (White, 2015, para.7). Although representation of Native students has improved in higher education, statistics reveal the Native graduation rate continues to represent less than one percent of the overall graduation rate.



Additionally, “while the national enrollment rate in graduate and first professional degrees has increased over the past two decades by 57%, enrollment for Natives in those same degrees fell ten percent” (Tachine, 2015, para.2). The matriculation rate into college for Native students attending high school is astounding. White’s (2015) article documented a perspective on this matter offered by Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, Arizona State University’s President's Professor of Indigenous Education and Justice, School of Social Transformation and Center for Indian Education director:

Of 100 Alaskan or Native Americans who start ninth grade, 48 will graduate from high school, he said. Twenty will go on to postsecondary education, and only one will finish a bachelor's degree within six years of starting. One in 2,500 Natives earns a master's degree, and one in 7,000 earns a Ph.D. (para.9)

Regardless of Native American students’ opportunities to higher education have increased, as a population, according to the American Council on Education, *we* remain less likely to complete a degree program than our Caucasian peers (Kim, 2011). Many circumstances contribute to this outcome, originating from traditional Native contexts, secular milieus, and navigating a combination of both worlds. “Cultural alienation, racism and discrimination, a lack of indigenous role models and financial stresses all can be serious impediments to Native graduate students completing their degrees” (Tachine, 2015, para. 3). In part, Sando (1992) suggested these barriers may also be credited to:

the American educational system is successful only in teaching dominant society values, methods, and superiority. We read only of their successes and their heroes... Indian children... generally have a positive concept of self when they

arrive at school. But the models they read about rarely if ever identify with their culture. (p. 143)

Garrett and Pichette (2000) also asserted, “Around the fifth and sixth grade, many Native American students begin to withdraw, becoming sullen, resistant, and indolent... (which may be attributed to) reconciling existing cultural differences” (p.7). Further, a Native student’s lack of fortitude (Tachine, 2015) should not be the immediate response to this complex phenomenon, as perhaps other factors may be at work and not completing school may be explained by other reasons. Weaver (2001) suggested the following:

Attending and doing well in school are defined as important and good by the surrounding white community, yet (Native) youth often drop out, not because they are ‘bad’ or incapable of school success but as a way of defying the dominant society. (p. 244)

Thus, the issue of graduation may be far less attributed to the Native student’s potential for academic rigor and in contemporary times, may continue to be related to pervasive stressors associated with acculturation and assimilation. Alternating between two distinct cultural worlds for some Native individuals is more difficult than for others, including and of importance, in the contemporary educational environment. Hill, Pace and Robbins (2010) surmised for some Native students,

their very survival depended upon their ability to know how to deal with and live in both the White world and their own. The struggles, tension, and difficulties this creates are enormous as persons negotiate expectations and obligations they have in two incompatible worlds. The shifting this requires also makes it very difficult to maintain a strong sense of balance and harmony in one’s life. (p. 21)

Unfortunately, in today's world of academia, a sense of isolation for many tribal attendees continues to be a pervasive stressor, which may present a confound in completing a secondary education degree. Greenfield, et al. (2006, p. 688) pondered, "Cross-culture value conflicts can take place both externally and internally. Little is known about how they make school at every level difficult for those who experience them." American Indian students, graduates, and professionals in practice can provide commentary on this topic, derived from their personal knowledge and experiences. Amanda Tachine (2015), Navajo, and doctoral graduate from University of Arizona's Center for the Study of Higher Education, elaborated on her personal experience in higher education:

Students like me find themselves the only Native person in their classes, department and discipline... The feeling of isolation can be compounded by a sense of marginalization, particularly if their research leads them away from the Eurocentric methodological approaches that predominate the social sciences. (para. 4-5)

In addition, an individual, identified as RedHeart64 (2015), a third year Native archaeology doctoral student, in response to Tachine's story posted his thoughts:

Getting a higher degree is especially difficult, as it seems that the 'system' believes in stress-testing every graduate student that comes through, not seeming to recognize the sorts of stresses we may already have on us (it's doubly rough if you're both American Indian AND a "non-traditional" student)... we don't need to be stress-tested or "taught how to handle stress". It already comes as a part of our package. (para. 6)

American Indian Psychologist Dr. Arthur McDonald asserted, “The phenomenon of becoming urban Indians to survive university systems prevents students from expressing basic tribal values and pursuing relevant research” (Trimble & Clearing-Sky, 2009, p. 348). Dr. McDonald spent many years traversing educational barriers in various professional positions, thus he possesses intimate knowledge about this topic. Unfortunately, Dr. McDonald’s personal experience continues to be a reality in institutions of higher education today, which can contribute to additional pressure and stress experienced by Native graduate students.

This additional pressure and stress, attributed to acculturation stress, may persist as a deterrent in Native students pursuing and completing higher education and advanced academic degrees. Many authors have cited Williams and Berry’s (1991) definition of acculturation stress, which discussed the association between anxiety, depression and other symptomology:

The concept of acculturative stress refers to one kind of stress, that in which the stressors are identified as having their source in the process of acculturation, often resulting in a particular set of stress behaviors that include anxiety, depression, feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptoms and identity confusion. Acculturative stress is thus a phenomenon that may underlie a reduction in health status of individuals, (including physical, psychological and social health). (p. 634)

This definition of acculturation stress encapsulated complex symptomology, however, in defining a word, term, or concept, according to Civish (2016), “When you define something, it sets margins,” thus other associated symptoms may be unaccounted for.

Despite these limitations, margins are necessary for being able to measure constructs such as acculturation stress. Oetting, Donnemeyer, Trimble and Beauvais (1998), expanded the definition of acculturation stress: “the experience of psychological difficulties as a consequence of changes in one’s sociocultural surroundings caused either by entry into a new culture or by the encroachment of a new culture on an already existing culture” (p. 2078). For many Native students today, the entry into a collegiate institution is their first tangible cultural integration experience and can result in acculturation stress.

Thus, in 2017, acculturation stress remains a prevalent consideration in many Native student’s educational opportunities, especially in higher education. Sando (1992) shed some light on acculturation stress in academia as he stated,

The students at universities who are Indian are still confronted with prejudice [and] counseling is inadequate and incapable of dealing with the native student... the dominant society makes no allowances for [traditional] additional duties and privileges of the Indians who must live in two cultures. (pp. 140-142)

Although Sando’s book was published in 1992, his observation remains relevant to many Native students enrolled in college today. Regarding higher academic pursuits,

McDonald and Chaney (2003) maintained:

It is not uncommon for Indian graduate students to be pressured to cut their braids, shed their accents, dress “professionally,” conform to the majority culture’s concept and value of “time,” and accept the sacrament of linear thinking. These ethnocentric conformists demands resonate with an eerie tone reminiscent of those experienced by their parents in the boarding schools. (p. 48)

In contemporary times, many Native students at all levels of education continue to contend with issues of acculturation and assimilation. Potentially professionals and researchers, such as Snipp (2000), have failed to realize or acknowledge that war was waged in the educational arena as it pertained to the historical education of Native pupils, which has reverberated into contemporary academia. He asserted, “The reasons that Indians are less successful than either Blacks or Whites in obtaining a postsecondary degree are not clear, but certainly this is a decided handicap in a labor market demanding ever higher levels of skill and intellectual ability” (p. 53). Regrettably, intellectual ability continues to be based on measures originating from a western Eurocentric scale.

As the continuum of the education of the Native American population continues to advance, definitions of intelligence and giftedness, based upon the white, middle class, continues to remain the standard; however multicultural psychology in its many manifestations has begun to emerge and redefine these constructs utilizing variations of culturally competent nomenclature. Regarding the general intelligence factor, Sternberg (2004) probed:

What does a general factor mean anyway? Some years back, Vernon (1971) pointed out that the axes of a factor analysis do not necessarily reveal a latent structure of the mind but rather represent a convenient way of characterizing the organization of mental abilities. Vernon believed that there is no one “right” orientation of axes, and indeed, mathematically, an infinite number of orientations of axes can be fit to any solution in an exploratory factor analysis. Vernon's point seems perhaps to have been forgotten or at least ignored by later theorists. (p. 331)

In present day study, some would argue American society has not moved too far from a century ago in the intelligence and giftedness arena. Intelligence and giftedness in ethnic individuals are routinely assessed with western Eurocentric instruments and continue to be measured by dominant society's standards, setting obdurate margins in conceptualizations of bell curves, standard deviations, and categorizations of ability and intelligence. These constructs are routinely measured utilizing assessment instruments such as the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS-IV), Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-V), and the Woodcock Johnson (WJ-IV). On the subject, Sternberg's (2004) insight remains valuable, as he contended "... It is important to realize that there is no one overall U.S. conception of intelligence... people have different conceptions, or implicit theories, of intelligence across cultures" (p. 335). Change, recognizing and acknowledging other conceptualizations of prominent magnitude, such as redefining intelligence and giftedness, takes time.

In an indigenous faction of the U.S. population, intelligence and giftedness are conceptualized in a way foreign to dominant U.S. society. Generally, in dominant society, the construct of giftedness as imparted by Romero-Little, Sims and Romero (2013), "was founded on Western psychology and an individual-based, competition-oriented paradigm [that] promotes a monocultural (Euro-American) and monolingual (English) view of giftedness that leaves no room for those besides the mainstream English-speaking learner" (p. 166). This concept and general use of giftedness in American dominant society remains meagre in its application with ethnic minority populations presently. Further, according to Romero (1994):

“Giftedness” is a global human quality encompassed by all individuals... In a traditional Native context, no merit is given to distinguishing or highlighting of individuals in terms of value and worth. Thus, the conventional concept of gifted which connotes the possession of superior abilities in comparison to others, is an alien and foreign concept in the traditional Keresan society. (p. 41)

Dana (1984) also conceptualized intelligence in a culturally competent manner respectful of variations pertaining to multicultural considerations:

Intelligence was a prediction of goodness-of-fit with the established middle-class Western society that enabled survival and facilitated mobility and access to material goods. The attempt to understand intelligence occurred within this framework of assumptions such that empirical scrutiny did yield communalities among tasks/tests that had been derived for prediction of future personal status rather than understanding of individual intellectual development and functioning... Ultimately what is required is a change in attitude toward culturally different persons that legitimatizes their construction of reality and honors their human condition. (p. 41)

Still today, few elementary and secondary Native American students have the opportunity to participate in gifted programs, based upon their assessment of performance reflected in FSIQ scores, testing means, and standard deviations. In 1972, the Marland Report initiated federal support for gifted and talented education, which was to include American Indians. However, according to Romero (1994),

The conventional “exclusive” gifted concept often promulgated in formal educational institutions reflects the values, needs and goals of the competitive



mainstream American society. Thus, the majority of gifted programs in schools focus on individualism and differentiation as means of meeting the needs of “the cream of the crop.” (p. 51)

Historically and contemporarily, Native American students’ test performance rarely achieves scores in the “cream of the crop” category, severely restricting Native students’ inclusion and participation in these school programs. “The dependence on using standardized achievement and intelligence test scores as criteria for selection of students into gifted and talented programs has limited Indian participation” (Tonemah, 1991, p. 4). Unfortunately, a one size fits all model of intelligence remains dominant in nationwide gifted programs. According to Harmon (2004),

Throughout the history of intelligence tests, problems have existed with the process of standardizing or norming intelligence and achievement tests. The average score on intelligence tests was originally the average for white middle-class individuals - not everyone in society. Even as the norming of tests began to include students of color, samples did not reflect the diversity found in classrooms. When adjustments of the norm were made for diverse populations, it was often viewed as "dumbing down" the tests. Subsequently, in the case of gifted education, where giftedness is usually identified as two standard deviations (30 points) from the average (middle-class white students), students of color are often not identified. Two standard deviations from the average of 100 is a score of 130. For students of color, the average is around 85-87 which means that these students must perform three standard deviations (45 points) from their average to be identified as gifted. According to Berlak (2001) the difference in the average

scores has persisted over time on intelligence tests, norm-referenced tests, and proficiency tests from all test publishers, regardless of the grade level from kindergarten through graduate school. Differences are also seen within dominant culture students from lower socioeconomic levels. A most accurate norming of a test occurs when a school district standardizes tests on its own students. (para. 12)

Today, entry into many universities and colleges require an individual to take some form of graduate examination for entry, such as the ACT or SAT. These assessments are a consideration in determining whether the applicant is competitive, or not, which many times serves as a barrier to higher education for ethnic minority applicants due to below average test performance. At the graduate and doctoral levels, taking exams such as the GRE, GMAT, or PCAT are generally required. These types of examination results are also used as a measure of a predictive success factor in graduate and doctoral programs, however these scores are not reflective of the depth of ability, especially with respect to Native students.

In 2017, assessment batteries *should* be more culturally sensitive and standardized norms *should* be established for American Indian populations and other ethnic minority groups. In as late as 2003, assessments such as the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, 3rd Edition (WISC-III) were routinely used to assess Native children into the new millennium. Incidentally, the WISC-III contained a question asking a child, Native American or otherwise, who discovered America (McDonald & Chaney, 2003). “These standardized tests are culturally biased toward the larger American society and do not take into consideration the ethnic background (tribal) life experience, or culture of American Indian or Alaska Native students” (Tonemah, 1991, p. 4). Modifications,

results, and findings of educational achievement of Native American child assessments have been addressed by monographs such as *WISC-III Normative Data for Tohono Oodham Native-American Children* (Tanner-Halverson, Burden, & Sabers, 1993), *IQ tests and their fairness for Native American Students* (Nicolosi & Stavrou, 2000), *Using the WISC-III with Navajo Children: A Need for Local Norms* (McLellan & Nellis, 2003), *Factor structure of the Wechsler Intelligence scales for children—fourth edition among referred Native American students* (Nakano and Watkins, 2013), and *Cultural Considerations in the Neuropsychological Assessment of American Indians/Alaska Natives* (Verney, Bennett, & Hamilton, 2016).

In consideration of a culturally appropriate assessment of intelligence and giftedness, in 1994, Romero conducted a study in the southwestern United States with indigenous Keres speaking Pueblo people, entitled *Identifying giftedness among Keresan Pueblo Indians*. She redefined the concept of intelligence and giftedness, as “fundamental values, cognitive and social developmental experiences, and other aspects of the Keresan Pueblo culture create cultural notions of giftedness notably different from the mainstream notions of giftedness” (Romero, 1994, p. 36). In this population of indigenous peoples, generations of tribal intellect and knowledge contribute to contemporary giftedness. “For this culturally diverse population, giftedness reaches far beyond a definition, a screening process, or an identification procedure; it reaches into the historic values, traditions, languages, and lifestyles of a culturally diverse group of people who are unlike the middle class American population in many respects” (Romero, 1994, p. 36). Giftedness in this population originates from primordial times.

Romero (1994) identified giftedness as “intrinsically linked with the cultural values and activities of the Keresan Pueblo society” (p. 40) in four interrelated cultural domains with intellect an inherent element:

Domain One: *A' dzii ayama' guunu*, the humanistic or affective domain (p. 40);

this domain is a reflection of fundamental principles and values and the human qualities such as compassion, the willingness to “give of one’s self,” sacrificing for others, empathy, generosity - intrinsically related with...community, sharing and harmony; endurance, perseverance, and inner strength (participants in traditional community functions) are viewed as generous in their efforts, time, and knowledge, self-initiating, and self-disciplined (p. 44-45)

Domain Two: *Weeka' dza*, the linguistic domain; special linguistic abilities

(regarding) a sophisticated oral tradition... reflected as fluency in the language, knowledge and appropriate use of language sequences and levels in a traditional Native speech, notable articulation and use of archaic and special words, special ability in syntax; auditory memory, recall, concentration, and motivation were identified as contributing factors (p. 46)

Domain Three: *Dzii guutuni*, the knowledge domain; (refers to) effective and

appropriate utilization of knowledge in a traditional Native context; pertains to traditions, language, history and ceremony; (within an) oral tradition, rel(iance) on visual and verbal long and

short-term memory in the recall of information pertaining to Native activities, events, and customs in the application of high level thinking abilities such as comprehension, concept formulation, reasoning, etc. (p. 47)

Domain Four: *Kaam 'asruni*, the domain of creativity associated with psychomotor abilities (p. 40); Psychomotor, perceptual organization, visual-motor coordination, spatial visualization, visual memory, and spatial reasoning are factors associated with this domain. (p. 49)

Mainstream psychology would challenge this concept of intelligence and giftedness, however Romero clearly illustrated the intellectual and cognitive abilities necessary to meet the intelligence criteria that western intelligence acknowledges and values. The domains, according to this conceptualization of western intelligence, demonstrated the same FSIQ (full scale IQ score) and abilities measured by assessment instruments such as the WAIS, WISC, WMS, and Woodcock Johnson. Specifically, the WISC - FSIQ measures Perceptual Reasoning, Verbal Reasoning, Working Memory and Processing Speed, which Romero's study measured.

Various professional fields of psychology have acknowledged that constructs of intelligence and giftedness vary within cultures, though mainstream academia's approach has changed little. This concept was captured in Greenfield, Trumbull, Keller, Rothstein-Fisch, Suzuki, and Quiroz' (2006) article, *Cultural conceptions of learning and development*, which referenced the study conducted by Romero. They introduced a

bridging cultures project, which focused on teachers experimenting with new techniques, then reported their results to be used as a basis for others to learn from. The project used ethnography as a method for teachers to get to know the individual parents and provided an opportunity for the teachers to learn more about the backgrounds of their students.

Although the project could be a valuable tool, the manner in which these authors portrayed tribal ways of knowing, parsimoniously reduced Keres-speaking Pueblo Indians giftedness, as it pertained to intelligence and knowledge to “two different sets of apprenticeship practices and two different concepts of creativity” (Greenfield, et al., 2006, p. 678). They explained apprenticeship by “simply mean[ing] informal teaching and learning, a type of transmission that has evolved from primitive roots in nonhuman primates (Boesch, 1991; Greenfield et al., 2000; Whitten, 1999)” (Greenfield et al., 2006, p. 678). According to these authors, the intelligence and knowledge of the Keres people was associated with apprenticeship and the giftedness of this group was foundationally based in “primitive roots in nonhuman primates.” One must question the devaluation of intelligence in present day study in academia. Santa Fe Indian School Co-Director, Regis Pecos (2017) stated in a different context, “History is cyclical. The same policies are re-imagined in a different form;” however his remarks are relevant to this issue. Also germane to this issue, McDonald & Chaney (2003) stated:

Mainstream psychology continues to grapple with issues of scientific racism primarily as a function of the persistent adherence of many psychologists to an ethnocentrically narrowed view of human nature imbedded deeply in psychology’s European roots – to the exclusion of alternative and equally valid perspectives. (p. 47)

They defined scientific racism as using scientific methodology to propagate cultural, racial, and ethnic stereotyping (McDonald & Chaney, 2003).

Regardless of undesirable attitudes about the acquisition of giftedness as proposed by Greenfield, et al. (2006), Sternberg (2004) asserted:

Individuals in other cultures often do not do well on our tests, nor would we always do well on theirs. The processes of intelligence are universal, but their manifestations are not. If we want best to understand, assess, and develop intelligence, we need to take into account the cultural contexts in which it operates. We cannot now create culture-free or culture-fair tests, given our present state of knowledge. But we can create *culture-relevant tests*, and that should be our goal. (p. 336)

Mail, Conner and Conner (2006) stated, “It is widely believed that Indian communities have much to teach others ethnic groups about resilience, survival, and respect for one’s social, psychological, and physical environment” (p. 151).

Recently ten Pueblo Indians graduated from the Arizona State University School of Transformation in May 2015, receiving their doctoral degrees in Justice Studies and Social Inquiry. “Leaders of the program said the 10 may represent the largest group of Native Americans ever to earn doctorates in the same place at the same time” (White, 2015, para. 4). Although graduate school representation of Native students remains in the minority, and the stark reality of these students are not representative of statistical significance, more Native peoples are aspiring to acquire their higher education in various fields. Despite the odds, many of these individuals retain their culture, cultural participation, traditionalism, cultural identity, and cultural identification. These resilient

individuals are returning to their tribal communities, or other tribal entities, and using their higher degrees for the betterment of the respective tribal communities and/or general overall well-being of the Native population. On many fronts, this education is utilized as a resource for tribes to confront adverse political issues addressing historical and contemporary tribal affairs.

### **Culture, Cultural Identity, and Cultural Identification**

Many factors have greatly impacted the culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification of many generations of living Native Americans, in all age categories, as well as those now deceased and yet to be born. Duran, Firehammer and Gonzalez (2008) profoundly wrote, "Culture is part of the soul" (p. 288). In consideration of the ethnic makeup of the United States, culture, race, ethnicity, cultural identity, and cultural identification are convoluted and challenging topics in clinical psychology. Presently in the field, some scientist practitioners, including faculty members of esteemed institutions, contend as human beings, we are all the same; as we all have a brain, a heart, and emotions, thus race, ethnicity, culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification do not affect clinical case conceptualization or psychological application, assessment, or technique.

Contrastingly, in conducting literature searches, a multitude of both ethnic and mainstream scholars contend otherwise. Caldwell, et al. (2005) declared, "... Culture informs the design and process of research, instrumentation, interpretation of results, and dissemination" (p. 3). Regarding these psychological considerations in working with American Indian populations, much has been written by Native psychologists Joseph Trimble, Eduardo Duran, J. Douglas McDonald, Joseph Gone, Steven Verney, Delores



Bigfoot and others, which may be readily accessed for further reference by conducting a Google search. In addition, members of various tribal nations would disagree, as proposed by N. Scott Momaday, of Kiowa descendency, when he stated, “The American Indian is distinguished by certain things, certain perceptions of himself in relation to the world around him” (1974, p. 14), a common Native perspective that does not generally reverberate into dominant society.

Though the definitions of race, ethnicity, culture, cultural identification, and cultural identity vary in scientific fields, these concepts are critical to understanding and application in the scientific fields, with their margins and limitations (Civish, 2016). For example, Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble, and Beauvais (1998) stated that defining culture was difficult and possibly over 175 definitions of culture existed. They indicated there may be some agreement and commonalities in these various definitions including:

- 1) Culture is a body of knowledge, attitudes, and skills for dealing with the physical and social environment that are passed on from one generation to the next.
- 2) Cultures have continuity and stability, because each generation attempts to pass the culture on intact.
- 3) Cultures also change over time as the physical, social, political, and spiritual environments change. (p. 2081)

Regarding the convoluted discussion of culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification, Betancourt and Lopez (1993) theorized when culture was defined in psychologically relevant elements, quantitative applications could be utilized and “the relationship of the cultural elements to psychological phenomena [could] be directly assessed” (p. 631). Oetting (1993) asserted, “Cultural identification, a personality trait, is a persistent, long-term underlying characteristic that organizes cognitions, emotions, and

behaviors” (p. 33). Betancourt and Lopez (1993), also acknowledged that culture was not the single most important variable in psychology; however, “it is one of the many factors that contribute to the complexities of psychological processes, and it is obviously important to the understanding of culturally diverse populations both inside and outside of the United States” (p. 630). They also discussed Triandis’ definitions of culture, which included subjective culture inclusive of social norms, roles, beliefs, and values. Additionally, “these subjective cultural elements include a wide range of topics, such as familial roles, communication patterns, affective styles, and values regarding personal control, individualism, collectivism, spirituality, and religiosity” (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993, p. 631). Phinney (1996) expanded the discussion by positing:

Ethnicity is perhaps most often thought of as culture. A common assumption about the meaning of ethnicity focuses on the cultural characteristics of a particular group, that is, the norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors that are typical of an ethnic group and that stem from a common culture of origin transmitted across generations. (p. 920)

Oetting, Donnemeyer, et al. (1998) furthered the discussion by suggesting, “Ethnicity, perceived membership in a cultural group, and cultural identification, the strength of one’s affiliation with a group, develop primarily through interactions with the primary socialization sources, the family, the school and peer clusters” (p. 2075). Also in 1998, with regard to identity, Fogelson stated:

We hear and read much about identity politics, identity struggles, and ethnic identity, but rarely is identity itself clearly or consistently defined. One set of meanings refers to an image or set of images of oneself or one’s group. The basic

notions of identity in these usages involve communication of a sense of oneself or one's group intrapsychically to oneself or projected outwardly to others... Identity struggles are more social than individual psychological phenomena. Identities are negotiated through interaction with another person or group... Identities can change through social interaction. (pp. 41-42)

Chiarella, Oetting and Swaim (1998) simply contended, "A cultural identity is a person's affiliation with a specific group" (p. 131). Oetting, Donnemeyer, et. al. (1998) defined cultural identity as, "mark(ing) a person's membership in a group" (p. 2086). Chiarella et al. (1998) delineated cultural identification from cultural identity. They inferred:

Whereas cultural identity can be qualitative, cultural identification is quantitative; it assesses the strength of a person's links to a particular culture... Cultural identification... is related to involvement in cultural activities, to living as a member of and having a stake in culture, and to the presence of relevant cultural reinforcements that lead to perceived success in the culture. (p. 131)

In 1998, Oetting, Donnemeyer, et al. expounded on cultural identification:

Cultural identification is the extent to which a person feels involved in a culture along with their feelings that they are invested in that culture or have a stake in that culture. Those with high identification with a culture perceive themselves as adapted to or adjusted to that culture. They feel capable and competent in relation to that culture. They are more likely to view events from a perspective of that culture and are more likely to be involved in cultural activities. (p. 2088)

In many cases, the culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification of generations of Native families have been affected by concerted assimilation and acculturation efforts. One detrimental result of these efforts was the loss of indigenous languages, which have significantly affected all aspects of identity of Native peoples. Remnants of the English-only policy enacted in the late 1800s remain at the forefront as indigenous language speakers are continuously decreasing. According to Dussias (2008):

As generations of Native American students spent years in school subject to the English-only policy, the policy took its toll, making a substantial contribution to the process of endangerment and extinction of many Native American languages. The English-only policy, while seemingly part of the law of the past, is not, then, really past, in the sense of being over and done with. It continues to have recognizable effects today, for Native American communities throughout the United States. (p. 18)

Though, as retraditionalization and revitalization efforts amongst tribal members have been initiated, Frantz (1999) opined:

The ever increasing political self-confidence, the renewed emphasis on sovereignty, the intensified expansion of bicultural methods of instruction, the deliberate promotion of Indian languages, and the revival of numerous religious ceremonies are clear signs that American Indians are rediscovering their identity. It can therefore be said that tribal populations, are also distinctive cultural enclaves within the dominant Anglo-American society, enclaves whose survival for future generations seems to be assured. (p. 161)

For some tribes, Frantz' description of the rediscovery of identity may be a realistic generalization, but many tribes, although a minority, have fortunately retained their cultural identity throughout efforts to civilize, hence assimilate and acculturate them. However, for other tribes, revitalization efforts are critical for the survival of traditional ways in contemporary society, but do not necessarily implicate a rediscovery of identity.

The question of belonging and identity for indigenous Native peoples in the Americas begins at the forefront of the beginning of time, not by Native Americans themselves, but by insistent scholarly individuals who cannot and will not accept *our* timeline of inhabitation of North America. For instance, "Although continuing controversy surrounds questions of timing of aboriginal migrations (Dillehay & Meltzer 1991), scientific consensus leaves no doubt about the origin of American Indians in Asia" (DeMallie & Rhoades, 2000, p. 3). It is not enough to leave these matters to adults, but Native children are introduced to this hegemonic discourse when they attend mainstream educational institutions and are exposed to another's historical account beginning in the early years of education. This concept of migration is contradictory to the origin narrative taught by elders from infancy. Unfortunately, without scientific proof chronicling these sequences of events, they are unacknowledged as factual by scientists.

Currently, a lack of early findings in North America exists and documented prehistory still has large unexplained scientific gaps. Nevertheless, archaeological findings appear to provide increasing support of Natives' account of inhabitation of the Americas. First, there was a finding of Clovis Man in Clovis, New Mexico dating back to 9500 BC. Speculations of earlier evidence of man subsist, as "Some archaeologists... think that man lived in New Mexico over 20,000 years ago" (Lavash, 1980, p. 18).

Currently pending controversy about the discovery of Pendejo Cave in New Mexico, with findings dating back to as early as 55,000 BP (Lekson, 2009) have emerged, furthering the debate. Potentially, the discovery of older scientific evidence in the Americas may impact the comfort level of scientists, as the canonical texts of world history may have to be rewritten if earlier findings are substantiated!

Culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification have also been impacted by the unauthorized removal and in some cases, sale of traditional Native religious artifacts, and the repatriation of ancestral remains. In the name of science, private collectors and public institutions across the country have had possession of ancestral remains and religious artifacts for many years. There are contributing factors, including archaeologists and anthropologists excavating the remains of the ancestors of many Native peoples across the country, callous gravediggers selling articles stolen from burial sites, and overseas auctions.

Post 1990, pursuant to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), 25 U.S.C. 3005, museums and institutions, such as Harvard University, Phillips Academy, The Maxwell Museum, The Brooklyn Museum, and the National Park Service have begun to return the remains of Native peoples, ranging in age from infants to elders, and cultural patrimony items they have had in their possession for decades. Since the 1990s, upon the return of the remains and artifacts, which have been witnessed by tribal members of all ages, ceremonies have been held for proper rest or restoration of items. As a population, these reprehensible acquisitions have impacted all aspects of culture, identity, and identification of tribal members, from elders to infants. The effects were exemplified in a 1999 New York Times (Robbins, 1999) story about the repatriation

of Pecos Pueblo remains housed at museums at Harvard University and Phillips Academy at Andover. The poignant story depicted details of an 87-year old tribal member weeping as he waited for the procession to begin to the site of reburial, wishing to walk the last mile of the journey. The story also contained the following:

At Jemez Day School, a Bureau of Indian Affairs elementary school, Paul Tosa had another task added to his usual year-end job of readying his sixth-grade students for graduation to middle school: He also explained the repatriation, which he said was an event as momentous for the Jemez as the Civil War was for the nation.

The students were full of questions about the repatriation process and the remains themselves. "The big issue is why so many," Mr. Tosa said. Other questions followed, he said: "Why from Pecos so far over there? Who gave them permission? Why has it taken so long to get them back?" he said.

For answers, Mr. Tosa, a Pecos descendant and former governor of the Pueblo of Jemez, relied on the history he has been teaching them all year. The history curriculum begins with the stories of the Jemez and Pecos people that Mr. Tosa has heard since childhood from his father and grandfather, who heard them from their own grandfathers.

Mr. Tosa integrates the Pueblo stories into Greek mythology and European and American history. On the walls of his classroom, he has hung pictures of the Hubble telescope and fossils alongside hand-lettered posters of native stories and newspaper clippings about contemporary Native American issues. (para. 17-20)

As recently as November 2015, tribes are continuing to recover religious items, such as with Laguna Pueblo (Siow, 2015). Egregiously, there have also been recent overseas auctions wherein items of cultural patrimony are up for sale (Constable, 2016; ICTMN Staff, 2013). These events continue to have a substantial impact on the culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification of tribes and tribal members in religious, secular, political, and jurisdictional venues. Citizens in dominant society generally do not have to contend with these types of circumstances and events pertaining to repatriation, directly related to their ancestral heritage.

Extensive birth name changes have also had an impact on the culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification of American Indians, historically and contemporarily. Historically, prior to admission to an orthodox educational setting, most Native individuals were given their singular birth name, sometimes referred to as their Indian name, which had purpose and became an integral part of a Native individual's identity. In the boarding school era, upon entering government or mission schools, Indian names were routinely either omitted entirely, transformed into English names, or individuals were issued an entirely new Anglicized name, or assigned a foreign surname. Records in existence authenticated the name changes of individuals, such as documented in a ledger entitled Roster of the pupils of the Albuquerque Indian School For Year Beginning Jan 1<sup>st</sup> and Ending September 30, 1881. For example, entry #23, a ten-year-old female from Laguna Pueblo, whose name was Gi'se ro, was renamed Ruth Plummer or entry # 117, a 13-year-old Acoma Pueblo male, whose name was Ko wi' ka, was renamed Charles Dixon (Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, 2014). This ledger also contained a record of individuals who died at the school. Today, some Native individuals have legally changed



their names back to their ancestral names or are known only by their Indian names in their respective communities.

The culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification of Native Americans have also been impacted by the confiscation of homelands of ancestral times, land reassignments, and governmental fee to trust transactions. Many tribal homelands, inclusive of sacred and religious sites, had been seized through less than legal means pursuant to U.S. government initiatives. For instance, in Taos Pueblo, New Mexico, the area known as Blue Lake had been unlawfully taken. Upon a concerted campaign transpiring over decades, Blue Lake was finally returned to the Taos Pueblo People in 1970 (Nies, 1996; Sando, 1976; Deloria 1974). As another example, thousands of acres were omitted from a federal survey in or about the middle 1800s, which included sacred sites, in the Sandia Mountains, which affected Sandia Pueblo in New Mexico (Nathanson, 2014). Through federal litigation, the case was adjudicated in the 2003 T'uf Shur Bien Preservation Trust Area Act, and provisions were being finalized in 2014. Many tribes have also had to buy back land that was originally theirs in order to increase their land base. Over the seven-year Obama administration, 397,268 acres were placed into trust for U.S. tribes (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2016). Recently, in January 2016, 89,978 acres of land were placed into trust by BIA for the Pueblo of Isleta (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2016). The Black Hills in South Dakota remain in litigation.

These different land transactions and acquisitions have had a significant impact in the culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification of many Native Americans, which contemporary society cannot understand, based upon a polarity in worldview and difference in values and beliefs. Gone (2008) further discussed the implications of *space*

and *place* within a cultural psychology context, wherein robust mental health resulted from “participation in indigenous ritual spaces enacted or performed in designated sacred places on or near the reservation” (p. 392). So while these afore-referenced land bases are demonstrative of pristine real estate by non-Natives, the value of these lands are priceless to Native peoples, as they are components of a complex traditional system that imparts ethnopsychological healing and overall well-being.

Belonging, identity, culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification are further complicated by the definition of what constitutes an Indian, both living within the exterior boundaries of the reservation and off. Weaver (2001) asserted, “Indigenous identity is a truly complex and somewhat controversial topic. There is little agreement on precisely what constitutes an indigenous identity, how to measure it, and who truly has it” (p. 240). Some contend mere self-identification is sufficient, because they were informed they had Native ancestry as evidenced by high cheek bones and black hair (Hack, Larrison & Gone, 2014), or their great-grandmother was an Indian princess (Deloria, 1969); many demand proof. On this subject, O’Neill, (1996) contended:

... Not everyone who is formally enrolled in the tribes is Indian; in which there are Indians who are not enrolled; in which people can be “more Indian” or “less Indian” than others; and in which stinging accusations of the self-serving nature of some people’s claims to being Indian sometimes surface out of the underground currents of social relations. (p. 46)

In their chapter, Kickingbird and Rhoades (2000) indicated, “There is no single statute that defines Indian for all federal purposes (Cohen 1982, 23)” (p. 62). The terms Native American and American Indian, which individuals identify as such, and those that

are, or conversely are not, remains controversial. There are flawed reasons and motives an individual may assert an indigenous background. Weaver (2001) noted, "... A climate in which a Native identity is seen as fashionable and perhaps financially profitable may lead an individual to assert an indigenous identity" (p. 244). Controversy is further fueled when professionals, scholars and lay persons alike check the Native American ethnicity box on miscellaneous surveys and applications; an identity derived from results of a random unscientific DNA test, a confabulated genealogy search, or a belief being of American Indian heritage will advance an individual's career in some way. When those results are further examined or inquiries are made of the individual about lineage, a common response leads to inconsistent tribal affiliation identification, the confirming documentation being lost, misplaced, or those records burned in the great fire of (whatever the time period). Hilary Weaver (2001) stated:

It is fairly common for the nonnatives I encounter to have difficulty seeing any reason for concern when a person claims to be Native but has no cultural knowledge, community connection, or verifiable ancestry... pretenders will ultimately get what they deserve without the intervention from the "identity police." (pp. 250, 252)

Haskell Indian Nations President Venida Chenault summarized the contempt held by many Native peoples when she said, "I think it's offensive when an individual claims the privilege of being native but has no sense of responsibility or integrity in terms of fulfilling any commitment to a tribe... Otherwise it's simply a box they check" (Flaherty, 2015, para. 16).

Rhoades, D'Angelo, and Rhoades (2000) postulated, "No truly representative studies or reports of the U.S. Indian population exist" (p. 95). The last U.S. Census in 2010 used self-reporting measures, thus skepticism must be applied to some of those individuals claiming identification as American Indian. As any skilled scientist practitioner should, one must retain a healthy skepticism and question the accuracy (over-reporting) of such data. Over-reporting was emphasized in a 1996 study conducted by Phinney, as she cited the results of an interesting study conducted by Pavel, Sanchez, and Machamer (1994) wherein 259 students claimed American Indian or Alaskan Native status. Of those students, only 52 were able to verify their membership. In the actual study, Pavel et al.'s article, *Ethnic Fraud, Native Peoples, and Higher Education*, the abstract read:

This article suggests that, because of fraud among college students and applicants claiming to be American Indians or Alaska Natives, claimants be required to prove membership in a federally recognized tribe or nation. In a pilot verification project at the University of California, Los Angeles, less than 15% of claimants provided appropriate documentation. (p. 1)

Unfortunately, this event exemplified the problem of student Native self-identification in institutions of higher learning. Without verification of tribal identification, fraudulent ethnic self-identification may be rampant. Fraudulent ethnic identity also protrudes into individuals accessing mental health service delivery.

Hack, Larrison and Gone (2014) conducted a study entitled *American Indian identity in mental health services utilization data from a rural Midwestern sample*. The authors investigated the self-identified American Indian status of 14 individuals obtaining

mental health services. The majority of participants claimed heritage based upon being told they had Indian ancestors (12 reported lineages mostly associated with Cherokee), and did not feel their racial identity was relevant to their mental health care. The study emphasized the importance of a thorough clinical interview, culturally appropriate interventions, and “that care should be taken when estimating the relationship between self-identified race, cultural identity, and mental health services in the absence of data beyond a census-type checked box” (p. 74). Besides the purported biological lineage, in this sample, self-identification was also based upon physical, stereotypical features including high cheek bones, darker skin, and black hair.

Regarding identity fraud, the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Council (2015) released the following statement:

#### NAISA Statement on Indigenous Identity Fraud

Issues of Indigenous identity are complex. Hundreds of years of ongoing colonialism around the world have contributed to this complexity. However, such complexity does not mean that there are no ethical considerations in claiming Indigenous identity or relationships with particular Indigenous peoples. To falsely claim such belonging is Indigenous identity fraud.

As scholars of Native American and Indigenous Studies, we are expected to undertake our work with a commitment to the communities with whom we work, about whom we write, and among whom we conduct research--we are expected to uphold the highest ethical standards of our profession. Further, as scholars it is incumbent upon us to be honest about both our ancestries and our involvement with, and ties to, Indigenous communities. This is true whether we

are Indigenous or non-Indigenous. In no way are we implying that one must be Indigenous in order to undertake Native American and Indigenous Studies. We are simply stating that we must be honest about our identity claims, whatever our particular positionalities. Belonging does not arise simply from individual feelings – it is not simply who you claim to be, but also who claims you. When someone articulates connections to a particular people, the measure of truth cannot simply be a person’s belief but must come from relationships with Indigenous people, recognizing that there may be disagreements among Indigenous people over the legitimacy of a particular person’s or group’s claims. According to the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues statement on Indigenous identity, the test is “Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member.”

Being dishonest about one’s identity and one’s connections to Indigenous communities damages the integrity of the discipline and field of Native American and Indigenous Studies and is harmful to Indigenous peoples. If we believe in Indigenous self-determination as a value and goal, then questions of identity and integrity in its expression cannot be treated as merely a distraction from supposedly more important issues. Falsifying one’s identity or relationship to particular Indigenous peoples is an act of appropriation continuous with other forms of colonial violence. The harmful effects of cultural and identity appropriation have been clearly articulated by Native American and Indigenous Studies scholars over the past four decades and it is our responsibility to be aware of these critiques.

The issue is not one of enrollment, or blood quantum, or recognition by the state, or meeting any particular set of criteria for defining “proper” or “authentic” Indigenous identity. The issue is honesty and integrity in engaging the complexities, difficulties, and messiness of our histories (individual and collective), our relations to each other, and our connections to the people and peoples who serve as the subjects of our scholarship.

For these reasons, the Council of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association expresses its conviction that we are all responsible to act in an ethical fashion by standing against Indigenous identity fraud. (NAISA, n.d.)

The NAISA statement eloquently communicated the ethical implications in claiming an Indigenous identity.

Further complicating indigenous identity involves the concept of blood quantum. “Indians in the United States have to deal with blood quantum, the amount of Native blood a person has – full, half, quarter, eighth, and on down the line – and with whether or not they are a card-carrying member of a federally recognized tribe” (King, 2012, p. 167). According to Fogelson (1998):

By the nineteenth century the European “Myth of blood” became transmogrified into the calculation of a blood quantum to ascertain degree of “Indianness”... Blood quantum functioned more as an administrative mechanism for effecting policies of inclusion and exclusion, entitlement and disqualification in such issues as child custody, receipt of health benefits and scholarships, artistic license to authenticate one’s work as Indian art, political and criminal jurisdiction, eligibility

for healthcare, settlements of land claims, mining and other resource royalties, and local and federal taxation. (p. 46-47)

The designation and establishment of reservations have further impacted culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification. Reservations were created in exchange for the confiscation of tribal lands in exchange for promises the U.S. government made for different types of services, in perpetuity to Native entities. Snipp (2000) contended:

Reservations are special places because they represent the last remaining lands belonging to people who once claimed all of North America. Reservations are also special places because for most Indians, including many urban Indians, they are the touchstones of cultural identity, places with sacred sites, the location of ceremonial life, and an essential symbol of tribal life. Reservations were once places where Indians were segregated from the mainstream of the dominant society, but they have become places the importance of which cannot be overestimated. (p. 50)

Reservations, designated as “special places,” presented a romanticized tone to their establishment.

McDonald, Morton, and Stewart (1993) used an inclusive approach to identifying Native Americans and American Indians. Their definition utilized both legal and broad descriptions. Their description included an individual who belonged to a federal, state, or locally recognized tribe by blood quantum, descendency, or adoption through a ceremony. Further, the individual strived to preserve the traditional Indian fashion. Their definition contrasted Fogelson’s (1998) as he contended:



Native American identity is minimally premised, both endogenously and exogenously, on three prerequisites: blood and descent, land, and community... Blood, land and community remain the *sine qua non* for legal recognition as tribal Indians, whereas other identity markers tend to be employed more flexibly: they can be lost and regained or, if I may be excused, invented or reinvented. (p. 40-44)

Enter the political atmosphere, in 1977, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) and National Tribal Chairman's Association

issued a joint resolution that, in the absence of specific tribal designation, preferred the term American Indian rather than Native American when referring to the indigenous population of the "lower 48." Alaska Native is reserved for the indigenous population of that state. Native Hawaiians are not included in either of these groups. (LeMaster, P., Beals, J., Novins, D., Manson, S. & AI-SUPERPPF Team, 2004, p. 243-244)

However, for the purposes of this dissertation, American Indian and Native American are used interchangeably.

To further complicate Native American culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification, the word *tribe* also has different connotations. DeMallie and Rhoades (2000) opined:

The problem of trying to place numbers on tribal units ultimately comes down to the problem of the term *tribe* itself, which represents Euro-American, not American Indian, political concepts... only with the imposition of treaty and

reservation system were American Indians forced into a single system of assumed “tribal” identities. (p. 8)

Frantz (1999) contended *tribes* similarly utilized some conceptual framework of Native American/ American Indian identity:

...The word “tribe” is itself rather vague and can be interpreted in different ways, and partly by the fact that the Indian peoples in the course of history were designated by white people in different ways. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was still customary to regard Indian tribes as “nations,” a designation which was replaced by “tribe” and sometimes “band” in the course of the nineteenth century. The process of degrading the Indians of North America can thus be seen, even in the language... It is not easy to give a commonly accepted definition of the term “tribe.” Somewhat simplified, it means a number of families, clans or groups who speak a common language, have similar institutions, customs and traditions, show a more or less pronounced group consciousness, and perhaps also have a common ancestry. Yet tribes have commonly accepted members of other tribes, indeed sometimes a whole tribe, into their own. (p. 80-81)

Kickingbird and Rhoades (2000) provided another perspective in that, “Indian tribes are distinct political entities – governments with executive, legislative, and judicial powers. Members of tribes are citizens of both their Indian nation and the United States, a fact that has contributed to jurisdictional conflicts” (p. 65).

All of the afore-referenced transformations in the lives of American Indians have had implications in the areas of cultural identity, cognition, cultural identification, and

personality. In mid-twentieth century, Spindler and Spindler (1957) posited there were different types of Native psychological types generated in culture change. These personality types consisted of five types of individuals. One was identified as the Native Type, “raised as an Indian... he thinks and acts Indian” (p. 154). Another was the Reaffirmative Native Type, “usually represented by the younger men, raised Indian... he encountered blocks in his adaptation to white culture” (p. 155); the Transitional Type, “the individuals who are clearly suspended between the white and Indian ways of life” (p. 155); and the Special Deviant Type, members associated with groups that “constitute a variant solution to problems of culture conflict and self-doubt engendered by the culture change situation” (p. 156). Lastly, they identified an Acculturated Type wherein:

the psychological constellation of this type, emotions and aggressions are highly channelized toward the achievement of success, exhibited in economic and occupational attainments and the accumulation of property. Anxiety is present, but is integrated with the personality structure as generalized tension, which helps make the individual quick to respond and keeps him moving toward his goals. In short this type is the achievement-oriented middle-class American personality. (p. 156-157)

Oetting, Donnermeyer, et al. (1998) proposed that cultural identification was not a zero sum game, “individuals can actually have any pattern of cultural identification” (p. 2089). Ramirez (1984) and Berry (1983) discussed biculturalism as various combinations of cultural identification that could occur with minority and majority cultures. Dozier, Simpson and Yinger (1957) discussed multi-cultural classification using the terminology integration and assimilation. They stated:

... The integration of American Indians does not imply their absorption into some dominant homogenous culture... After centuries of contact between the Indian cultures and the dominant groups, America has not yet formulated a policy to which there is anywhere nearly universal assent, either among Indians or on the part of policy makers. To some, *E pluribus unum* means that a new unity will be woven out of the diverse strands of our society, each group perhaps contributing to the total social and cultural life, but losing its separate identity. This we shall call assimilation. To others, *E pluribus unum* means a more complicated kind of unity, one that permits differences and even welcomes them as contributions to the richness of society. Only those differences that lead to disruptive conflicts are opposed. This interpretation implies, moreover, full equality in health services, in educational, political, and economic opportunity among all groups. This we shall call integration. (p. 159)

In 1991, Oetting and Beauvais introduced the Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism. Their theory suggested that identification with more than one culture was orthogonal rather than unidirectional or bidirectional. This theory proposed identification with another culture did not detract from another culture and the cultural identification dimensions were independent.

LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) postulated that there were different ways to describe the biculturalism of American Indian identity. They discussed five models of second-culture acquisition: assimilation, acculturation, alternation, multiculturalism, and fusion. These acquisitions involved “the process of change that occurs in transitions within, between, and among cultures” (p. 396). They did not include

traditionalists, as understandably, this term implies no integration of a second culture. According to Oetting, Donnemeyer, et al. (1998), “individuals can have any pattern of cultural identification... a number of different combinations of cultural identification with minority and majority culture can occur” (p. 2089).

For the purposes of this research study, and the approaches to psychological treatment and interventions, the discussion of cultural identification will be limited to traditional, marginal, bi-cultural, and assimilated, considering aspects of acculturation. The author of this dissertation also acknowledges and realizes 500 years of occupation has had a tremendous impact on Native culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification, which cannot be precisely measured or neatly placed into compartmentalized categories.

### **Traditional Orientation**

Traditionalism does not necessarily imply degree of blood quantum, as blood quantum is associated with meeting a minimum standard for inclusion for membership on tribal census rolls. Traditionalism refers to an individual embracing their culture of origin, to the exclusion or minimal incorporation, of dominant society. McGuire (1992) alluded that Native traditionalists “did not hold a linear view of past leading to present. Their past is manifest in the present and is known through spiritual sources, ritual, and oral tradition” (p. 828). Chronological considerations are null or of little consideration from this standpoint.

In a traditional orientation, the manifestation of illness may be defined from an entirely foreign worldview perspective than a member of dominant society. On this subject, Rhoades & Rhoades (2000) wrote:

A generally accepted Indian concept of *health* is that of a tangible reality, not simply the state of being free of disease. This health, or wellness, is often described as the ability to exist in a harmonious relationship with all other living things, but also with a number of spirits, including a great and all-powerful spirit. The emphasis on the spirit world, supernatural forces, and religion stand in sharp contrast to the secular emphasis on disturbed physiology and purely physical explanations of Western medicine. (p. 404)

Nelson and Manson (2000) valuably contributed their expertise by stating, “As one might anticipate, traditional Indian persons frequently view mental disorder as a lack of balance of forces within the individual, which require harmonious restoration of mental processes” (p. 312). For healing to occur from a traditional perspective, the understanding of a holistic worldview is imperative.

Based upon LaFromboise, Trimble, and Mohatt (1993), Witko stated, “The *traditional* person observes the ‘old ways.’ He or she knows little or no English and speaks primarily in the Native language. This type of person is less likely to seek help from a therapist for problems he or she is having at home. This person is most likely to turn to a traditional healer like a shaman” (p. 12). From a treatment approach, generally western methodological clinical and medical approaches will not be effective with an individual orienting as a traditionalist. Reid & Rhoades (2000) proposed, “Taking one day at a time, maintaining the hope that the next day may bring improvement, is the usual method of bearing an illness” (p. 420).

## **Bicultural Orientation**

Biculturalism, as applied to Native Americans, allows for validation and reaffirmation of an individual's identity by both cultures. Chiarella, et al. (1998) maintained, "Becoming involved in a new culture does not demand relinquishing the old" (p.132). Biculturalism validates both traditional values and competencies in dominant culture, allowing the person to consolidate a sense of self.

A person with a bicultural orientation may utilize both systems of medical and mental health care, as both are equally valued, although there may be "frequent concern (about) the degree of cooperation and collaboration between Indian healers and physicians" (Rhoades & Rhoades, 2000, p. 410). Rhoades and Rhoades (2000) spoke of an Apache traditional healer that "exemplifies the successful compartmentalization required of traditionalists living in present-day America," when in fact, this individual is the epitome of an individual that incorporates both worlds simultaneously, wherein matters of the traditional and modern worlds are appreciatively intertwined and interconnected. Based upon LaFromboise, et al. (1993), Witko stated:

The *bicultural* person is accepted in the dominant society and the tribal society.

He or she can move between both worlds. This person may seek traditional or contemporary means to solve a problem or crisis. This is the most functional type of person in that he or she incorporates both Indian and mainstream culture.

Problems can arise, however, when stress builds up trying to both serve the tribal people and succeed in dominant society. Such individuals may not be able to determine what parts of the traditional Indian lifestyle to incorporate and what not

to incorporate. These individuals are usually willing to participate in a culturally competent program or psychotherapy or counseling. (p. 12-13)

According to Myers, Lewis and Parker-Dominguez (2003), developing a bicultural identity was optimal, as these individuals are better able to navigate conflictual culture demands between their community of origin and mainstream society. In addition, ideal physical and health status may be attained as the individual maintains equilibrium between the two existing worlds with sometimes polar implications.

### **Assimilation Orientation; Acculturation**

#### **Assimilation.**

Assimilation, as applied to the Native American population, may be simply explained as an individual being incorporated into majority culture, or the individual converting to majority culture, or an individual conforming to dominant society's values and beliefs, relinquishing traditionalism. In assimilation, this implies a complete transformation to mainstream culture and an elimination of Native American traditional beliefs and values. LaFromboise, et al. (1993) specified:

the underlying assumption of all assimilation models is that a member of one culture loses his or her original cultural identity as he or she acquires a new identity in a second culture. (p.396)

... Assimilation is the process by which an individual develops a new cultural identity... and that individuals, their offspring, or their cultural group will eventually become full members of the majority group's culture and lose identification with their culture of origin. (p. 397)



Thus, indigenous values and beliefs are transcended by the American value system and the individual identifies with majority culture without any reminiscent traditional origin influences.

Regarding American Indians, the overall blanket assimilation efforts of this population have failed. However, some indigenous individuals have had to assimilate, attributed to the necessity for survival. Frantz (1999) posited the following:

...The slogan “What’s good for General Motors is good for America” cannot be applied to Indian reservations, with the exception of a few tribes that have largely assimilated, and even in these cases the assimilation has not been complete. It would be closer to reality and would give a more precise and discriminating idea of the situation on different reservations to add that “what might be good for the Cherokees may not be good for the Hopis.” There seems little chance, however, that this slogan will ever become official Indian policy. (p. 161)

From a treatment standpoint, Nelson and Manson (2000) recommended, “Indian persons who are assimilated into the larger society often will be effectively treated through medication, psychotherapy, and other forms of Western intervention” (p. 321). With assimilated Natives, the individual may experience acceptance by majority society, but may struggle with identity issues when this person’s physical characteristics resemble a Native phenotype. Additionally, assimilated individuals may be ostracized or marginalized within their own culture of origin (Myers et al., 2003). Based upon LaFromboise, et al. (1993), Witko stated:

The *assimilated* person embraces and feels accepted by the dominant society. This person feels comfortable in programs or therapy based on contemporary norms and rules. This person may not even consider incorporating his or her cultural heritage into his or her lifestyle. Such a person is seen as detached from his or her heritage and may even deny the existence of his or her Indian blood. (p. 12)

Generally, a western psychological approach to treating an assimilated American Indian, inclusive of manualized treatment, would be effective.

### **Acculturation.**

In 1957, Vogt wrote: “In the United States... the path to full acculturation is confusing and frustrating, and an ultimate ceiling is still firmly clamped down by our persisting Anglo-American ‘racial’ attitudes” (p. 145). According to Berry (2005), “Acculturation has been taking place for millennia, but contemporary interest in research on acculturation grew out of a concern for the effects of European domination of indigenous peoples” (p. 700). Berry (2005), defined acculturation as:

the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. At the group level, it involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person’s behavioral repertoire... Acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological changes that involve various forms of mutual accommodation, leading to some longer-term psychological and sociocultural adaptations between both groups. (p. 699)

According to LaFromboise, et al. (1993), acculturation implies “while becoming a competent individual in the majority culture, (the individual) will always be identified as a member in the minority culture” (p. 397).

Assessing the level of acculturation of an ethnic individual is essential to effective treatment approaches. Aponte, Rivers and Wohl (1995) stated:

With any American ethnic or subcultural minority group, the therapist must consider the patient’s degree of assimilation by the majority group. United States society is pluralistic, but most members of subcultures participate to varying degrees in the larger culture, and the psychotherapist will want to ascertain the degree of acculturation to that larger culture. This issue of multiple cultural identities can itself be a major component of the psychological difficulties besetting the patient. (p. 83)

Regarding the Native American patient, effective treatment approaches correlate with level of acculturation. “The treatment of specific mental disorders in Indian patients frequently combines Western methods with traditional healing, depending on the degree of acculturation of the patient. Some Indian persons who seek help for emotional problems, particularly elders, may speak only their native language” (Nelson & Manson, 2000, p. 321). In addition, illness expression, syndromes, and bereavement may resemble, but are not, western psychological symptoms/disorders. “Because of acculturation, older Indians may also feel less valued as important contributors to their culture – a culture that historically equated old age with wisdom and teaching” (Nelson & Manson, 2000, p. 318).

## **Marginal Orientation**

Marginalism, as applied to American Indians, implies that the individual neither identifies with Native American traditional values nor dominant society values. The individual does not orient or gravitate toward either culture and alienates from both cultures. Based upon LaFromboise, et al. (1993), Witko stated:

The *marginal* person is unable to live the cultural heritage of his or her tribe and is unable to live in dominant society. This person is at the most risk among these categories for social and psychological problems (Berry, 1989). Because he or she does not fit in either the tribe or the dominant society, which may lead such a person to find solace with other displaced individuals in society. (p. 12)

Although this dissertation project utilized traditional, bicultural, assimilated, and marginal as four domains in which Native individuals can orient, there have been other words used to describe Native cultural identification such as alternated, enculturated, unacculturated, transculturated, and pantraditional. Regardless of orientation, Dozier et al. (1957) wrote, “Despite long contact with an overwhelmingly more powerful system, many Indian cultures have retained their vitality” (p. 159). This remains a powerful fact in 2017. Those authors further contended,

One may regard this continuity in the Indian style of life as a happy or an unhappy fact. What one may not do is disregard it. American Indians are being and will continue to be integrated into the total society in ways that give full recognition to their personal tendencies and motives, the power systems within tribes, and the opportunities available to them outside their groups. (p. 159)

American Indian culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification remain resilient. Dana (1984) posited, “There must be preservation of the identity forming ingredients of Native American culture and provision for adequate environments to sustain the entire range of acculturated and traditional lifestyles” (p. 40). Although Vogt wrote in 1957, “But what is interesting to the close observer is that, despite all these pressures for change, there are still basically Indian systems of social structure and culture persisting with variable vigor within conservative nuclei of American Indian populations” (p. 139), this remains true today.

### **Shared Native American Cultural Values**

#### **Cultural Implications**

In general, shared cultural values amongst American Indian tribes exist and are largely commonplace amidst tribal members. The extent of practice may vary from tribal member to member, but largely Native peoples ascribe to the beliefs contained in this section to one degree or another. Native American culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification are composed, in part, of these values.

#### **Collectivism**

Generally, one of the most esteemed qualities of a Native person is one who exemplifies traits reflective of philanthropy, one making lifelong contributions to the community, or one whose contributions are for the betterment of the community.

Whether innate or learned, “giving back” to one’s community sustains self, the family, and the Native society. Hill, Pace and Robbins (2010) purported,

...Community is paramount. As members of the community, each individual has many responsibilities and is also accountable to that community regardless of age

or generation... there is a reciprocal relationship between the individual and the greater community; by keeping the culture and community strong, the members of the community also survive. (p. 22)

In general, Native communities abdicate persons expressing individualistic characteristics, as individualism detracts from the community. Frantz (1999) wrote:

An essential element of the traditional value system of the Indian tribes is a highly developed collective consciousness, which today still dominates daily life on the reservation. For the white population of America the social status of the individual is determined to a very considerable extent by his or her income and property, which are shown quite openly, whereas on the reservations such individual manifestations, on the whole, count for very little. Even today, despite certain contrary tendencies, reservation Indians feel primarily bound to their relatives, both to their close relatives and to their more distant ones, as well as to their clans, to the people of their village, indeed, to their community as a whole. (p. 173)

Frantz (1999) also noted an absence of competition amongst tribal members, whereas “in America, generally speaking, it is considered desirable to be the best or to become ‘number one’ with all the prestige and status this brings, but this competitive spirit is foreign to the traditional values of most American Indian tribes” (p. 173). At times though, a Native person may distinguish oneself when participating in dominant society is warranted. Regarding this concept, Suina and Smolkin (1994) commented, “To shine as an individual in the Pueblo world is to have done so on behalf of the extended family and the community; such excellence brings pride and cohesion to the group” (p.

118). The effort is purposeful in that the individual is representing the Native community and authenticating, or epitomizing, Native individuals are capable and competent by non-Native standards.

For many Native persons, acquiring a higher education has a focused purpose. Obtaining this advanced knowledge is encouraged and supported by the tribal community. Subsequently, the wisdom obtained by the majority of these Native students is to advance the tribal community. Thus, contributing or “giving back” to the community remains paramount, whether at the tribal, state, regional, or national level. This is exemplified with the recent graduation of ten recent Pueblo doctoral students from Arizona State University. White (2015) wrote:

Now that the 10 Pueblos have graduated, all plan to return to New Mexico and begin a lifetime of work to uplift their people through tribal governance, social work, youth outreach and more... The goal of the program is to identify and create researchers and scholars within communities who will become leaders in policy making, taking the place of outsiders and improving Pueblo representation.  
(para. 7-8)

In spite of technological advances, higher education degrees, and the encroachment of modernization in the traditional world, the collective community remains an important concept in the Native culture.

### **Spirituality, Religion and Traditional Wisdom**

A significant consideration in American Indian culture pertains to spirituality and religion. “The Native American world-view conceptualization of spirituality is so different from beliefs in the dominant society that it is difficult to render it credible to

persons with a Eurocentric world view” (Dana, 1993, p. 84). Upon outside contact by other ethnic groups, the practice of Native religion was misunderstood, discouraged, and outlawed at different periods of time in U.S. history, however, “traditional beliefs and practices... are still active and vital in many American Indian communities” (Weaver, 1996, p. 98). For many Native persons, religion and spirituality are intimately intertwined and interconnected with one’s daily routine and integrated into daily life from infancy. Since pre-Columbian times, according to Duran and Duran (1995),

for most Native American people the idea of praying to the six cardinal directions (is) an integral part of day-to-day life... for Native American people there is a spiritual presence at each of these directions which gives a specific type of wisdom, teaching, and relationship to the world. (p. 75)

The practice of Native religion does not require an establishment for worship or designate certain hours of worship; practice can occur anywhere and anytime.

Religion, spirituality, and traditional wisdom are sensitive topics in Native culture. These matters are held closely by most tribal members. “Traditional knowledge is sacred to the members of the culture and is protected as such” (Hill, Pace, & Robbins, 2010, p. 22). Traditional knowledge is a core value. According to Sando (1992, p.2), “religion... was not a causal Sunday morning incident... It was life itself.” Sando further explained some tribes do not have a word which translates as religion, “[t]he knowledge of a spiritual life is part of the person twenty-four hours a day, every day of the year” (p. 30). There are historical implications associated with these Native American traditional practices and some tribes were forced to take their religious practices underground, due to



harassment and attempted genocide, while others had to revive their religion in a new homeland due to forced relocation.

Battles within federal and state arenas had to be vigorously fought in order for Native Americans to freely practice their spirituality and religion, as worship, which should have been an inherent right, was not. In 1884 the Courts of Indian Offenses was established. “The Courts were used to prohibit freedom of Indian religion, the practice of Indian medicine men, and certain Indian marriage customs” (Peterson, 1957, p. 118). Prohibition and discouragement of religious practice by Native Americans remained in effect until August 11, 1978, when the American Indian Religious Freedom Act was signed into law (Locust, 1998).

As iterated, religion, spirituality, and traditional knowledge are not compartmentalized as separate entities in a Native person; they are integrated into daily life. They also have profound implications in a Native person’s health and well-being. “American Indian beliefs about health may be identified as the core beliefs of the cultures themselves” (Locust, 1988, p. 316). For many Native persons, attempting to dissect religion and spirituality from their overall health is an impossible task, as they are intrinsically interlaced.

### **Family, Kinship, and Sharing**

Generally, the concept of family with Native peoples revolves around an extended family model. Extended family can be comprised of blood relations outside the nuclear family, clan relations, and close non-biological relations developed via adoption of some sort. Nelson and Manson (2000) asserted “The concept of family in some tribes is a psychosocial concept derived from sharing of kindred spirit and extends beyond mere

blood relationships” (p. 318). Thus, a genogram assignment for many Native students can easily become a convoluted task! Based upon Red Horse, Lewis, Feit, and Decker (1978), Caldwell, et al. (2005) stated, “extended family affect’s one’s identity and role in the community, transmits culture, and conserves family patterns” (p. 3). On the expansion of family, Fogelson (1998) affirmed:

Kinship not only included those with whom one could trace familiar common descent, but could even be extended to include more ramifying groups like clans, moieties, and even nations. Moreover, besides biological reproduction, individuals and groups could be recruited into kinship networks through naturalization, adoption, marriage, and alliance. Identity encompassed inner qualities that were made manifest through social interaction and cultural belief. (p. 44-45)

Customarily, hoarding material possessions and stinginess are not innate Native characteristics. This is evidenced by “Chiefs of many tribes have been the ‘poorest’ tribal members in terms of material goods because they gave everything they had to their people” (Robbins, Tonemah, & Robbins, 2002, p. 66). Generally, the extension of philanthropic and altruistic actions is highly valued in Native societies, whether giving of one’s time or resource from a collectivistic perspective. Frantz (1999) noted, “A mutual willingness to give help and to share material goods was, and still is today, an important measure of the prestige of an individual Indian person or family” (p. 170). N. Scott Momaday (1974) recorded details about a give-away, stating it was a “rite of sharing that occurred in varying ways in tribal cultures across the land” and described items given as “rich things... beautiful blankets and shawls, German silver and beadwork, money and

yardgoods” (p. 13). Gutierrez (1991) also wrote, “Modern investigators have discovered a clear relationship between the timing of rituals and the yearly food supply of most households. From January to March, when food reserves [were] lowest, the greatest number of communal redistributive rituals occur” (p. 24). A cyclical pattern exists wherein communal unity and sharing are key components. “There was a direct link of Giving and Receiving. It’s a beautiful cycle of creation of life that our elders taught us. This practice linked our clear intentions of mind and spirit with our home, families and lifestyle” (POL Health Educator, 2015, p. 1). Unrestricted giving for traditional purposes frequently occurs without ulterior motive or repayment.

Giving also extends to helping one another. In the southwestern Pueblo culture, tribal members are reminded, ““Help each other so the burden won’t be so heavy”” (Suina & Smolkin, 1994, p. 121). This advice is both metaphorical and literal, however each tribal member has a responsibility to fulfill this obligation.

### **Temporal Implications**

For many Native peoples, all aspects of life are thought of in spherical terms, as all things are interrelated and interconnected. “Indians view immortality and existence as circular rather than linear... Traditional ceremonies are based on the concept of circular completion” (Locust, 1988, p. 327). Thus, core aspects of Native life are not understood in terms of linear chronology.

In many Native tribes, tribal history is not documented in writing. Origin stories are passed from generation to generation orally. History is chronicled in a way depicting events as occurring in recent time. Duran and Duran (1995) described differences in thinking:

Western thought conceptualizes history in a linear temporal sequence, whereas most Native American thinking conceptualizes history in a spatial fashion.

Temporal thinking means that time is thought of as having a beginning and an end; spatial thinking views events as a function of space or where the event actually took place. (p. 14)

The understanding of time from this perspective is significant in that the concept of things happening when they were meant to occur is crucial. A loose translation of this concept would be to understand that events in our natural world (unpredictable weather, tornadoes, the metamorphosis of a caterpillar to a butterfly) occur exactly at the prescribed time they were meant to transpire. However, from a scientific standpoint, if an event cannot be explained scientifically, the knowledge value is devoid of credibility.

### **Worldview**

Generally, the Native worldview of interconnectedness contrasts that of dominant society. Duran and Duran (1995) contended,

Within the Native American worldview... most Native American people experience their being in the world as a totality of personality and not as separate systems within the person... the Native American worldview is one in which the individual is a part of all creation, living life as one system and not in separate units that are objectively relating with each other. (p. 15)

Dana (2000) expanded the definition of worldview to include components of group identity, individual identity, beliefs, values, and language.

Worldview also has implications for Natives and the healing process. "Healing in a traditional Native worldview is primarily concerned with helping individuals learn how

they fit into the overall cosmology” (Duran, Firehammer & Gonzalez, 2008, p. 293).

From the traditional standpoint, worldview conveys a holistic outlook.

### **Language**

The retention of traditional languages is an important value. The U.S. Census (2011) reported 27% of the Native American population, aged five years and older, spoke a language other than English at home. This is a sharp decrease from 54 years earlier when Thompson (1957) reported eight out of ten Indian students, documented as full bloods, were raised in non-English speaking homes (p. 103).

Language has implications in other areas of Native life. “Language is intimately connected to traditional forms of knowledge” (Hill, Pace & Robbins, 2010, p. 24).

Further, space and time are integrated into some indigenous languages. “Some indigenous languages... are languages in which phenomena are experienced as a process of events” (Duran & Duran, 1995, p. 15). Many Native languages have words, phrases, and concepts that do not convert directly to English, thus the meaning and understanding can dramatically change when translation is attempted.

### **Humor**

Although one may not think about the importance of humor in every day functioning, humor is a quality shared by many Native Americans. Humor is an important characteristic possessed by the great majority of Natives and may be considered an adaptive trait. Kuiper (2012) asserted from a resiliency perspective, humor may have an effect on overall psychological well-being and Edwards (2013) suggested humor may be related to character strength. Contemporarily, humor is still used amongst all age populations as a means of discipline, as well as impart important

lessons about life. Even the most stoic stereotypical wooden trading post Indians will have a good joke in reserve and belt it out every once in a while, resulting in everyone present rolling on the floor laughing. “In contrast to the widespread idea of the stoic Indian, no group is more bantering, joking, and laughing than Indians – in the right circumstances” (Reid & Rhoades, 2000, p. 420). Misinterpretation of the use of humor with Non-natives may occur and may be considered inappropriate at times, especially with the employment of humor in difficult, serious situations.

Some have speculated humor is a protective factor, or a sign of resilience in the face of adversity, however it is more than that. According to Deloria (1969, p. 146), “One of the best ways to understand a people is to know what makes them laugh. Laughter encompasses the limits of the soul... Irony and satire provide much keener insights into a groups psyche and values than do years of research.” Humor can also be an intimate, unspoken language and knowledge many Natives share. Sometimes all it takes is a look at one another during or after an event has occurred and Native individuals and groups alike translate and perceive the message in the same way. This concept may be related back to cultural identity and Erik Erikson’s thought about identity. “For Erikson, identity was a processual or historical concept representing the cumulative effects of a series of life cyclical nuclear conflicts. Although the individual changed throughout the life course, identity was held together by threads of continuity. Indeed, in its etymological sense ‘identity’ means ‘sameness’” (Fogelson, 1998, p.42). Likely, Erikson could not have perceived of Native American humor and sameness in this way.

Joking, teasing, humor, and banter are widespread mannerisms in Native culture. In 1969, Deloria wrote:

Indians have found a humorous side of nearly every problem and the experiences of life have generally been so well defined through jokes and stories that they have become a thing in themselves... For centuries before the white invasion, teasing was a method of control of social situations by Indian people. Rather than embarrass members of the tribe publicly, people used to tease individuals they considered out of step with the consensus of tribal opinion. In this way egos were preserved and disputes within the tribe of a personal nature were held to a minimum. (p. 147)

Today humor is still used as an effective form of communication in traditional and secular settings. Joking, teasing, humor, and banter mitigate all types of feelings across all age ranges.

“One-line retorts are common in Indian country. Popovi Da, the great Pueblo artist was quizzed one day on why the Indians were the first ones on this continent, ‘We had reservations,’ was his reply” (Deloria, 1969, p. 166). The concept of humor was also exemplified during a presentation made by Dr. John Gonzalez on the University of North Dakota (UND) campus in November 2014. Dr. Gonzalez’ (a UND clinical psychology graduate and Bemidji State University professor) talk was entitled, “Everything you wanted to know about Indians but were afraid to ask.” The event was billed with, “The focus of the seminar is to bring more cultural awareness and understanding to our students in an engaging way through common sense and a little bit of humor” (Gonzalez, 2014). Dr. Gonzalez was discussing the very serious topic of microaggressions and prejudice when he highlighted a slide containing a Thanksgiving advertisement in the local newspaper for a local Minnesota mall, wherein there was a picture of a Native

American child in his regalia. Dr. Gonzalez explained that as he was drinking his morning joe, he opened the newspaper and almost spit out his mouthful of coffee. He placed a call to the mall manager and expressed his outrage with the ad. The manager explained the ad was not meant to be disrespectful to Native Americans and a “few high level Indians had been consulted” before the ad ran. So as he was presenting this informative explanation, simultaneously he commented, “I thought I was a high level Indian” and Native American members throughout the audience could be heard chuckling, looking at each other with an amused look of, “What IS a high level Indian?” Needless to say, Dr. Gonzalez began to laugh as well, and proceeded to explain to the non-Native audience members the significance of the offensiveness of the advertisement.

Reid & Rhoades (2000) also offered clinical setting guidelines about the first contact with a Native American client. “The initial encounter should always be conducted with decorum and ignity, even if the initial conversation is begun with some joking or bantering” (p. 420). Though the suggestion of joking may appear to be inappropriate in the formal clinical setting, rapport can potentially be readily established via this quasi-technique.

### **Historical Implications and Geographical Considerations**

#### **American Indians of the Southwest**

Approximately 500 years ago, before European contact in the U.S., indigenous tribes numbered at least 600, speaking an abundance of languages and various dialects, with a population as high as 18 million (Graham, 2002). In 1890, 248,253 American Indians were counted in the U.S. Census (McGuire, 1992). In the 1960s census, 508,675 were counted on and off the reservations (Brophy & Aberle, 1966). “In the 1990 Census,



approximately 8.8 million individuals indicated that they had *some* Indian heritage. Of these, 1,959,200 indicated that this heritage was significant enough that they designated their race as American Indian or Alaska Native” (Snipp, 2000, p. 41). Unsurprisingly, the Native American population has grossly fluctuated in the U.S. Census statistics from 8.8 million in 1990, to approximately 5.2 million in 2011, and predicted to again rise to 8.6 million in 2050 (U.S. Census, 2011). Snipp (2000) postulated “the changes of numbers over time to a large extent reflect changes in the number of individuals who newly identify themselves as Indian. This phenomenon (was) considered to be pronounced in the 1990 Census” (p. 42).

As previously cited, there are currently 566 federally recognized American Indian tribes and Alaskan Native villages. “In some ways... Indians have shared and continue to share a common situation. All of the cultures have been affected, although to different degrees and at different rates, by the impact of the dominant society” (Dozier et al., 1957, p. 158). Some similarities between tribes living in the same region exist. Thus, according to Lewis’ website (2013) American Indian Cultural Areas, the tribes identified as Southwestern tribes would share similar characteristics. Therefore, tribes living within the same region would share a number of cultural traits, creation stories, and history. Based on this classification of Southwestern Tribes, the following tribes should share some similar characteristics: Akimel O’odham Tribe (Pima), Apache Tribe, Cocopa Tribe, Cora Tribe, Guarijio Tribe, Havasupai Tribe, Hopi Tribe, Hualapai Tribe, Huichol Tribe, Karankawa Tribe, Maricopa Tribe, Mayo Tribe, Mojave Tribe, Navajo Tribe, Opata Tribe, Pima Bajo Tribe, Pueblo Tribe, Quechan Tribe, Seri Tribe, Tarahumara

Tribe, Tepehuan Tribe, Tohono O'odham Tribe (Papago), Tubar Tribe, Yaqui Tribe, Yavapai Tribe, and Zuni Tribe.



Figure 1. American Indian Cultural Areas (Lewis, 2013).

However, each tribe possesses distinct cultural characteristics. Duran and Duran (1995) asserted, “Native American culture is not a single entity. There is a tremendous amount of variation linguistically, culturally, and religiously among Native American nations in the United States” (p. 104). Mail, Conner and Conner (2006) advised, “Enormous diversity exists between tribes and ... a one-size-fits-all approach will not work” (p. 151). Deloria (1969) contended, “Individual tribes show incredible

differences. No single aspect seems to be as important as tribal solidarity” (p. 21). Emphasizing a uniqueness of tribal traditions, practices, and customs in existence within each tribal entity, McDonald (1998) discouraged Pan-Indianism because of the heterogeneity. The following map depicts original tribal homelands before European contact (Carapella, 2012):



Figure 2. Tribal Nations Map (Carapella, 2012).

With respect to the Southwest Indians, according to Joseph G. Jorgensen’s large quantitative ethnological study, inclusive of 172 Western North American tribes, he “found that the Southwestern data clustered into four groups: Puebloans, Apacheans,

Yumans, and Pima-Papago... Despite environmental variation, geographical dispersion, and linguistic differences, ...the Pueblos ‘form one large group’” (Gutierrez, 1991, p. xxxi). Sando (1992) further expounded on this idea as “early classifications of the Indians of the Southwest by anthropologists merely divided the people as “Pueblo” and “non-Pueblo” (p. 7).

The following map depicts present day tribally designated reserves:



Figure 3. American Indians and Alaska Natives in the U.S. (U.S. Census, 2010).

## **Pueblo Indians, the Navajo and the Apache**

Many people mistakenly lump the Pueblo, Navajo, and Apache together, believing these are the only southwest tribes. Some individuals also believe a heterogeneity exists between the tribes, since they have existed together regionally for many years. In terms of education, Zintz (1969) posited the following, wherein biculturalism was a uniting factor:

Cultural mores, habits, values and characteristics interfere with the learning of a second language. This interference is aggravated by the lack of knowledge which educators have about others' cultures. Culture represents communication, and without culture there can be no communication. Personality affects communication. Home environment contributes to the success or failure of acculturation and language acquisition. Most of all, the desire and need to accept the new language and its cultural ramifications determine the success of the language learner's endeavors.

The basic problems in the Southwest are biculturalism, not bilingualism. Language expresses the values of a culture; culture, by determining behavioral practices and goals, limits the connotations and denotations of the language. (p. 7)

In this context, the southwest Indians were lumped together and one tribe was not distinguished from another in the biculturalism "problem."

Geographically, today the several bands of Apaches are located in Arizona and New Mexico. The Navajo reservations are spread across a three state region, including Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico. The Pueblo peoples are located in New Mexico, with the Hopi tribe in Arizona. "The Pueblos, descendants of the Anasazi cliff dwellers, were

indigenous to this region hundreds of years before the appearance of other tribes and European conquerors” (Smolkin & Suina, 1994, p. 3). The Pueblo people were sedentary and had established dwellings. The Pueblo people, with the Anasazi being their ancestral heritage, have remained in the same geographic area since before European contact. “Navajo settlements were not towns like those of the agricultural Pueblos, but clusters of hogans in box canyons or at the base of cliffs” (Ortiz, 1974, p. 184). Historically, archaeological and anthropological sites of Puebloans date back to “about ten thousand years before Christ” (Sando, 1992, p. I).

The Navajos and Apaches were nomadic, with Athabaskan origins, and migrated from northwestern North America. “The scholarly consensus now is that Athapaskan nomads migrated south along the eastern range of the Rocky Mountains and arrived in the Southern Plains, just east of the Pueblos, around A.D. 1525” (Gutierrez, 1991, p. xxvi). They were newcomers to the present day southwestern U.S. region.

The Navajos and Apaches arrived in the “Southwest between 1400 and 1525” (Sando, 1992, p. I) according to social scientists. The Navajos and Apaches remained nomadic until the late 1800s and lengthy settlements in one place were uncommon. Bands of these tribes raided Pueblo villages of crops and people. “It is easy to imagine these wild hunters raiding the peaceful pueblo farmers, stealing corn and women, and disappearing again into their remote canyon” (Ortiz, 1974, p. 180). It has also been documented bands of Navajos and Apaches raided non-Native settlements. Frantz (1993) wrote:

During the period from 1851 to 1887 the U.S. Army built fifty-eight military posts in what is now Arizona... Their purpose was to pacify certain Indian tribes

and to protect the white settlers. These military posts, most of which were located on the tribal lands of the nonsedentary Apache, Navajo, and Pai peoples, were often established either in the center of Indian country or at the fringe of expanding settlement areas to protect white settlers. (p. 15)

Further, the Navajo have a different history, including the Long Walk, which were not part of Pueblo history.

According to Gutierrez (1991), “Aside from the documented southerly migration of the Athabaskan peoples, language was the main characteristic that differentiated Puebloans. The language family of the Navajo and Apache differs greatly from the Pueblo people. In 1500 seven languages belonging to four families (Tanoan, Keresan, Zuni, Uto-Aztecan) were spoken” (p. xxv). Crystal (1997), also noted,

Further south, the Na-Dene’ group consists of about 50 languages, spoken in two main areas: Alaska and north-west Canada, and south-west-central USA. Most of the languages belong to the Athabaskan family, whose best-known member is Navajo, with around 130,000 speakers- one of the few Amerindian languages which has actually increased in size in recent years. The various dialects of Apache are closely related to the Navajo. (p. 322)

San Juan Pueblo archaeologist Dr. Alfonso Ortiz’ (1974) summary in National Geographic articulated his Pueblo perspective as pertained to the Navajo:

The Navajo arrived in the southwest centuries ago with a simple culture and economy based on hunting and gathering. From the beginning they have never missed an opportunity to acquire new skills and better ideas. Many of these ideas came from the settled folk – the Pueblos – who were already in the southwest

when the Navajos swept in from the north. If you ask the Navaho where they learned to weave, they will say “from Spider Woman, in the beginning.” Actually, they learned after the reconquest of the 1690’s, when refugees fleeing the Spanish streamed into Navajo camps. The Pueblos, who had been weaving for a thousand years, were good teachers; their Navajo pupils became the greatest weavers of the southwest. (p. 189)

### **Pueblo Indians**

Today, there are 19 pueblos located in New Mexico and the Hopi tribe in Arizona. The Spaniards conquistadores called the tribes *Pueblos*, which translated into the Spanish word for towns (Ortiz, 1974). The 19 New Mexico pueblos are as follow: Acoma (Haak’u), Cochiti (Ko-Tyit), Isleta (Tue-I), Jemez (Walatowa), Kewa (Santo Domingo), Laguna (Ka’waika), Nambe (Nambe O-ween-Ge), Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan), Picuris (Pe’ewi), Poquaque (Po-suwae-geh), San Felipe (Katishtya), Santa Ana (Tamaya), Sandia (Na-fiat), Santa Clara (Kha’p’oo Owinge), San Ildefonso (Po-woh-ge-oweenge), Taos (Tuah-Tah), Tesuque (Tet-Sugeh), Zia (Tsi-ya) and Zuni (She-We-Na) (Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, 2007; Sando, 1976). In 1991, the Pueblo population was reported to be 43,333 by the New Mexico Office of Indian Affairs (Romero, 1994). The 2010 Census documented 49,695 Pueblo members that claimed one Pueblo tribal affiliation (2010 Census Briefs, 2012). The Pueblo People have maintained their traditional ways and observances since time immemorial. According to Suina (2004):

These 19 separate and sovereign nations have a distinct village orientation... in which working together to meet the needs of the group is central. Although individual members exercise independence in thought and action, the cultural



ideal of living in harmony with others and nature is a fundamental value for proper citizenship. (p. 283)

Sando (1992) supplemented, “The nineteen pueblos share a common traditional native religion, although rituals and observances may vary; a similar lifestyle and philosophy; and a common economy based on the same geographical region occupied by them for thousands of years” (p. 8).

One of the attributes uniting the Pueblo tribes revolves around the language groups associated with the Pueblo tribes. According to Crystal (1997), “The Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico are linguistically very diverse- about 25,000 people speak languages belonging to no fewer than four families. In the east, they mainly speak Tewa (a member of the Tanoan family) and Keresan (a language isolate); in the west, they speak Keresan Zuni (a Penutian language) and Hopi (a Uto-Aztecan language)” (p. 323). Sando (1992) further delineated the languages spoken and their relation to the different Pueblos:

- A. The Tanoan language, which includes the three dialects of Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa:
  - 1. The Tiwa speakers are the Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and the Isleta pueblos.
  - 2. The Tewa speakers are the San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, and Poquaque pueblos.
  - 3. Towa is spoken only by the Jemez.
- B. The Keresan language is spoken, with few changes, by the Acoma, Cochiti, Laguna, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, and Zia Pueblos.
- C. The Zuni language is spoken only by the Zunis. (p.8)

Crystal (1997) asserted, “There are over 30 languages whose relation to the main language groups in Native American has not so far been determined” (p. 323). These languages are known as isolates, defined as “a language which has no known traditional or historical relationship to any other language” (Crystal, 1997, p. 328) in the world. Several of the Pueblo languages are isolates.

Components of the traditional world dominate Pueblo life today and have substantial implications in Pueblo culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification. Religion and spirituality are intertwined with all aspects of life, including secular matters, and are extremely guarded and protected. Sando (1992) substantiated this philosophy writing,

The Pueblos are still living today upon the sites where the Spaniards found them in the sixteenth century. This is the principal reason for their religion being practically intact. The people took their religion underground in 1692, due to harassment by the Spaniards in their attempt to substitute another religion for the native one. This fear still persists, and it generally explains why a non-Indian is not permitted to observe a religious ceremonial dance in the pueblos, and why no cameras or sketching are allowed. (p. 30)

Suina (2004) also stated, “In Pueblo society, any matter connected to the Native religion is treated as private and for villagers only (Suina 1992)” (p. 287). Religion and spirituality are also associated with well-being. “Western pueblo religion is ascetic and esoteric. Religious activities maintain and enhance the people’s harmony with the world” (McGuire & Saitta, 1996, p. 211).

Non-Indian scholars have attempted to conceptualize the significance of Pueblo religion and thereby misconstrue meaning, possibly attributed to application of their worldview to the matter. Wenger (2015) attempted to “show how dominant conceptions of religion and religious freedom affected the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico as they sought to protect their religious ceremonies from government suppression, and how that struggle helped reshape mainstream views of religion and the politics of Indian affairs” in her book *We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom*. Wenger’s assertions and conclusions are speculative, but serve to add to the mystique of the Pueblo people. She further reasoned:

By defining themselves as the defenders of Pueblo religion and using the tools of the American legal system if necessary, Pueblo leaders of the 1920s shaped a new traditionalism based partly on American categories of religion and religious freedom... Pueblo traditionalists recognized that naming their practices “religion” could provide a valuable tool for self-defense. They understood that constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion were a foundational element of American civil discourse. Successfully defining any aspect of Pueblo life as part of an authentic religion, then, could help defend that aspect of Pueblo life. When progressive reformers sought to define Pueblo ceremonies as pagan and degrading immoralities, the Pueblos’ most important line of defense was to insist that their ceremonies were the central part of their religion. They... managed successfully to label these Pueblo traditions as “religion” within the public discourse and, thereby, to defeat attempts by progressive reformers and the BIA to forbid their traditional ceremonies. And, when BIA policies threatened further to erode tribal

sovereignty, the Pueblos responded by defining Pueblo traditions of governance as religion also, and equally defensible in terms of religious freedom. Pueblo traditionalist leaders insisted on liberal democratic religious freedoms and protections as a way to protect their claims to tribal identity. Despite the individualism built into the liberal system, their survival today demonstrates that they were largely successful. Their appeal to religion should be understood not as an imposition of Western ideology but as an indigenous strategy of resistance, contributing to the ongoing adaptation of Pueblo traditions. (Wenger, 2005, p. 112-113)

In summary, she hypothesized the Pueblo people incorporated secular aspects of Pueblo existence and reverted them to religious concepts for purposes of religious protection. If Wenger had an understanding about the executive, legislative, and judicial structures and their relations to Pueblo religion that were in place prior to the 1920's, Wenger's monologue would connote a different message reflective of Pueblo philosophy. In fact, renaming aspects of secular matters as religion would have been a dangerous move, as religious freedom was not granted until 1978. The "indigenous strategy of resistance" Wenger mentions directly affects Pueblo culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification.

In 2017, the Pueblo Indians continue to flourish in the geographical southwestern United States, with the inclusion and practice of traditional ceremonies. According to Suina and Smolkin (1994):

Among the Indian tribes in the United States, the Pueblos of the southwest are considered the group least changed by encounters with Europeans; their

languages, governments, social patterns, and cultural components remain uniquely Pueblo. These 20 or more closely knit villages in New Mexico and Arizona are autonomous and independent of one another. Like their Anasazi ancestors of prehistoric times, their lives revolve around the observance of ceremonial activities reflective of an agricultural society. (p. 116)

Ortiz (1974) also wrote:

In the southwest, as nowhere else in Indian America, all that is vital in life remains as it was, timeless... The many tribes who live on this rugged and beautiful land share a vision of life, a felt sense of continuity with a tradition that has survived years of foreign domination... Here we have the oldest continuous record of human habitation on the continent outside Mexico. The evidence is everywhere, in potsherds and pit houses that go back hundreds of years, in petroglyphs and chipped stone tools fashioned milleniums ago. (p. 160)

“The Pueblos had never been forced from their land, and their ways of life did not seem to have changed as much as those of most other Native Americans. For these reasons many modernist intellectuals viewed Pueblos as among the most authentic surviving Indians” (Wenger, 2005, p. 97). “That the Pueblos have preserved so many aspects of their own culture is quite unusual considering the fact that they have been under the rule of three different governments – Spanish, Mexican and American.” (Sando, 1992, p. 173).

According to Torres (Zotigh, 2015), the “Pueblo people have been here since time immemorial” (para. 5). We, the Pueblo people, have been taught this from infancy. Archaeologists have attempted to document how the Pueblo people came to be, however

their efforts have been unsuccessful. “Pueblo prehistory still has to be worked out in considerable detail” (Gutierrez, 1991, p. xxiii). This is further complicated by linguists who today still cannot find any relation between some of the languages of the Pueblos and any other languages in existence in the world. This concept is exemplified by Crystal (1997), as he stated, “The peoples are thought to have migrated from Asia across the Bering Strait, perhaps in a series of waves, but the only Native American languages which show any clear links with Asian languages are those belonging to the Eskimo - Aleut family” (p. 322).

Stout non-believers of Puebloan origin stories, which have passed from generation to generation, contend they hold no truth. Gutierrez (1991, p. 7) clearly illustrated this point in his attack on Pueblo origin beliefs as he stated:

All of the Pueblos have origin myths that dramatically depict the ideological structure of their world. Myths express the values and ideals that organize and make people’s lives meaningful. They explain how the universe was created, its various components, and the tensions and balances that kept it intact. (p. 7)

Individuals such as Lekson (2009), also proposed Southwest history reflected historical world events, as he declared “the Southwest had rises and falls, kings and commoners, war and peace, triumphs and failures. Real history! Just like everyone else, the wide world over... The ancient southwest must have had heroes and villains, elites and commoners, men and women of engaging interest” (p.3-5). McGuire and Saitta (1996) posited that Pueblo societies were neither organized hierarchically stratified or egalitarian, but that they were simultaneously both, in that the pueblos were complex communal societies.

Upon initial European contact, the Pueblo Peoples were already developed societies with complex systems established. Newcomers were amazed at the advanced level of development upon contact. The Pueblo people were architects, songwriters, scientists (G. Lorenzo, personal communication, November 21, 2016), philosophers, astronomers, agriculturalists, political leaders, teachers, horticulturalists, and pharmaceutical professionals to name a few. The Pueblo people also had a quasi-medical system in place, with various healers, including psychologists. These roles continue to be in practice today, with healers engaging in traditional methodologies (C. Lucero, personal communication, October 31, 2016).

Pueblo history, as recounted by Pueblo tribal members, contrasts literature and scientific study by outsiders. Duran and Duran (1995) captured this sentiment exactly as they stated, “Social scientists have been rewriting tribal canonical texts (i.e. ritual) via anthropology and other disciplines since first contact and therein have produced meaning that has changed and distorted tribal understandings or forced them underground” (p. 25). Watson (1961) assessed Pueblo history and professed the intimacies of ancient Pueblo life had been figured out

through intensive study, archaeologists, ethnologists and historians have worked out the details that go toward making a complete history... Unfortunately some of the pieces of the puzzle are still missing; here and there are rather large distressing holes... Assertions are made for which there is no visible evidence. (p. 30)

Many of [the] early records have been translated and compiled and from them we gain knowledge of Pueblo life during the last four centuries. It is true

that not all of the observations were accurate. Many were spiced with prejudice and deliberate fallacy. (p. 32)

In this spirit, Morgan (1870) affirmed the migrations of the Village Indians, known as Pueblo Indians, that “the probability is strong that the ancestors of all these nations were immigrants from the valley of the Columbia” (p. 59) and that “Village Indian life in this region was in a state of decadence at the time of its discovery” (p. 61). Morgan accurately concluded, “For upwards of three centuries the Pueblo Indians, as they are called, have been known to us, and have remained substantially in the same condition; but of their previous history and movements there exists no knowledge” (p. 59). These misconceptions have also had their influence on the understanding of Pueblo culture by outsiders, the cultural identity of Pueblo members, and cultural identification.

The existence of Pueblo tribes, villages, and the Pueblo population has greatly fluctuated. According to Ortiz (1974), “In Coronado’s time, about 90 pueblos were inhabited” (p. 169). Gutierrez (1991) noted, “At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Pueblo Indians may have numbered as many as 248,000, residing in 134 or more towns and villages throughout New Mexico and eastern Arizona” (p. xxiii- xxv). Dozier (1970) estimated the Pueblo population to be between possibly 30,000 to 40,000. Gutierrez (1991) claimed, “Of the 134 Indian pueblos Onate listed between 1598 and 1601, 43 remained by 1640, a scant 20 by 1707 (p. xxviii). Ortiz (1974) proclaimed, “The Hopi village of Oraibi was humming with life 500 years before the English settled Jamestown. It still is” (Ortiz, 1974, p. 162). Around 1680, the Pueblo population was “probably no more than 14,000” (Dozier, 1970, p. 63). According to Duff (1904), in



1903 the Pueblo population numbered less than 10,000, but never amounted to 30,000. In 1980, the population of the New Mexico Pueblos was about 36,000 (Lavash, 1980).

Although there are the usual divisions between the judicial, executive, and legislative bodies within Pueblo culture, they are also intertwined and integrations of systems. Romero-Little, Sims, and Romero (2013) explained, “The majority of Rio Grande Pueblos have a unique theocratic governance system, comprising a traditional leadership body and a secular leadership body that support each other and share the responsibility of ensuring that the contemporary needs of the Pueblo community are met and that their traditions are protected” (p. 172). The Pueblo concept of government is complex and is an integral part of the Pueblo culture.

Although outside contact with the Pueblo people was nearly 500 years ago, history is very much alive in Pueblo life today and recounted in social dances, significantly contributing to Pueblo culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification. Briefly, pertaining to archived records documenting Pueblo history and other sources, a Spanish expedition arrived in New Mexico in 1540 from Mexico City (Sando, 1976), seeking the golden cities of Cibola. The expeditioners first made contact with Zuni people, but were disappointed by their findings of high rise adobe dwellings (Lavash, 1980). The expeditioners proceeded to Hopi, then Acoma. Soon after the Spaniards entered the region where the Pueblos were located, missions were established in Pueblos. According to Sando (1976), by 1617 eleven mission churches had been built. “The native religion was suppressed and a new religion was forced upon the Pueblo people” (Watson, 1961, p. 34). The Spaniards asserted their power, demanding food and

obedience, and declared war at each stop (Lavash, 1980). The Spaniards returned to Mexico in 1542 (Nies, 1996; Sando, 1976).

In or about 1598, Onate dealt his “heavy hand of Spanish imperialism” (Ortiz, 1974, p. 169). He was accompanied by an army and arrived in New Mexico via El Paso, Texas. The expeditioners reached Santo Domingo Pueblo then

went from pueblo to pueblo establishing the Spanish authority and religion... A conference of the pueblos was held in July 1598, at which time they pledged their allegiance to the Spanish King. In September, a second conference was held to establish the religious missions of New Mexico, and the presidents of missions were designated... The priests knew nothing of the various Indian languages, and it was indeed an almost impossible task to convert the tribes to Christianity.

(Lavash, 1980, p. 85)

Gutierrez’ (1991) also weighed in by writing a hypersexualized account of Pueblo history. In his book, he depicted the Pueblo people as warring societies and minimized the harsh treatment of the Spaniards. The Pueblo people were a peaceful people that were constantly under pressure to conform to Catholic doctrines and appease the Spaniards through forced servitude and slavery. The Spaniards were cruel (Pearson, 1973) and ruthless. Punitive measures were initiated against Pueblo peoples when the Spaniards determined individuals were not adhering to their demands, thus the Pueblo people began to defend themselves, such as when, “The Pueblo Indians never forgot the terrible defeat and suffering that occurred at Acoma [Battle of Acoma, January 1599] and in other pueblos. Many years later the pueblos banded together and drove the Spanish

from their land” (Lavash, 1980, p. 90). In the Pueblo people’s survival, they bore arms to defend themselves against Spanish tyranny.

From the time of Spanish rule, “Canes of authority were presented to all the pueblos sometime in 1620” (Sando, 1992, p. 168), representative of the Pueblos’ sovereign authority (Torres, 2015). These Spanish canes are carried today by Pueblo officials in the performance of their duties, accompanied by canes from the Mexican government (Torres, 2015), and canes Abraham Lincoln presented to the Pueblos in 1863, recognizing the tribes’ sovereignty and for their peaceful ways (Pierce & Durre, 2012). Regarding the Spanish canes, Sando (1976) wrote:

A royal decree of the King of Spain requires each pueblo, with the close of the calendar year, to choose a governor, lieutenant governor and other officials, by popular vote. They are to carry on the affairs of the Pueblo. Silver-headed canes are given to each Pueblo governor as a symbol of his office and authority, with the cross on the silver mount symbolizing the support of the church to his Pueblo. (p. 213)

Spanish domination continued and Christianity, namely Catholicism, was unwillingly imposed upon the Pueblo people. “By 1632... there were about 50 priests serving over 60,000 Indians who had become Christians. These Indians lived in ninety pueblos and were grouped in twenty-five missions. The pueblos were easily controlled, and the inhabitants brought corn and cotton to support Santa Fe, then a town of 250 Spaniards” (Lavash, 1980, p. 94). Non-Native historians have largely depicted a different reality about the Pueblo peoples. The Pueblo culture highly valued the sharing of resources and the Pueblo people were tremendously taken advantage of, eventually

resulting in slavery and forced servitude. Interestingly, friars and priests never learned Pueblo languages; therefore, the numbers of true converts are likely inflated. The explorations of Spanish expeditioners had to be substantiated by reports of conquests.

In or about 1664, the forced religion on the Pueblo people resulted in conflict. “The first recorded outbreak was caused by the whipping, imprisonment, and hanging of forty Indians who refused to give up their native religion and become Catholics... The Spanish continued to use force to convert the Indians to Christianity” (Lavash, 1980, p. 95). The Pueblo people were not warring societies. However, according to Ortiz (1974),

The peaceful Pueblos, content in their close-knit village life, went to war only when necessary – to defend themselves or to avenge a raid by enemy Indians (p. 169). Though the Pueblos shunned violence, the many injustices suffered under Spanish rule were intolerable, and in 1680 the villages, even the distant Hopi, successfully united to cast off the Spanish yoke. (p. 174)

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 occurred in the territory later known as New Mexico, on or about August 10, 1680, wherein pueblo members united to defeat the Spaniards. “The revolt culminated decades of resentment of religious persecution, demands for tribute payment, involuntary labor, and conflicts between religious and civil authorities who demanded obedience from Pueblo Indians” (Indian Pueblo Cultural Center Sandia Pueblo, 2007). The leader credited with the organization of the Pueblo Revolt was an individual identified as Popé, sometimes spelled Popay or Po’pay, from San Juan Pueblo, but there were other significant unidentified leaders assisting the effort (Sando & Agoyo, 2005). While the uprising against the Spaniards was in the planning phase, Popé

relocated from San Juan Pueblo to Taos. A plan had been formulated and knotted deerskin strips were created to signify the date of the revolt, scheduled to commence on August 11, 1680. Each knot represented a day and when the last knot was untied, the revolt was to begin.

According to Sando (2002) of Jemez Pueblo, on August 8, 1680, two runners were sent to begin notifying the pueblos of the date of uprising, however the two Tesuque runners were captured by the Spaniards and subsequently executed. Dozier (1970) noted when the Pueblo of Tesuque learned the runners had been intercepted, they sent additional messengers to the other pueblos to expedite the rebellion plan. Depending upon the source of information, discussions ensued amongst members of various pueblos, including Cochiti Pueblo, Hopi, Jemez Pueblo, Nambe Pueblo, Pecos Pueblo, Picuris Pueblo, Santa Clara Pueblo, Santo Domingo Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo, Taos Pueblo, Tesuque Pueblo, and Zuni Pueblo, regarding the planned revolt. Evidently the other pueblos had been notified of the revised message, as the Revolt began on August 10, 1690 (Dozier, 1970). As the Spaniards retreated, the Pueblo people showed compassion and did not attack (Dozier, 1970). “In comparison to the atrocities of the Spanish, the Pueblo behavior was humane... the Pueblos rarely matched the cruelty meted to them by Spanish officials. From any behavioral standard, Pueblo conduct throughout the Spanish period demonstrat(ed) a higher ethic than that of the intruding population” (Dozier, 1970, p. 59). Today, the Pueblo Revolt continues to influence culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification of the Pueblo people.

There are many legends told about the fate of Popé by outsiders, fed by speculation and conjecture, which are not complementary. In 2005, New Mexico gave a

statue of Popé to the National Statuary Hall Collection, located at Capitol Hill, in Washington, DC. The sculptor, Cliff Fragua, offered the following information about Popé, as there are not any written descriptions or images in existence:

In my rendition, he holds in his hands items that will determine the future existence of the Pueblo people. The knotted cord in his left hand was used to determine when the Revolt would begin. As to how many knots were used is debatable, but I feel that it must have taken many days to plan and notify most of the Pueblos. The bear fetish in his right hand symbolizes the center of the Pueblo world, the Pueblo religion. The pot behind him symbolizes the Pueblo culture, and the deerskin he wears is a humble symbol of his status as a provider. The necklace that he wears is a constant reminder of where life began, and his clothing consists of a loin cloth and moccasins in Pueblo fashion. His hair is cut in Pueblo tradition and bound in a chongo. On his back are the scars that remain from the whipping he received for his participation and faith in the Pueblo ceremonies and religion. (Architect of the Capitol, 2014)

Herman Agoyo, San Juan Pueblo, succinctly stated the following about the significance of Popé's efforts, "To the Pueblo people here, Popé is our hero. Tribes were on the verge of losing their cultural identity when the Pueblo Revolt brought everything back on track for our people" (Martinez, 2015). At the time of the dedication of Popé's statue, Senator Pete Domenici commented:

The result of that uprising is still evident today as the Pueblo Indians continue to live a distinct lifestyle... Today's Indian Pueblos are a cultural haven from ancient times. However, for all New Mexicans who came after, the revolt taught

us an enduring lesson of tolerance and acceptance. It is this lesson that has resulted in New Mexico having one of the best and richest multicultural societies in the United States. (Sunlight Foundation, 2015)

Senator Jeff Bingaman stated:

Po'pay was born in Ohkay Owingeh, San Juan Pueblo, in 1630. He was a deeply humble man, with deep respect for his Pueblo's culture, language, traditions, and customs, and a dedication to passing these things on to future generations. During the seventeenth century the Pueblo way of life was seriously threatened. Some did not want the Pueblo people to practice their language, culture, or traditions, depriving them of their very core. Po'pay successfully united the separate Pueblo nations. This group of some 150 Pueblo leaders united against those who sought to destroy their way of life and prevailed. Po'pay led this great revolt and the fight for respect the Pueblo people deserved. Through his devotion and commitment to the preservation of Pueblo culture, Po'pay played an irreplaceable role in helping to shape our Nation's future. By championing the customs and traditional ways of his ancestors, he strengthened and preserved the Pueblo heritage for future generations. (Sunlight Foundation, 2015)

After 1680, the Spaniards made several attempts to return to New Mexico, however their efforts were thwarted. The Spaniards permanently returned in 1692 (Nies, 1996), with a different outlook. The Pueblos remained under Spanish rule until 1821, when Mexico ceded from Spain (Lavash, 1980). In 1848, as a part of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Pueblos became a part of the United States. McGuire (1992) wrote, "The Pueblos were an anomaly for U.S. Indian policy. They looked civilized,

with solid stone homes, fields, and livestock, and the treaty in which Mexico ceded the Southwest to the United States required that the United States respect their rights and extend them citizenship” (p. 821). Deloria (1974) also maintained,

The status of Pueblo people of New Mexico had always been different from that of other Indians. When Mexico ceded the territory in 1848, the United States confirmed the Pueblos’ land titles and offered full citizenship to them... But as “full citizens” the Indians found their lands without even the skimpy protection of federal guardianship and became easy prey for land grabbers. (p. 365)

The Pueblo people have survived three governments: Spain, Mexico, and the United States.

When the Pueblo tribes became a part of the United States, the land grants accompanying the Pueblos became a highly sought after resource in the New Mexico territory. New Mexico became a state in 1912 and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century brought about efforts to take Pueblo lands. New Mexico Senator Holm Bursam presented a bill in 1922 siding with non-Pueblo property owners that placed the burden of proof of land ownership on the Pueblo tribes (Deloria, 1974). The Bursum Bill was eventually defeated, reversing the burden of proof on the legitimacy of non-Pueblo property owner’s claims (Deloria, 1974). In 1924, the 1924 Pueblo Lands Act was passed by Congress and claims had to be proven by both tribal and non-tribal entities. Also, in 1924 most tribe’s members had been granted U.S. citizenship, with several exceptions of full citizenship including the Pueblo Indians.



Although scientists may contend a modification in Pueblo culture and cultural identity has occurred due to the inclusion of historical events, these inclusions are a manifestation of oral tradition and history. According to Sando (1992),

For Pueblo Indians, tradition was history; history was tradition. Through the art of ritual dance and mime, the Pueblo people related their traditional history, passing the stories down from generation to generation. That traditional history survives is shown in the many additions to the dances made through time, as events shaped and altered the lives of people. (p. 170)

Those traditions, and history, are alive and ever present today.

Suina and Smolkin (1994) contended, “Certain Pueblos cling more closely to traditions than others” and that those Pueblos that have had “significant contact with the outside world... have adopted many values and behaviors of the dominant Euro-American society” (p. 116-117). They also asserted, “Teaching and learning in the more traditional Pueblos remains in the hands of all Pueblo members, in contrast to formalized American schooling where education is the province of ‘experts’” (p. 117). While maybe generally true, even in the Pueblos that are viewed as having integrated more of dominant society’s ways, there are still families within these Pueblos that orient toward a traditional way. In contemporary times, it is still common for adults to be reprimanded for behavior considered unacceptable by elders and community members. Today, the advice and approval of elders continues to be sought in the process of making important decisions, influencing Pueblo culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification.

Lekson (2009) speculated:

We should not limit Native history a priori. We should not say, “They couldn’t have done that.” Those limits, in both historical and archaeological thinking about Native Americans north of the Rio Grande, have unpleasant pedigrees – far more mistaken than mistaken theory. It was in our interests (I use the plural pronoun here to mean the United States of past times) to have simple, savage Natives – because essentially we wanted them gone. Our policies were less to assimilate than to eliminate, either by removal or destruction. (Efforts to remove or at least significantly diminish the Pueblos continued through the 1940’s.) And it was morally easier to exterminate savages than it was to topple civilizations. (p. 13)

Havighurst (1957) wrote, “The Indians of the Southwest, and especially the Pueblo tribes, are notably co-operative” (p. 109), however his statement was not meant to be complimentary. Being notably co-operative was a prohibitive factor in successful acculturation into dominant society and mainstream education. Spindler and Spindler (1957) also wrote of the Pueblo personality,

Among the Southwestern Pueblo peoples... a superficial pattern of restraints on the expression of interpersonal, in-group aggression operates; and the psychological process becomes altered. These societies are highly organized into communities governed by differentiated theocracies and structured by various interlocking and overlapping categories of kin, maternal clans, and ceremonial styles. The stress is on conformity to the rules of the group, with the theocrats as censors.

In the Pueblos the stress on overt interpersonal amiability, on constraint of direct interpersonal aggression, on avoiding the spotlight and not boasting, on conformity, helps maintain a tightly organized system of sociopolitical controls. It thus appears that... organized Pueblo peoples exercise exceptionally strong psycho-cultural sanctions against the overt expression of interpersonal, in-group aggression. (p. 150-151)

As a footnote, Spindler & Spindler included, “We recognize that all psycho-cultural systems include mechanisms for handling aggression. What is uniquely Indian about this is that the controls of aggression are highly developed and are linked with a nondemonstrative emotional mode that results in at least an appearance of interpersonal amiability in many, if not most, tribal and areal personalities” (p. 151).

Commerce was strengthened when track was laid for the railroads which passed through Pueblo lands around the 1880's (Peters, 1998). Throughout the 1920's, 1930's, 1940's and 1950's, easements were negotiated with the Pueblos for the establishment of major highways, including Route 66, Interstate 40, and Interstate 25. Additionally, intrastate power lines and natural gas lines began to be installed. With the coming and presence of outside entities, during the 1940's, “Trilingual Pueblo adults were common” (Suina, 2004, p. 287). Trilingualism was necessary for Pueblo people, as outside the Pueblo, tribal members had to communicate with Spanish, Mexican, and American peoples.

With respect to tribal economic activities, “today's economics are such that traditional subsistence farming, hunting, and gathering can no longer support Pueblo families. A wage-labor economy has turned time and energy away from traditional

subsistence pursuits” (Suina, 2004, p. 282). Although subsistence and employment have evolved to support today’s Pueblo families, the concept of community remains a principal value. In 1969, Deloria maintained,

Tribes that can handle their reservation conflicts in traditional Indian fashion generally make more progress and have better programs than do tribes that continually make adaptations to the white value system. The Pueblos of New Mexico have a solid community life and are just now, with the influx of college-educated Pueblos, beginning large development projects. In spite of the vast differences between the generations, the Pueblos have been able to maintain a sense of tribal purpose and solidarity, and developments are undertaken by the consensus of all the people of the community. (p. 21)

Tribal economic developments generally remain community based.

The face of education on tribally operated schools has also changed. “Another reality of Pueblo peoples today is that schools which were once governmental institutions that served as assimilative tools for eradicating anything that resembled indigeneity are now places that can encourage, support, and teach Indigenous languages and cultural knowledge” (Romero-Little, Sims, Romero, 2013, p. 170). Components of the Pueblo culture can be readily observed in schools operated by the Pueblos, such as the insertion of lessons teaching the Pueblo languages, books in the library with indigenous monologues, history told from the Native pueblo worldview, and government and political science courses taught from the pueblo perspective.

Suina (2004) powerfully summarized the plight of the Pueblo people as he stated, “Gold and soul-seeking conquerors from Spain, intertribal conflict, and a federal

government intent on cultural genocide through schooling failed to destroy the Native cultures and languages of the 19 New Mexico Pueblos (Dozier 1970; Sando 1976) (p. 281).” Ortiz (1974) affirmed, “The Pueblo Indian’s ancient religion still pervades his life. He believes that all things – animate and inanimate – have a place in the cosmos” (p. 174). Dozier (1970) eloquently stated, “Much of the ceremonial life and community living patterns that are uniquely Pueblo go on underneath as external surface of apparent acculturation to modern American culture” (p. 27).

In addition, “While the influence of the dominant, Euro-American society is clearly visible in terms of material possessions and subsistence patterns, traditional values and processes of Pueblo enculturation remain intact” (Smolkin & Suina, 1994 p. 3).

### **Research and Treatment Obstacles**

At all contact periods throughout U.S. history, the Native American population and reservations have served as a petre dish for many scientists and scholars, varying in frequency as to different historical periods, and occurring in some disciplines more than others. DeMallie and Rhoades (2000) exemplify this concept in their chapter entitled, *American Indian Health Innovations in Health Care, Promotion, and Policy*, as they stated, “The net result of the peopling of the Americas is an extraordinary opportunity to study a variety of human conditions and disease patterns” (p. 16). These early examinations and scientific studies, most unauthorized by the tribal governments and unbeknownst to individuals themselves (Mohatt, et al., 2004), conducted sometimes surreptitiously through “informants,” have caused tribes to be cautious and skeptical about the great majority of research requests. “Pueblo people have become extremely skeptical of research in general as a result of innumerable experiences with outside

research which have had a consistent pattern of little or no direct benefit to the Pueblo communities” (Romero, 1994, p. 37). Unfortunately, many social scientists were only interested in data collection without consideration of misinterpretation of the results utilizing theories inconsistent with Native culture (Burlew, Hucks, Burlew & Johnson, 2002). Dana (1984) contributed his thoughts:

As clinical psychologist assessors we have been unwitting conspirators in the preservation of American Indian status quo by using our instruments for caricature, dehumanization, and discrimination. This middle-class bias among clinical psychologists has been described in other contexts (Beit-Hallahmi, 1974). We have thereby contributed to a denial or limitation of individual access to educational and vocational opportunity in the dominant culture. (p. 41)

Deloria (1969) maintained, “Realistically, Indian people will continue to allow their communities to be turned inside out until they come to realize the damage that is being done to them. Then they will seal up the reservations until no further knowledge, useless or otherwise, is created. Thus the pendulum will swing radically from one extreme to another, whereas with understanding between the two groups it would not have to swing at all” (p. 96). Potentially, with more Native American bicultural psychologists conducting research, the momentum of the pendulum is beginning to swing closer to the middle. Mail, Conner and Conner (2006) concluded, “Indian tribes, beginning in the mid-1970’s, have increasingly moved toward more self-determination and management of their internal governmental affairs. This includes better control of research access to Indian communities” (p. 148). There is no doubt unauthorized

historical research conducted on Native communities contributed immensely to this situation.

The optimum setting with regard to research within Native communities heavily incorporates participatory community research, which has become a critical asset to researchers with investigational queries working in Indian Country. Wherein investigational inquiries were routinely conducted for the professional advancement of the researcher without consideration of the effects and implications of research outcomes for tribes, today ethical guidelines govern culturally competent research. Although there have been many examples cited in the beginning of this dissertation, two recent examples of exclusion of the Native community and leaders and unethical research occurred in the Barrow alcohol study conducted in 1980 and the Arizona State University Diabetes Project in the late 1980's.

Community based research respectfully acknowledges the framework of cultural values and beliefs specific to that particular population/group. Primary principles guiding community based participatory research include understanding issues within the context of the community, imperative community investment, and must be of benefit to the community (Caldwell, et al., 2005). Further, "researchers and others working in Indian Country must simultaneously ensure *both* that their work does no harm to Native communities *and* that it builds upon the strengths of these communities" (Caldwell, et al., 2005, p. 6).

In consideration of Native American bicultural psychologists conducting research today, *we* still struggle with meaningful and valid questions regarding cultural identity. Research conducted by Native American researchers with culturally appropriate

instrumentation also introduced struggles with formulating and constituting statistically relevant, definitive, and conclusive constructs. Additionally, the research results must have cultural, construct, and concurrent validity. We, as Native American researchers, still do not fully understand the details that matter, since a dearth of previous relevant research exists. Duran and Duran (1995) stated:

The study of cross-cultural thought is a difficult endeavor at best; the outcome of cross-cultural study may be the depreciation of culture rather than its legitimate analysis from another viewpoint... As long as the language implies that the discourse is cross-cultural, we are perpetuating the notion that other cultures do not have their own valid and legitimate epistemological forms. (p. 5)

Further, Tachine (2015) asserted, based upon work by Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva, “Research methods rooted in white ideologies – from the racially motivated origins of statistics and the eugenics movement to manipulating statistics to cast people of color as the problem – can oppress underrepresented populations’ approaches to research” (para. 5).

An additional consideration in bicultural scientists conducting research is associated with tribal knowledge. A Native individual may desire to pursue a certain area of secular research knowing that potential traditional implications may arise if the research deviated in another direction, which would compromise traditional religious boundaries. The Native scientist fully understands these boundaries and knowingly avoids the dangers. However, a funding agency, professional colleagues, non-Native graduate committee members, or the Institutional Review Board may not be satisfied with an explanation provided by the Native researcher. From outside perspectives, no



topics are off limits to exploration or investigation. According to Suina and Smolkin (1994):

In the Euro-American world, when one wishes to know about an event a simple visit to a library and a copying machine makes the knowledge portable and accessible to any who wish it. In the Pueblo world, many forms of knowledge are restricted; they are imparted only to those who are deemed ready, only to those who will have need for the information. (p. 119)

This example is further exemplified in the individual previously identified as RedHeart64 (2015), a third year archaeology doctoral student, in response to Tachine's 2015 story, related:

[I] once caught flack (from a colleague) when I mentioned having tribal knowledge about an image (that I was not at liberty to discuss). That student was outraged that I would not publish it for everyone to read, because according to him, I had a responsibility to share knowledge. He could not wrap his head around the idea that what I knew was PRIVATE and not for general consumption. (para. 2)

Traditional knowledge is sacred. Period. So when intrusive scientists have toyed with traditional knowledge, such as anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons, who moved to a village near San Juan Pueblo in the 1920's, she complained one of her Native informants enjoyed leading her down a path of fabricated wisdom (Johnson, 1997). Certain knowledge was not for her to know. Also, consider this example:

After Dr. [Alfonso] Ortiz began studying anthropology, he found some of the published reports suspect. He liked to tell visitors about the time he showed his

father and an uncle one of the classic works of northern New Mexico anthropology, Dr. John P. Harrington's "The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," published in 1916. When Dr. Ortiz read aloud some of the names of mesas and arroyos supposedly used by the San Juan people, the two men howled with laughter. Dr. Harrington's informants, confronted by a white man handing out money in return for geographical lore, had apparently improvised some of the information on the spot. (Johnson, 1997, para. 9)

Thus, a non-Native's understanding of the sacredness of traditional knowledge can bolster an academic, therapeutic, personal or professional relationship.

From a western perspective, there still exists polarity in understanding and approach. "Indigenous assets that support health and wellness are often framed negatively. Conversely, expressions – even unhealthy expressions – of dominant groups are framed positively" (Hodge & Limb, 2010, p. 121). This is also recognized in Guideline I of the APA Multicultural Guidelines (2002), wherein "Psychologists are encouraged to recognize that, as cultural beings, they may hold attitudes and beliefs that can detrimentally influence their perceptions of and interactions with individuals who are ethnically and racially different from themselves" (APA, 2002). At the core of treatment, this can significantly affect understanding of a client's pathology. Duran, Firehammer & Gonzalez (2008) posited, "Being a productive member of society has a very different meaning in traditional indigenous cultures, which are mainly concerned with the person's relationship to the universal cosmology versus curing a culturally defined psychological disorder" (p. 293). Further, Nelson and Manson (2000) asserted, "According to many Indian definitions... one's mental state exists in balance with other aspects of the self. It

is not necessarily distinct from the social, emotional, and spiritual components comprising the whole individual” (p. 311-312). Therefore, consideration and respect of the worldview of another is imperative.

Fortunately, cultural incompetence is improving, but there remains a disregard for Native ways. Based upon French (2004) and Whitbeck (2006), “Cultural competency is critical for effective service provision to Native Americans because they tend to operate from a different worldview than does the dominant secular culture” (Hodge & Limb, 2010, p. 121). In 2015, an email was initiated by a licensed clinical psychologist who was once a director of a tribal behavioral health program in New Mexico. With regard to an individual seeking a measure of traditional culture awareness and knowledge, this clinical psychologist responded, “Oooh! I know something like that would be frowned and sneered at here in New Mexico. Each tribe wants their own measure. You would never be invited to the buffet again! Although the Gathering of Nations is here in Albuquerque... many Pueblo folk think Pow Wow dancing is highly suspect – let’s not even start in on the politics of the Gathering. But I digress.” Unfortunately, this individual exhibited a gross lack of cultural competence and sensitivity, exemplifying the fact that bridging the two worlds in the field of psychology still has much work to be done.

Duran and Duran (1995) asserted, “The bridging task is more difficult than it might appear, since most western practitioners are deeply entrenched in a worldview that will not allow for openness outside of rational empirical thought processes” (p. 9). This bridging also presents problems in the western medical model, as “*western medicine* generally refers to the application of scientific principles initially promulgated by Euro-

American cultures, centered on *disease* as a concept” (Rhoades & Rhoades, 2000, p. 402). This differs greatly from a Native American perspective wherein “the term *traditional medicine* is generally used to describe the healing practices and beliefs of the Indian population. Although much of Indian medicine is based on empiric observation, the application of the principle of scientific inquiry utilizing blinded and carefully controlled observations is absent from traditional healing” (Rhoades & Rhoades, 2000, p. 402). Further, “As one might anticipate, traditional Indian persons frequently view mental disorder as a lack of balance of forces within the individual, which require harmonious restoration of mental processes” (Nelson & Manson, 2000, p. 312). This worldview may perplex clinicians with a western Eurocentric perspective.

Service providers may discount Native American traditional practices as being instrumental to health and well-being (Bigfoot & Schmidt, 2012). As a result, in contemporary times, generally Native Americans may deflect and avoid in-depth open discussions and revelation of cultural traditions, practices, and beliefs; thus, conversations about these topics are rare, if non-existent, between an American Indian patient and western Eurocentric provider, potentially defeating treatment effectiveness. Fortunately, Pomerville, Burrage and Gone (2016) have continued the discussion “that Indigenous therapeutic approaches (such as traditional healing) should be accorded legitimacy in clinical contexts despite the lack of scientifically controlled outcome research” (p. 12).

In serving a Native American patient, the provider must acknowledge the worldview of the client, as their perspectives may differ, especially in the case with a non-Native provider. This is recognized in Guideline II of the APA Multicultural

Guidelines (2002), wherein “Psychologists are encouraged to recognize the importance of multicultural sensitivity/responsiveness to, knowledge of, and understanding about ethnically and racially different individuals” (APA, 2002). Duran and Duran (1995) asserted:

One of the most important factors in the failure of the mental health delivery system is an inability of therapists to provide relevant forms of treatment to ethnic populations... Most providers are trained only in delivering services to the majority/dominant population. Usually therapists are completely unaware of the life experiences of the ethnic minority patient. (p. 8)

“The degree to which mental disorder is viewed from an indigenous or western orientation often is related to the person’s traditionality and the degree to which an individual has assumed the beliefs, values, and knowledge base of the larger society. This frequently is characterized as the degree to which an Indian person has been assimilated into the larger, dominant society” (Nelson & Manson, 2000, p. 312). The level of acculturation should also be assessed, which may present an inadvertent confound in conducting empirical research. Wohl (1995) stated:

With any American ethnic or subcultural minority group, the therapist must consider the patient’s degree of assimilation by the majority group. United States society is pluralistic, but most members of subcultures participate to varying degrees in the larger culture, and the psychotherapist will want to ascertain the degree of acculturation to that larger culture. This issue of multiple cultural identities can itself be a major component of the psychological difficulties besetting the patient. (p. 83)

“Native Americans are a group which is often neglected and overlooked by researchers. This is due to their infrequent inaccessibility and to their very small numbers” (Davis & Engel, 2011, p. 186). In assessment, cultural differences in the way symptoms are expressed can bias diagnostic tests. It is important to take a holistic approach, as enmeshment, interconnectedness, and intertwining are significant concepts in contrast to a compartmentalized approach.

With regard to ethical considerations pertaining to multiple relationships, the lines of kinship may be blurred when providing therapeutic services to Native American clients. Marmol (2003) proclaimed,

Even someone who is an outright relative or the relative of a friend is preferable as a therapist. In Native American communities and especially in the reservations, all persons are considered part of the extended family... The cultural sensitive therapist must blend with the community values and, in a sense, ignore the codes. (p.171)

Thus, the culturally sensitive therapist has added ethical and community responsibilities when working with Native clients.

Additionally, in consideration of a sterile psychological environment, there are methodological challenges in research that an indigenous population presents, including the confluence of traditional knowledge, traditional beliefs, methodology, and tribal and community obligatory aspects, which are frequently disregarded by mainstream psychology doctrines. The application of psychology to the Native American population must be studied scientifically in the context of Native human behavior and research specifically designed for that faction of indigenous people. This is recognized in

Guideline IV of the APA Multicultural Guidelines (2002), wherein “Culturally sensitive psychological researchers are encouraged to recognize the importance of conducting culture-centered and ethical psychological research among persons from ethnic, linguistic, and racial minority backgrounds.” Unfortunately, this dynamic remains an absent element in mainstream clinical psychology, specifically pertinent to the contemporary practice and science of psychology, as Western and European influence continues to dominate psychological theory and treatment.

For example, the MMPI-2, one of the most widely used instruments in the world, is routinely used to assess Native American clients despite “Test scores [being] biased against Native American people and culture in that many phenomena that are normal within the Native American life are deemed pathological by test instruments such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI)” (Duran and Duran, 1995, p. 97). Further, “The use of the MMPI with Native Americans/Alaskan Natives is more problematic than for other ethnic minority populations... Native American psychiatric patients, regardless of diagnosis, cultural orientation, or tribal affiliation, show similar profiles with elevations on F, 4, and 8” (Aponte, Rivers & Wohl 1995, p. 65), which was consistent with Dana’s (2000) findings.

Hill, Pace and Robbins (2010) conducted a study pertaining to use of the MMPI-2 and found only three published studies examining the use of the MMPI-2 with a Native American population. This particular mixed design study included thirteen participants from an Eastern Woodlands nation in Oklahoma. The researchers were American Indian/White, White, and American Indian. The study found significant differences in the MMPI interpretation on items F, 1, 6, 8, and 9. There were nine themes that emerged:

1) Core Belief System, 2) Experiences of Racism and Discrimination, 3) Conflicting Epistemologies, 4) Living in Two Worlds, 5) Community Connectedness, 6) Responsibility and Accountability to the Community, 7) Traditional Knowledge, 8) Stories as Traditional Knowledge, and 9) Language and Historic Loss.

In theme one, across all five areas, according to Hill et al. (2010), “the items on these scales seem to bring out aspects of a core belief system that are considered to be very positive, healthy, and normal” (p. 20). This finding contrasted the perspectives of Graham (1993) and Greene (2000) in their interpretation in these areas of “accurately identifying and assessing psychopathology, such as bizarre mentation, peculiar experiences, or suspiciousness” (Hill, Pace & Robbins, 2010, p. 20). In theme two, scales F, 6, and 8 emerged in that “participants’ legitimate and valid reports or experiences of personal and collective racism and discrimination are inaccurately pathologized with regard to these scales and their respective items” (Hill et al., 2010, p. 20). According to Graham (1993) and Greene’s (2000) interpretations, this conflicted with their perspective in measuring “psychopathology, such as feelings of isolation, social alienation, and persecutory ideas” (Hill, et al., 2010, p.21).

In theme three, scales F, 6, and 8 again emerged, and “items from these scales appear(ed) to access and pathologize certain beliefs, behaviors, experiences, and perceptions that are accepted, valued, and considered healthy and important to maintaining this particular cultural system” (Hill, et al., 2010, p.21). This interpretation diverged from Graham (1993) and Greene’s (2000) assessment in “accurately assessing for peculiar perceptions, acknowledgement of delusions, or unlikely beliefs” (Hill, et al.,



2010, p. 21). Hill et al. (2010) found in theme four, scales 1 and 4 emerged, as the participants

responded to and interpreted these items from their own cultural perspective and context... (further they) provided detailed accounts of perpetual internalized conflict they experience(d); the physical, emotional and spiritual distress they experience(d) as a result of being forced to accommodate the expectations, values and norms of the dominant culture at the expense of their own. (p. 21)

These findings differentiated from Graham (1993) and Greene's (2000) view of "aspects of psychopathology such as preoccupation with physical symptoms, contradictory beliefs, expectations and self-descriptions" (Hill, et al., 2010, p. 21).

In theme five, scales F and 6 emerged, which were related to identity development through "deep affiliation and involvement in the community... valued in both historic and contemporary terms, ... and traditional knowledge" (Hill, et al., 2010, p. 21, 22). In theme six, scales F, 6, 8 and 9 emerged, as "the collectivist orientation or worldview exhibited by the participants... the majority of whom reported finding strength, peace, comfort, and support within the community" (Hill, et al., 2010. 22).

These results were contrary to Graham (1993) and Greene's (2000) evaluation related to "characteristics of psychopathology such as interpersonal sensitivity, questions of self-worth and identity, and social dependency" (Hill, et al., 2010, p. 22). Further, Hill et al. (2010) concluded the MMPI "marginalizes and pathologizes individuals who consider their survival as well as the culture's to be dependent upon the value (in both practice and concept) of community" (p. 22).

In theme seven, scale F emerged, as, “There is no question as to the validity or legitimacy of traditional knowledge within the cultural system” (Hill, et al., 2010, p. 22). In theme eight, scales F and 9 emerged, in that, “Cultural, social, and behavioral norms and values derived from traditional knowledge and its modes of transmission, both unique and specific to this culture, appear to be psychopathological by items from these two scales” (Hill, et al., 2010, p. 23). This interpretation significantly differed from Graham’s (1993) analysis that “the F scale is a general indicator of the severity of psychopathology” (p. 23) and Greene’s (2000) conclusion that “Scale 9 is designed to measure poor reality contact, unstable mood, grandiosity and other hypomanic symptoms (Comrey, 1958)” (Hill, et al., 2010, p. 23). In theme nine, scale 8 emerged, as it appeared to “access components of language and historic loss” (Hill, et al., 2010, p. 23). This outcome varied from Graham (1993), Greene (2000), and Butcher and Williams’ (2000), scale 8 judgement that this scale “is designed to access general distress, unusual thought processes and content, peculiar perceptions, and social alienation or estrangement” (Hill, et al., 2010, p. 23).

This study highlighted the importance of assessment tools utilized in the present to conduct routinely used assessments with the Native American population (Hill, Robbins, & Pace, 2012). Hill et al. (2010) also emphasized, “Psychological self-determination... is the right of Indigenous peoples to be the *only* authority in defining, conceptualizing, and assessing psychopathology within their own cultural systems” (p. 23). This research questions the validity of the MMPI-2’s use with American Indians. This study also brings to light the very essence of a Native American’s worldview and core belief system and how it is overpathologized by western psychology.

To further complicate the matter of diagnosis, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) continues to be the all-encompassing standard for mental illness diagnosis across cultures. The DSM, which once labelled traditional beliefs and practices as psychopathological process, does not take into account indigenous understandings and conceptualizations. The DSM does contain the “within a cultural context” clause, however that verbiage is easy to ignore when majority society’s worldview remains dominant.

“Level of acculturation is also an important consideration in mental health service delivery” (Allen & French, 1994, p. 1). Further, according to Garrett and Pichette, “Given the diversity of within-group cultural values held by Native American clients representing varying degrees of acculturation, cultural identity must be assessed by counselors working with these clients in order to provide the most effective services” (p. 9).

According to Sternberg (2004),

When cultural context is taken into account, (a) individuals are better recognized for and are better able to make use of their talents, (b) schools teach and assess children better, and (c) society utilizes rather than wastes the talents of its members. One can pretend to measure intelligence across cultures simply by translating Western tests and giving them to individuals in a variety of cultures.

But such measurement is only pretense. Care must be taken even when attempting to measure the intelligence of various cultural groups *within* a society. (p. 336)

Recently, a progressive movement has begun in the acknowledgement and validation of the contributions of multicultural, cross-cultural, and indigenous fields of psychology, as one universal belief and value system is not pertinent to all cultures.

### **Cultural Inventories, Surveys and Measures**

Western psychology has a plethora of instruments to measure components of cultural identity. While many of these instruments had utility, most were not created by Native American scientists. Further, some of these cultural identity assessments were not normed on the Native American population. However, the sciences and scientists are becoming ethnically diverse and instruments such as the Native American Identity Scale, the Native American Acculturation Scale, and the American Indian Biculturalism Inventory were developed by Native professionals.

### **Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure**

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), was created by Phinney (1999). The MEIM used 14 items that assessed an individual's degree of exploration, commitment, participation in cultural activities, and affirmation and belonging regarding their ethnic group (Davis & Engel, 2011). The items were summed on a scale of one to four and a composite score was used to determine degree of ethnic identity achievement (Phinney, 1992). The MEIM had been used with various ethnic populations with European American as the comparison group (Phinney, 1992; Roberts, et al., 1999; Phinney & Ong, 2006). The MEIM had been used in multiple studies (Roberts, et al., 1999; Ponterro, Gretchen, Utsey, Stracuzzi, & Saya, 2003) and reportedly had consistent reliability (alphas above .80) across a wide range of ethnic groups and ages (Phinney, 1992). The MEIM-Revised was developed in 1999 and had potential with comparing and

measuring ethnic identity (Brown, et. al, 2014). There were items on the MEIM which could be adapted to different ethnic populations, however there is a paucity in the research literature where the MEIM was adapted for a Native population. Refer to Appendix H, which contains the MEIM.

### **Ethnic Identity Scale**

The Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS), developed by Umana-Taylor, Yazedijan, & Bamaca-Gomez (2004), measured three areas of ethnic identity formation: exploration of aspects related to an individual's ethnicity, resolution of issues related to an individual's ethnicity, and affirmation of an individual's positive/negative feelings about their ethnicity (Davis & Engel, 2011, p. 165). The 17-item scale was based on a four-point Likert type scale design and conducted using an adult population, assessing three areas: exploration, affirmation, and resolution. The EIS did not include norming on a Native American adult population as only 1% of 231 participants were self-identified Native Americans (Umana-Taylor, et al., 2004). Refer to Appendix I, which contains the EIS.

Yetter and Fouch (2013) replicated Umana-Taylor et al.'s study and conducted research with a Native American boarding school adolescent population in Oklahoma. Students represented 31 tribes (57% identified as Cherokee and 12% mixed Cherokee and other tribal lineage) and were required to be recognized as a member of a federally acknowledged Indian tribe or ¼ blood descendent of a tribal member. Yetter and Fouch found conflict in the results with the original study's structural validity, attributing this to the educational setting of the participants. However, they endorsed the EIS as "having a strong structure that holds for Native American adolescents" (p. 442).

### **Native American Acculturation Scale**

The Native American Acculturation Scale (NAAS) was created by Garrett & Pichette in 2000. The scale was a modification of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA) and the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA) (Garrett & Pichette, 2000). The NAAS was designed to measure language, identity, friendships, behaviors, generation/geographic background, and pride (Davis & Engel, 2011). The 20-item scale was based on a five-point Likert-like scale design. The scoring of this assessment was unidirectional, on a continuum from traditional Native American to assimilated mainstream American, and differentiated between those that are and are not culturally identified as Native American (Garrett & Pichette, 2000). Refer to Appendix J, which contains the NAAS.

### **Native Identity Scale**

The Native Identity Scale (NIS), was created by Gonzalez and Bennett (2011), to assess dimensions of American Indian identity relevant to socializing agents and psychosocial outcome variables. The NIS was modified from the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton & Smith, 1998), which was an adaptation of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton & Smith, 1997). The NIS was based on an orthogonal model and assessed four areas consisting of Centrality, Humanist, Public Regard, and Oppressed Minority. The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity explored “the status of an individual’s ethnic identity and what the qualitative meaning of a group membership is within the person’s self-concept. The most valid indicator of ethnic identity is assumed to be the individual’s own perception” (Gonzalez & Bennett, 2011, p. 24). This

instrument showed some promise, however no other studies have been conducted using this inventory.

### **Orthogonal Cultural Identification Scale**

Oetting and Beauvais' Orthogonal Theory of Acculturation (1990) has been used as the basis for many cultural identity instruments. The basis of this scale was a distinguishing factor in its "flexibility and greater range of cultural outcomes... any pattern of monocultural, bicultural, or multicultural identification is possible" (Chiarella, Oetting, & Swaim, 1998, p.132). "Research by Oetting and Beauvais (1990) suggest[ed] that identification with different cultures is orthogonal" (Allen & French, 1994, p. 1). In this orthogonal theory, they proposed that an individual's identification with one culture was not affected when gaining cultural competence in another culture and "concluded that is not mixed but weak cultural identification that create[d] problems" (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993, p. 403). In addition, in this theory, "an individual's position along a continuum of identification with one culture implie[d] nothing about the individual's position along a continuum of identification with another culture" (Gonzalez & Bennett, 2011, p. 23) and that "cultural identification develops within the family" (Burlew, Hucks. Burlew & Johnson, 2002, p. 638). Further, "the orthogonal model, based on the continuous and independent measurement of identification, allows for cultural assessment that falls anywhere in a two- or multidimensional space... any correlation between cultural identification scores [wa]s possible." (Chiarella, Oetting, & Swaim, 1998, p.132, 139).

This was initially tested with a Native American adolescent population using the Orthogonal Cultural Identification Scale (1990). This instrument was tested on a sample

of adult Mission Indians in California and found to be valid and reliable for the adult population sampled as well (Venner, Wall, Lau, & Ehlers, 2006).

In their research, Oetting and Beauvais (1990) identified four categories: high bicultural identification, high identification with one culture and medium identification with another, low identification with either culture, and monocultural identification. This theory asserted four assumptions:

- (a) Cultural identification can be assessed, (b) it is important to assess identification with any culture independently of assessing identification with any culture, (c) identification with a culture may be a source of strength, and (d) cultural identification is strongly linked to culture-specific attitudes and behaviors (Burlew, Hucks. Burlew & Johnson, 2002, p. 638)

### **American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Northern Plains**

The American Indian Biculturalism Inventory - Northern Plains (2014, McDonald, Ross, & Rose), is a 24 item self-administered questionnaire based upon a four point Likert-like scale, assessing social behaviors related to cultural practices, worldviews, beliefs, and acculturation. The American Indian Biculturalism Inventory - Northern Plains (AIBI – NP) is of orthogonal design, based upon Oetting and Beauvais' orthogonal model, and measures four levels of cultural orientation: traditional, assimilated, bicultural, and marginalized. According to Gourneau (2002) and Baker (2005, 2009), individuals identifying as culturally traditional highly identified with American Indian (AI) culture and minimally identified with European American (EA) culture. Individuals, identifying as assimilated highly identified with EA culture and have low identification with AI culture. Bi-culturally affiliated individuals highly identified



with both EA and AI cultures. Individuals classified in the marginalized arena have low identification with both EA and AI cultures. Psychometrically, the AIBI-NP has shown both consistent reliability and validity across a sample of over 600 Northern Plains Indians and non-Native participants.

The Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism posited those individuals identifying highly with more than one cultural and ethnic background functioned and performed at higher levels and experienced lower levels of psychopathology (McDonald et al., 2015). Burlew, Hucks, Burlew and Johnson (2002) also found, “Empirical research has revealed that ethnic/racial identity has numerous positive consequences for ethnic group members such as less vulnerability to adjustment difficulties, less psychological distress, (and) greater levels of self-actualization” (p. 638). Contrastingly, those individuals having low levels of bicultural identification experience greater life challenges, and higher degrees of psychopathology.

The AIBI – NP was fully developed in 2014. The Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory – III (NPBI – III), Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory – Revised (NPBI – R), and the American Indian Biculturalism Inventory - Northern Plains, preceded the fully developed AIBI – NP, in 2011, 2005, and 2002 respectively. All inventories underwent psychometric testing and resulted in efficient measures of cultural identification among Northern Plains American Indians (Baker, 2005, 2009; Gourneau, 2002).

The original Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory (NPBI), developed by Allen and French, was developed in 1994. The NPBI was initially 30 items and there were two versions, a college version and a community version (Allen & French, 1994). The

foundation of the NPBI was the Rosebud Personal Opinion Survey, developed in or about 1995. Three scales were identified: the American Indian Cultural Identification (AICI) scale, the European American Cultural Identification (EACI) scale, and a Language scale. Scoring of the NPBI utilized a median split procedure.

### **Purpose**

Generations of Native Americans have been impacted by historical and contemporary educational approaches. These systematic proceedings have had a significant impact on the psychological well-being, culture, cultural identity, and cultural identification of this population. The introduction of U.S. indigenous peoples to the field of psychology was not a flattering phenomenon. Western psychology tools and assessments, including IQ tests, were administered to Native people and unsurprisingly, the deleterious results were used to bolster dominant society's position on western intellect. Duran and Duran (1995) powerfully emphasized some devastating effects of these test results wherein "Many examples can be cited of Native American people losing their freedom, being sterilized, or losing their children simply because they were not able to pass the white standards of a psychometric test" (p. 19). Misunderstanding and confusion about Native peoples have also been perpetuated, attributed to "...Intelligence testing and sciencing based on eugenics are the root metaphors upon which modern theory and practice are based" (Duran & Duran, 1995, p.5). Sternberg (2004) also spoke to a one sided perspective proclaiming, "Work that seeks to study intelligence acontextually risks the imposition of an investigator's view of the world on the rest of the world" (p.325). Native psychologist Trimble (1987) asserted:

Twentieth-century attempts to understand the character and personality of the first Americans range from the reverent, dignified impressions of social anthropologists to the careful use and manipulation of psychometrics by psychiatrists. In general, the findings produce an image in which the Indian is seen as less than normal and in some cases even pathological. (p. 339)

In 1963, in his speech, John F. Kennedy (Pierce & Durre, 2012) said, “For a subject worked and reworked so often in novels, motion pictures, and television, American Indians remain probably the least understood and most misunderstood Americans of us all.” Joe (1994) eloquently summarized the following:

As a subject of many studies, Native Americans have been examined and reexamined by a variety of researchers. As the life and behavior of Native Americans are held under the microscope, there is often an implicit or explicit assumption that traditionalism or strong adherence to the tribal culture is a strong negative force that prevents Native Americans from being “normal” and/or like other members of mainstream society. Therefore, traditionalism is blamed for poor outcomes. (p. 108)

In addition, “The assumption that Indians and members of other alien groups were inferior because they were simple, primitive, or savage dominated the thinking of the Western world during most of the nineteenth century” (Brophy & Aberle, 1964, p. 179). Western society superiority dictated psychological research. “Paschall & Sullivan, 1925... [suggested] the degree of Indian blood present in other races was a predictor of lower intelligence” (McDonald & Chaney, 2003, p. 47). Additionally, psychologists have provided psychological services to the Native American client with a westernized

one-size-fits-all model, without adaptation, analogous to geometrically forcing a circular object into a square, despite the consequences of the treatments and instrumentation not being normed on the American Indian population.

Trimble and Clearing-Sky (2009) found that Native Americans “are probably the most studied ethnic minority group in the United States” according to the historical records they reviewed. “In the late 1960’s, there were probably fewer than 10 doctoral-level psychologists of American Indian background living in the United States” (Trimble, 2000, p. 141). In 1983, 180 Native American doctoral and master level psychologists were reported (Stapp, et al, 1985). Trimble and Clearing-Sky (2009) found in 1989, APA recorded 91 American Indian psychologists who were of Associate, Member and Fellow status. In 2001, APA reported 244 Native American psychologists who represented 43 different tribes. In 2004, after APA instituted Native American members having to indicate their tribal affiliation, the number of American Indian psychologists decreased to 212. Of those, 194 had doctoral degrees. In 2013, APA reported 193 Native American affiliated members (W. Peters, personal communication, April 24, 2014). In 2015, *The Monitor on Psychology*, a publication of the American Psychological Association, asks “Who are today’s psychologists?” The article, originating from APA’s Center for Workforce Studies, documents Hispanic, Asian and African-American psychologists in the field, however there is no specific mention of the Native American psychology workforce, much less within the clinical psychology workforce. In addressing gender and racial/ethnic groups, Native American psychologists are included in the “Other” classification (Weir, 2015). Another 2015 *Monitor on Psychology*’s issue asks, “Is psychology becoming more diverse?” Again, originating from APA’s Center for

Workforce Studies, the article highlights White, Hispanic, Asian and African-American psychologists, but no reference to the Native American psychologist (Lin, Stamm & Christidis, 2015).

McDonald and Chaney (2003) asserted, “Nationally, there should be proportionally at least as many American-Indian psychologists in the field as there are American-Indian people in the country (around 2%).” LaFromboise (1988) speculated there were approximately 1:2213 majority culture psychologists to majority culture members. In comparison, there were 1:8333 American Indian psychologists to American Indians, which is approximately four times lower than mainstream psychology (McDonald, 1994). In 2000, Rabasca reported “for every 30,000 American Indian people, there is only one American Indian clinical psychologist.”

Although the number of Native clinical doctoral psychologists will likely never be fully proportional to the Native American population, there have been great strides in the effort to increase the numbers. According to Trimble and Clearing-Sky (2009), the pooled DOE and NSF data indicate that 330 doctoral degrees in psychology were awarded to Indians and Natives from the period of 1976-1977 to 2003.” In 2010, there were 84 students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities pursuing clinical psychology doctoral degrees (National Science Foundation, 2010). In addition, the APA Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists, a.k.a. Multicultural Guidelines, implemented in 2002 after a forty-year multicultural movement in psychology (APA 2008), have assisted this endeavor to increase ethnic minority psychologists.

Further efforts to increase Native American clinical psychologists included lobbying at the federal level for congressional funding. Collaboratively, Dr. Arthur McDonald, Dr. Justin “Doug” McDonald, and APA were instrumental in lobbying for the U.S. Senate to include a provision for Indians into Psychology Doctoral Education (INPSYDE) in the 1992 Indian Health Care Improvement Act. In 1992 Senator Kent Conrad (D-North Dakota) proposed the University of North Dakota (UND) Quentin N. Burdick Indian Health Programs Initiative within Senate Bill 2412 (Trimble & Clearing-Sky, 2009). Congressional funding appropriation occurred in 1995 for the INPSYDE program.

UND’s clinical psychology program has been “fully accredited since 1969 and represents one of older accredited scientist-practitioner training programs in the nation today” (UND Psychology Arts and Sciences, 2014). The selection into the clinical psychology program is very competitive, with only seven students admitted a year (UND Doctoral Program in Clinical Psychology, 2017). The first Native American clinical psychology student, Shelly Peltier, of Belcourt, ND, was accepted into the program in or about the 1980’s (J.D. McDonald, Personal communication, October 16, 2015). She completed the PhD program in 1992.

At about the time Dr. Peltier was completing her degree, the INPSYDE program was becoming a reality at UND. Co-directors Dr. J. Douglas McDonald, a member of the Oglala Lakota tribe, and then UND Director of Clinical Training, Dr. Jeffrey Holm, instituted the program in 1993. From the beginning, there were two primary goals of the INPSYDE program, which included increasing the number of American Indians with doctoral degrees in psychology (INPSYDE, 2017) by “identify[ing] and recruit[ing]

promising American Indian students into the field of Psychology by establishing a pipeline from grade school to the graduate level” (McDonald, 1994, p. 54). Secondly, the program emphasized “provid[ing] culturally appropriate training to all UND students” (McDonald, 1994, p. 54) by enhancing the cross-cultural understanding and competence of non-Indians about Indian Psychology (INPSYDE, 2017). In addition, the program concentrated on four problem areas: “too few mental health professionals in Native American communities; too few Native American mental health professionals; substandard availability of quality mental health services in Native American communities within the immediate five-state area; and insufficient cross-cultural training in mainstream psychology” (INPSYDE, 2017).

Through the efforts of Dr. J. D. McDonald, INPSYDE program director since 1994, the program has been successful in the recruitment, retention, and graduation arenas. In recruitment efforts, there is a two week annual INPSYDE Program Summer Institute enrichment program for Native high school students interested in pursuing a degree in psychology related disciplines. This program is designed to assist students in developing strong academic foundations in psychology and science which are skills vital to success in college.

In the fall semesters of 1993 and 1994, two students were admitted into the INPSYDE program. By 1997, the INPSYDE program had awarded 23 master’s level degrees. In 2000, eight Native graduate students were enrolled (Rabaska, 2000). By 2004, UND had awarded ten INPSYDE doctoral degrees. In 2017, there are seven doctoral candidates and three master’s level students in the program. In 2017, a total of twenty-two clinical psychology doctoral degrees have been earned by Native American

scholars, all of whom have been of Northern Plains descent. In consideration of the barriers these students' ancestral lineage have endured and overcome, this was no small feat. These twenty-two UND INPSYDE clinical psychologists have contributed to the field of psychology through research, practice, education, resilience, and perseverance, thereby progressively changing the dominant western psychological approach to the needs of the indigenous peoples.

Although, “historically, Native Americans have been one of the most neglected groups of people in this country in education, health and mental health” (Duran & Duran, 1995, p. 24) Native American clinical psychologists have contributed to the field of psychology. Currently, cultural adaptations and modifications to western psychological theoretical orientations by American Indians have been successful in some areas of “pathology.” Of course, in 2017, diagnosis of psychopathology in Natives is still determined by the DSM-V, a westernized tool.

One example of positive change was a study conducted in 1987 by Joseph Trimble, “of Lakota Oyate background on his father's side of the family” (Task Force on Indigenous Psychology, n.d.). The results of his study were contained in the article, *Self-Perception and Perceived Alienation among American Indian*. In the article he discussed surveying 791 American Indians about self- perceptions, feelings of perceived alienation and construct relations. Contrary to the majority of psychological and anthropological literature in existence, he found “The American Indian’s self-image is moderately positive... what many American Indians have long known.” His empirical research findings were ground breaking, as “throughout the decades numerous studies have



attested to the negative image Indians held about themselves” (p. 330). He concluded an accurate portrayal of American Indians was essential to future policy implications.

The future of indigenous persons affecting native policy begins in the pipeline of Native students matriculating into higher education at all levels. “American- Indian graduate faculty and graduate students should be valued for their ability to bring alternative perspectives on research, assessment, diagnosis, and treatment to the field of psychology” (McDonald & Chaney, 2003, p. 50). There “is an undeniable fact that throughout the history of federal regulation and the many failures of government policy, Indians and Natives survive through deep commitments to identity, traditions, customs, language, and now control over their destiny through self-determination” (Trimble & Clearing-Sky, 2009, p. 349). The influence on the worldview of 21st century Natives has astronomical implications. The U.S. government in their assimilation efforts could not have conceived of the idea that Native Americans could become educated at the highest levels, retain their traditionalism, and use their obtained educations as equals on the battlefields of contemporary American society. King (2012) affirmed,

Native cultures aren’t static. They’re dynamic, adaptive, and flexible, and for many of us, the modern variations of older tribal traditions continue to provide order, satisfaction, identity and value in our lives. More than that, in the five hundred years of European occupation, Native cultures have already proven themselves to be remarkably tenacious and resilient. (265-66)

“Attitudes toward one’s ethnicity are central to the psychological functioning of those who live in societies where their group and its culture are at best poorly represented” (Phinney, 1992, p. 499; Gonzalez & Bennett, 2011, p. 22). “Indian peoples

are not vanishing from the face of the earth, nor are they slipping into a hyphenated pan-Indian Americanism” (McGuire, 1992, p. 828). King (2012) elaborated on the current status of Native Peoples, “We’re cops, teachers, judges, writers, musicians, painters, soldiers, dancers, chefs, business men and women, pilots, architects, hockey players, singers. We’re doctors, lawyers, and Indian chiefs. We’re everywhere. Absolutely everywhere. Just a reminder of our cultural persistence and adaptation” (p. 165). Corrine Sanchez, San Ildefonso Pueblo member and recent ASU doctoral graduate stated during commencement activities, “I feel it validates everything that we have already known, like that we have come from this lineage of scientists and philosophers and teachers... There is power to letters, there is power to names, and I think that reflection from the outside really affirms our place at the table, that we have always belonged here” (White, 2015, para. 22).

Since the mid 1500’s, through five centuries of assimilation and acculturation efforts, the Pueblo Indians have been able to maintain a majority of their traditional ways. Romero-Little, Sims and Romero (2013) wrote, “Despite having been influenced in more recent times by the wider mainstream society, the Rio Grande Pueblos have their own distinctive culture that remains the core of their daily lives today” (p. 164). Though modifications to the practice of traditional ways have had to occur for purposes of survival, the Pueblo culture is alive today. Today, the Pueblo People are thriving in many different professional levels, as they were at first contact, in various fields, and have not only mastered majority culture’s ways, but have integrated them, on their own terms, into their lives. As Havighurst purported a detriment in 1957, Native Americans are now

successfully utilizing education as a means of social mobility and occupational achievement.

Regarding the design of the project, although not an experimental or quasi-experimental design, this project sought to establish psychometric properties and utility for a previously established inventory. Similar to all investigatory efforts regardless of design, however, the project faced considerable challenges, potentially derailing the process at any time. These interrelated variables required a considerable amount of forethought, understanding, and perseverance. The single greatest challenge facing the project was certainly the Pueblo leadership's attitudes and decisions about the project. Stated in scientific terms, this variable may be represented as Pueblo Attitudes (PA). Prior to this project, PA had allowed limited surveys in their communities. In order to impact this variable in a positive manner, a Considered Approach (CA) was employed. The most significant components of the CA variable involved understanding and deeply respecting the Pueblo nation's sovereignty, history, worldview, customs, and utilization of a community participatory approach. CA was not only a mindset, but a process as well. Since CA was entirely under the purview of the author of this dissertation and PA was not, CA may be considered the independent variable with PA the dependent variable. These classifications lend themselves to the following primary examination hypothesis: as CA increased (both in terms of acquired knowledge, contemplation, and proper application), PA would also increase in a positive fashion (permission would be granted, and even supported). If CA were negative (ill-considered or poorly applied), then PA would subsequently decrease (denial).

Similar to the field of archaeology, wherein the Zuni, Hopi and Navajo have their own archaeology programs (McGuire, 1992), Native clinical psychologists are conducting studies with their own People, for the advancement of their Peoples, who fall along all spectrums of cultural identification. Regis Pecos (2017) stated, “Based in the Pueblo Indian belief that all community members are gifted in various domains (speech/language, mechanical/technical, heart/generosity/, etc), the essential question then becomes how each community member will use their gifts to benefit the Tribal community, the nation and the world.” For the advancement and understanding of the Pueblo Peoples, in the broadly defined mental health field, it is hoped the American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Pueblo benefits the People, complements traditional methodologies, and contributes to raising the bar of mental health treatment.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **Participants**

Participants in this study were of Pueblo Indian tribal affiliation. For the purpose of this study “Pueblo” status was established by either a) enrollment in a Pueblo tribe, b) demonstrated family lineage and community recognition, or 3) self-identification. The participants for this study consisted of 330 individuals, 122 Pueblo males, 202 Pueblo female participants, and six participants did not identify their gender. All participants were adults and ranged in age from 18 to 91. Participants were recruited through flyers, community events, and word of mouth. Those individuals who elected to participate in the pen and paper version were compensated \$5.00 for their time, while those taking the online survey had the option of being entered in a random drawing for one of eight \$25.00 VISA gift cards.

#### **Informed Consent**

All participants received an informed consent form. This form indicated the individual’s voluntary consent to participate in this study, participation was voluntary, and the participants were free to terminate their participation at any time. All participant’s information remained anonymous and confidential. All participant questionnaires were coded and maintained in a separate location. The informed consent

form was developed according to the guidelines of the University of North Dakota Institutional Review Board (IRB).

### **Instrumentation**

A demographic questionnaire was administered to all participants. A prototype of the American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Pueblo (AIBI – Pueblo) was administered to each qualifying participant, which assessed Pueblo cultural identification. The AIBI – Pueblo was developed upon revision of the American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Northern Plains version. The AIBI – Pueblo consisted of 25 questions assessing pueblo cultural identification. A Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) was also administered to all participants.

#### **Demographic Questionnaire**

The demographic questionnaire was developed by the lead investigator to ascertain factors rendering individuals eligible to participate in the study. Demographic questionnaires were coded and matched to questionnaire packets. The questionnaire asked the following information: age, gender, tribal affiliation, Degree of Indian Blood, and level of education. The information obtained from the questionnaire provided general characteristics of the sample.

#### **American Indian Biculturalism Inventory - Pueblo**

All participants received the American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Pueblo (AIBI – Pueblo), which was a 25-item self-administered questionnaire based upon a four point Likert-like scale. The questionnaire assessed social behaviors related to cultural practices, worldviews, beliefs, and acculturation, on a scale designed for an individual to choose whether they strongly agreed to strongly disagreed with the item statement. The

AIBI-Pueblo was of orthogonal design and measured four levels of cultural orientation: traditional, assimilated, bicultural, and marginalized. According to Gourneau (2002) and Baker (2005, 2009), individuals who identified as culturally traditional highly identified with American Indian (AI) culture and minimally identified with European American (EA) culture. Individuals identifying as assimilated highly identified with EA culture and had low identification with AI culture. Bi-culturally affiliated individuals highly identified with both EA and AI cultures. Individuals classified in the marginalized arena had low identification with both EA and AI cultures.

**Satisfaction with Life Scale**

The Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) was developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin (1985). The SWLS consisted of five statements which were scored based upon a seven-point Likert scale. The questions assessed satisfaction with a person’s life as a whole using the individual’s own criteria. The scale’s wording for the individual questions and total scoring were as follow:

TOTAL SCORE	OVERALL SATISFACTION
▪ 31 – 35	Extremely satisfied
▪ 26 – 30	Satisfied
▪ 21 – 25	Slightly satisfied
▪ 20	Neutral
▪ 15 – 19	Slightly dissatisfied

- 10 – 14 Dissatisfied
- 5 - 9 Extremely dissatisfied

### **Procedure**

#### **AIBI – Pueblo Instrument Development**

A focus group consisting of nine individuals convened in Albuquerque, New Mexico in April 2015. The American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Northern Plains (AIBI- NP) was administered to these individuals, all identifying as Pueblo Indian. The purpose of this focus group was to review each question contained in the AIBI – NP. The group examined the wording of each item, edited, revised or omitted the questions to make them Pueblo Indian relevant. These individuals were compensated \$20.00 for their time and participation.

The lead investigator also met with individuals from multiple Native communities to preserve the tenets of a collaborative, community-based participatory project, which guided the dissertation project. The following organizations and individuals were consulted for guidance, advice, and direction regarding this dissertation project, as well as for purposes of providing information for transparency: All Pueblo Governor’s Council, Laguna Pueblo Governor Virgil Siow, Laguna Tribal Historic Preservation Office (consisting of: Second Fiscale Gaylord Siow, THP Officer; First Lieutenant Governor David Martinez; Second Lieutenant Governor Paul Pino; Former Governor Conrad Lucero, Chairman; and Members Roland Johnson, Richard Smith, Sr., Robert Mooney, Victor Sarracino, and Ryan Aragon), the Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute, Dr. Steven Verney (University of New Mexico), Attorney Terry Aguilar, Mr.



Mike Canfield (Indian Pueblo Cultural Center), Pueblo of Laguna Councilman Kenneth Tiller, Retired New Mexico State Police Agent Glenn Kelsey, Retired New Mexico State Police Sergeant Lawrence Murray, Dr. Lisa Grayshield (New Mexico State University), First Nations Community HealthSource, Southwest Tribal Native American Research Center for Health, Rita Kie, Institute of American Indian Arts, and Pamela Agoyo (University of New Mexico).

### **Data Collection**

The informed consent form was reviewed by all interested participants meeting eligibility requirements to participate. Then the newly formulated AIBI- Pueblo was subsequently administered to participants in an online format or by a pen and paper version. The pen and paper surveys were given in the Albuquerque, New Mexico area, and after gaining permission, at one of the Pueblo tribes. Pertaining to the online version, the surveys were designed using Qualtrics. A question relating directly to Pueblo identification automatically eliminated an individual if the person was not Pueblo Indian. Eligibility for the paper and pen version was determined by individuals identifying as Pueblo Indian using criteria given above and was verified by reviewing the demographic questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire was subsequently coded to match a specific questionnaire packet, containing the AIBI - Pueblo and a SWLS. The lead investigator was available at all times to answer questions or address any concerns about the study.

All eligible participants were provided a designated area to complete the questionnaires, which generally consisted of tables and chairs set up for that purpose. Instructions pertaining to completing the questionnaires were printed and placed in the

areas where individuals completed the surveys, as well as provided verbally. Willing participants were provided with an informed consent form, a pen, and a coded packet containing the demographic questionnaire, AIBI- Pueblo, and SWLS, which were placed on a clipboard. Participants endorsed their answers directly on the questionnaires in pen. The coded number was used for the purposes of coding the raw data.

Completion of the questionnaires was estimated to take approximately ten minutes. Upon completion, participants returned the questionnaires to the lead investigator. All questionnaires were placed into a folder separate from other surveys. Participants were thanked for their participation in the study. The lead investigator ascertained if the participant had any questions regarding the study and answered questions when inquiries were made. Results of the study were provided to the All Pueblo Governor's Council, which is an organization comprised of all 19 Pueblo tribal leaders, the Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute, and a presentation was made to the Laguna Tribal Historic Preservation Office committee members.

Paper records were transported to, and maintained in, the Indians into Psychology Doctoral Education office, Northern Plains Behavioral Center for Behavioral Health, University of North Dakota (UND), in a secured file container. In accordance with the UND IRB guidelines, all records will be kept for a minimum of three years and maximum of five years, at which time they will be shredded. The electronic Qualtrics records will be disposed of in accordance with UND electronic records disposal. Access to all data will be limited to the primary investigator, the research supervisor, the individuals responsible for auditing IRB procedures, and research assistants.

A total of 149 surveys were entered into Qualtrics by participants, however nine individuals did not identify as Pueblo Indian, two were ineligible due to age, and six did not complete the entire AIBI, thus those surveys were eliminated. There were ten surveys which had five unanswered items or less on the AIBI. For those surveys, the mean value was used for analysis. The final Qualtrics sample totaled 129. Two hundred ten participants took the paper and pen surveys, however six did not identify as Pueblo Indian, and three individuals did not fully complete the surveys, thus those surveys were discarded. The final paper and pen surveys totaled 201. The final total number of surveys was 330.

### **Data Analysis**

The study used SPSS 23.0 statistics software to code and analyze the data collected from participants. SPSS statistics software had the capability to analyze the complex design of the study, including descriptive statistics and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics were examined for the entire data set for the purpose of evaluating the characteristics of the sample. Descriptive statistics included frequencies, means, medians, standard deviations, minimums, maximums, and missing data.

An exploratory factor analysis with a Varimax rotation was utilized with two component loadings to determine which questions fit best into the AICI and EACI scales. A reliability analysis of the scales was conducted. An analysis of cultural identification was conducted and plotted on a graphic representation. A median split technique was used to determine cutoff scores for those identifying as AICI and EACI.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESULTS**

#### **Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample**

The 330 (male = 122, female = 202, unknown = 6) participants in this study were required to be of Pueblo descent. Female participants accounted for 61.2% of the individuals surveyed, while males accounted for 37.0%. Six participants not indicating their gender represented 1.8%. The mean age was 45.18 years of age. Approximately one quarter of the participants were under the age of 33, about one half of the participants were between the ages of 34 and 55, while the remaining one quarter participants represented ages between 56 and 91 (Table 1).

Nearly 25% of the participants solely had a high school education or equivalent, around 40% had some college or a trade/vocational education, and approximately 35% of the participants had an Associates or higher degree. About 72% of the participants attended a public high school (Table 1).

Seventy-one point two percent of the sample population were extremely satisfied (N = 87) or satisfied (N = 148) with their life. Two point four percent of the participants were dissatisfied (N = 7) or extremely dissatisfied (N = 1) with their life. The remaining individuals rated themselves as slightly satisfied (N = 59, 17.8%), neutral (N = 11, 3.3%), and slightly dissatisfied (N = 17, 5.1%) (Table 1).

Table 1. Descriptives and Means Frequencies for Categorical Variables and Continuous Variables.

	N	Mean	SD	%
<b>Demographic questionnaire</b>				
Age	330	45.18	14.9	
18-30	69			20.9
31-40	61			18.4
41-50	74			22.4
51-60	73			22.1
61-70	41			12.4
71-80	10			3.3
81-91	2			.3
Pueblo tribal affiliation	330			100.0
Degree of Indian blood	330	84.25	23.866	
25 – 49%	21			12.20
50 – 74%	57			27.30
75 – 99.9%	50			15.10
100%	202			61.20
High school attendance	330			
Public	236			71.70
Private	21			6.40
Boarding school	30			9.10
Mission school	17			5.20
Other	25			7.60
Attend college				
None	63			19.10
University college	155			47.10
Tribal college	26			7.90
Community college	39			11.90
Vocational/technical	29			8.80
Other	18			5.50
Caregiver encourage cultural teachings	237			72.30
Participate in cultural events	270			82.60
Self-identification	329			99.70
Traditional	105			31.90
Anglo ways	20			6.10
Both	188			57.10
Neither	16			4.90
SWLS Total Score	330	27.22	5.001	

Table 1. cont.

		N	Mean	SD	%
31-35	Extremely satisfied	87			26.30
26-30	Satisfied	148			44.90
21-25	Slightly satisfied	59			17.80
20	Neutral	11			3.30
15-19	Slightly dissatisfied	17			5.10
10-14	Dissatisfied	7			2.10
5-9	Extremely dissatisfied	1			.30

### **AIBI – Pueblo Scale Development**

An exploratory factor analysis with a Varimax rotation was conducted on the entire sample. Two factor loadings were utilized to represent the AICI and EACI scales. The eigenvalues for component one was 6.819, accounting for 27.24% of the variance (Table 2). The eigenvalues for component two was 2.665, accounting for 10.66% of the variance. Figure 4 depicts the rotated component plot. A second factor analysis using a Varimax rotation was conducted using two components, eliminating three items (21, 22 and 24), whose loadings were below a .4 cut off value. The elimination of the three items was an improvement to the first model (Figure 5). The eigenvalues for component one was 6.689, accounting for 30.406% of the variance. The eigenvalues for component two was 2.532, accounting for 11.509% of the variance.

Table 2. Component Matrix – Two Factor with Varimax Rotation.

AIBI - Pueblo	25 items		22 items		
	Component 1	Component 2	Component 1	Component 2	
Eigenvalues	6.819	2.665	6.689	2.532	
% Variance	27.24	10.66	30.406	11.509	
V9	.847	-.019	V9	.849	-.044
V11	.828	.034	V11	.832	.009
V5	.750	-.019	V5	.752	-.042
V3	.736	.037	V3	.748	.043
V7	.729	.033	V7	.732	.008
V19	.720	-.050	V19	.719	-.073
V2	.674	.001	V2	.674	-.030
V15	.672	-.080	V15	.674	-.091
V13	.666	.118	V13	.668	.083
V18	.633	.199	V18	.639	.164
V16	.602	-.095	V16	.602	-.103
V8	.600	.043	V8	.598	.001
V25	.544	-.048	V25	.536	-.094
V14	.516	-.062	V14	.515	-.076
V10	-.129	.575	V4	-.140	.599
V4	-.170	.574	V1	-.021	.599
V1	-.055	.558	V10	-.100	.588
V20	-.108	.553	V6	.038	.585
V12	-.003	.518	V20	-.086	.544
V6	-.003	.516	V12	.025	.538
V23	-.007	.498	V17	.095	.504
V17	.069	.492	V23	.009	.475
V21	.275	.335			
V22	.227	.338			
V24	.155	.228			

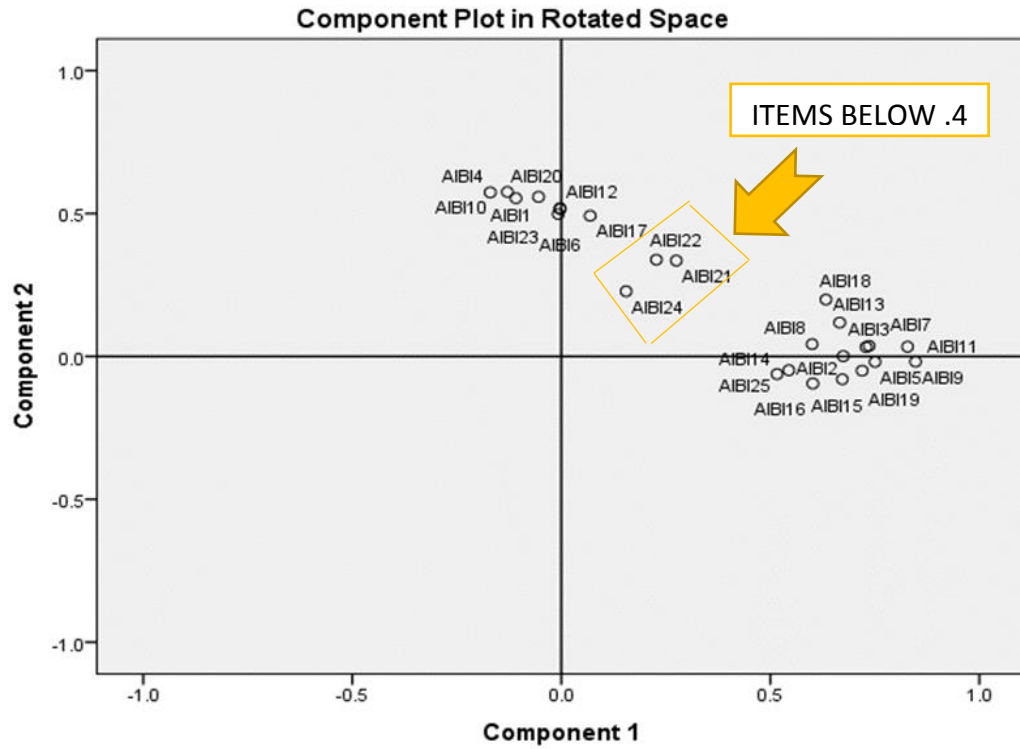


Figure 4. Component Plot in rotated space for twenty-five items.

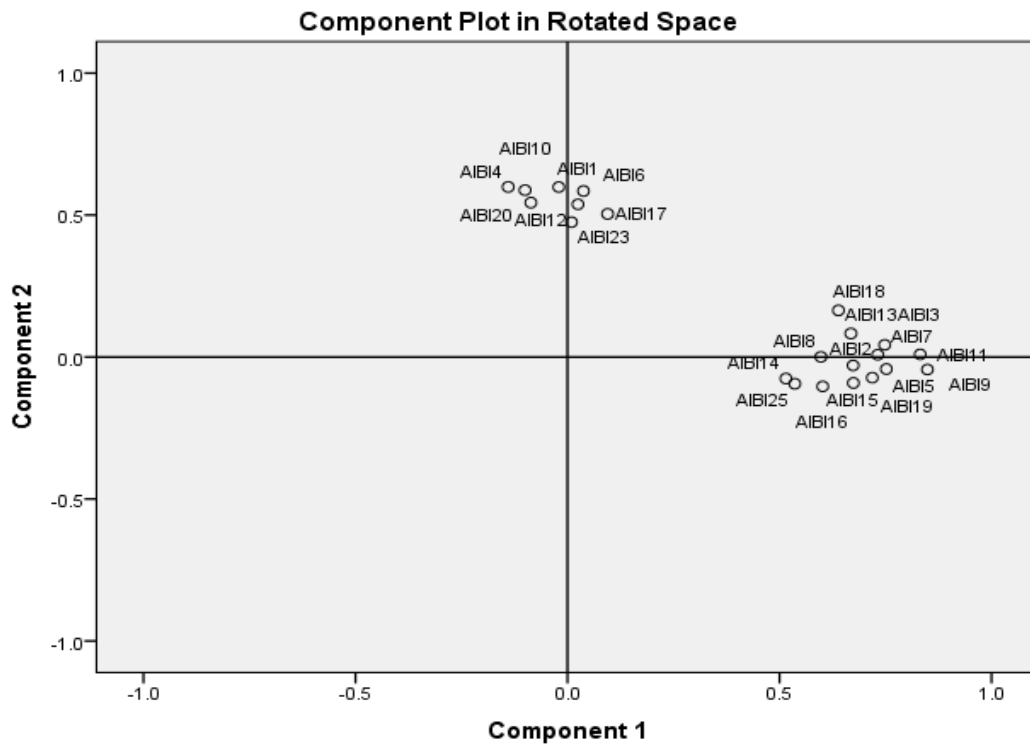


Figure 5. Component Plot in rotated space for twenty-two items.



### **Reliability**

Regarding reliability statistics, when all 25 factors were included, Cronbach's Alpha was .831 (Table 3). When factors 21, 22, and 24 were eliminated, Cronbach's Alpha was .826. There were 14 factors associated with American Indian Cultural Identity (AICI). Cronbach's Alpha for these factors was .911. There were 8 factors associated with European American Cultural Identity (AICI). Cronbach's Alpha for these factors was .678.

Table 3. Cronbach's Alpha for Various Factors.

Cronbach's Alpha	N of items
.831	25
.826	22, excluding variables 21, 22 and 24
.911	14, AICI
.678	8, EACI

### **Split Half Reliability**

A split half reliability test using an exploratory factor analysis with a Varimax rotation was conducted randomly splitting the sample into two equal groups. Two factor loadings were utilized each with 22 factors. In the first group (N = 165) the eigenvalues for component one was 6.819, accounting for 27.24% of the variance (Table 4). The eigenvalues for component two was 2.665, accounting for 10.66% of the variance. In the second group (N = 165) the eigenvalues for component one was 6.819, accounting for 27.24% of the variance. The eigenvalues for component two was 2.665, accounting for 10.66% of the variance.

Table 4. Component Matrix – Two Factor with Varimax Rotation for Randomly Split Subjects.

AIBI - Pueblo	Group 1 N = 165		Group 2 N = 165	
	Component 1	Component 2	Component 1	Component 2
Eigenvalues	6.317	2.620	7.138	2.498
% Variance	28.282	12.340	32.443	11.354
V11	.839	-.005	.825	.020
V9	.823	-.125	.867	.021
V3	.727	.050	.765	.046
V7	.716	-.054	.750	.054
V5	.710	-.056	.784	-.040
V19	.695	-.064	.742	-.099
V15	.680	-.161	.663	-.005
V2	.652	-.165	.684	.076
V13	.610	.030	.721	.125
V18	.607	.234	.668	.107
V8	.601	.078	.609	-.052
V16	.537	-.212	.658	.015
V25	.477	-.002	.593	-.163
V14	.440	-.123	.574	-.050
V1	-.069	.639	.022	.531
V6	.003	.622	.069	.534
V4	-.226	.612	-.064	.568
V17	.090	.573	.105	.416
V12	.080	.560	-.016	.516
V10	-.098	.534	-.110	.651
V20	-.177	.489	-.020	.599
V23	-.029	.419	-.012	.552

### AIBI – Pueblo Analysis

Based on a variation of the median split technique, participants were classified as identifying with American Indian Cultural Identification (AICI) or European American Cultural Identification (EACI). The AICI was greatly skewed left (Figure 6). The median for AICI was 48, with a mean of 45.4 and range of 21 to 56. The midpoint of potential range was 35 while the midpoint of reported range was 38.5. To adjust for this

midpoint, a more centering measure was used. AICI included participants identifying as high American Indian identification, traditional or bicultural, above the midpoint range of 38.5, or low American Indian identification, marginal or assimilated, below the midpoint range of 38.5. In contrast, the median for EACI was 23, with a mean of 22.6, and range of 10 to 32. The midpoint of potential range was 20 while the midpoint of reported range was 22.5. EACI included participants identifying as high European identification, bicultural or assimilated, equal to or above the median of 23 or low European identification, traditional or marginal, below the median of 23.

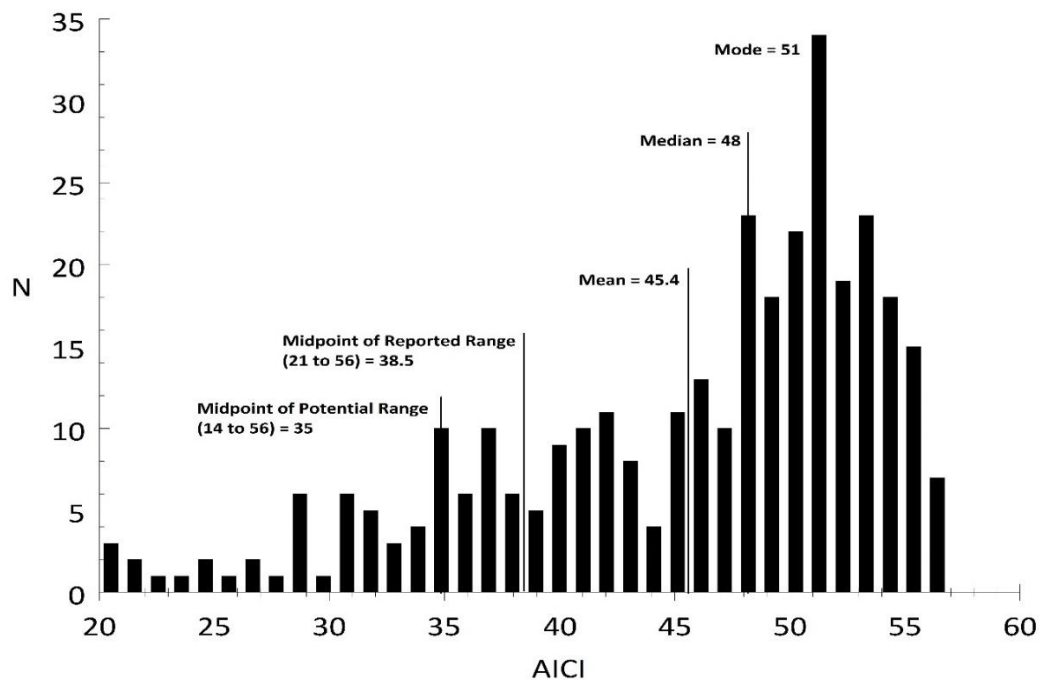


Figure 6. AICI measures of central tendency.

Based upon the AICI measured group affiliation, 260 (traditional n = 130; bicultural n = 130) identified as AICI, representing 79%, and 70 (marginal n = 47; assimilated n = 23) identified as EACI, representing 21% (Figure 7, Table 5). Based upon demographic self-identification group affiliation, 88.8% (traditional n = 105;

bicultural n = 188) identified as AICI. Eleven percent (marginal n = 16; assimilated n = 20) identified as EACI. Differences between the AICI measured cultural identification and participant self-identification varied (Figure 8). Bicultural classification had the highest match (about two-thirds of those scored as bicultural on the AICI self-identification), but for those scoring as traditional, marginal, or assimilated on the AICI, 45%, 22%, and 29% respectively, those groups consisted of people misidentifying themselves as bicultural.

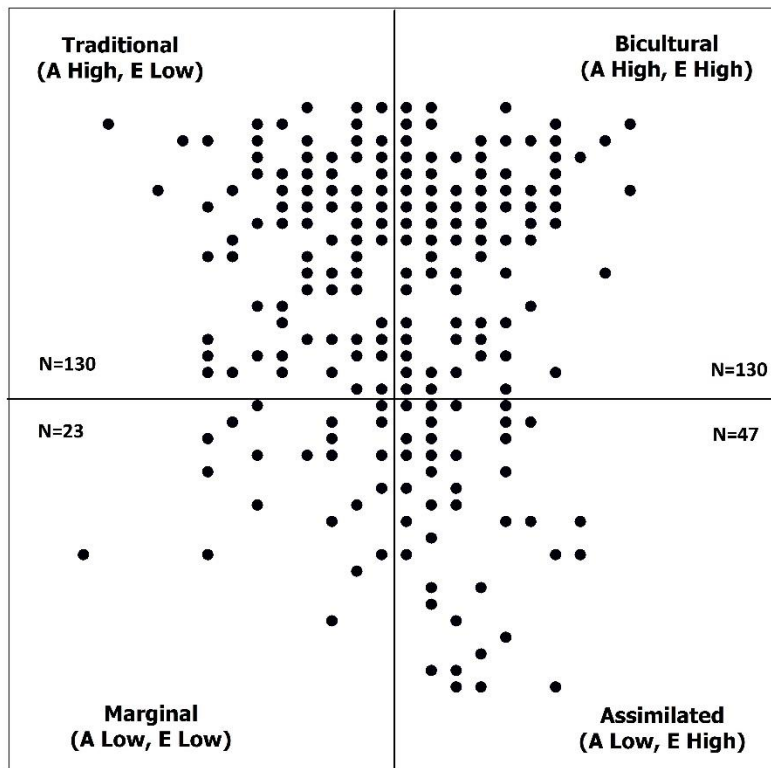


Figure 7. Distribution of subjects by cultural identity.

Table 5. Number of Subjects by AI and EA Cultural Identity.

	N	Mean	SD	%
Cultural identity				
AICI	260			79
EACI	70			21
Traditional	130			39
Bicultural	130			39
Assimilated	47			14
Marginal	23			8

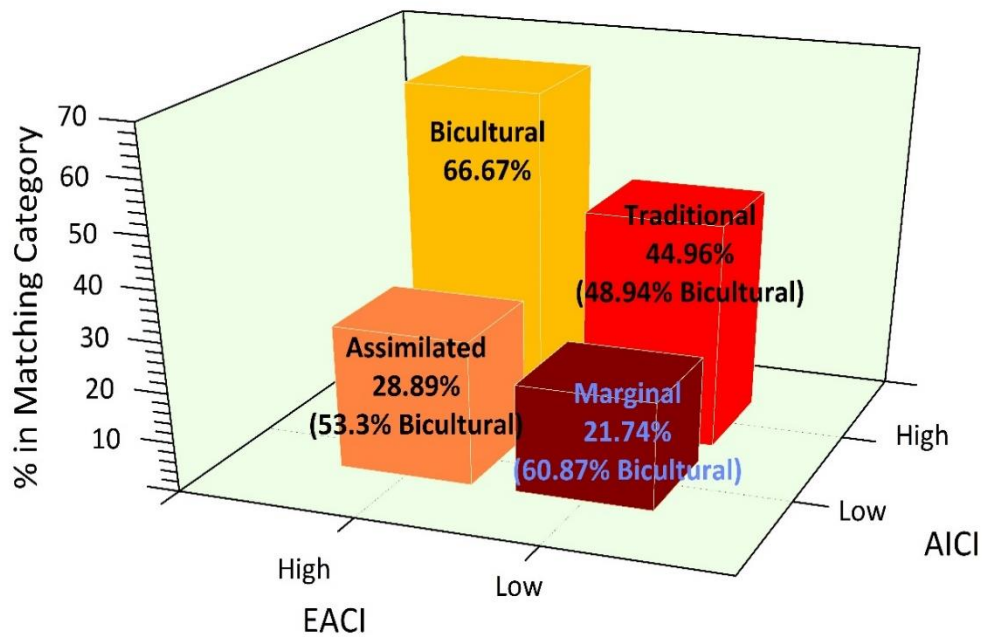


Figure 8. Differences in AIBI-Pueblo cultural identification and self-cultural identification.

AICI and blood quantum were positively correlated ( $r = .329, p < .001$ ) (Figure 9).

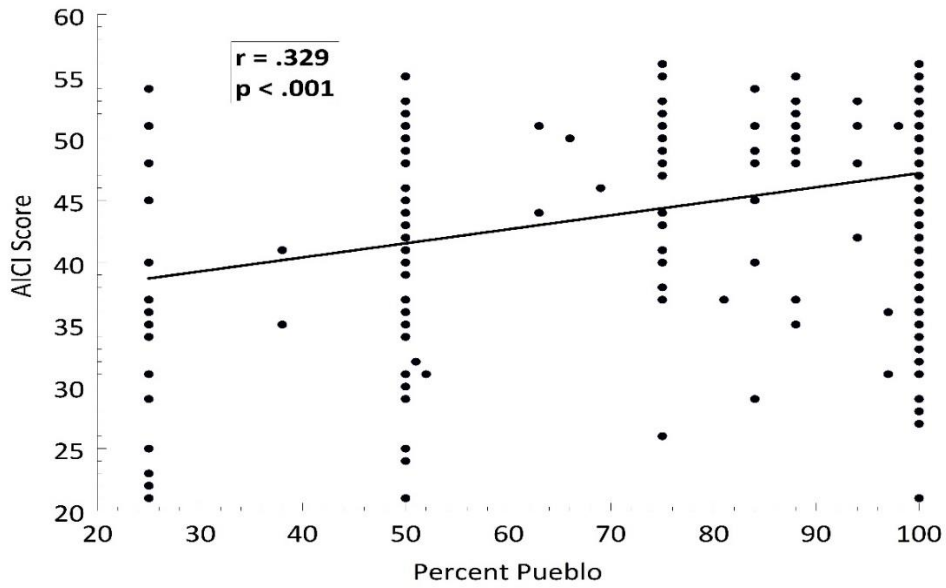


Figure 9. Correlation between AICI and blood quantum percent.

AICI was not significantly correlated with SWLS ( $r = .097$ ,  $p = .078$ ) or age ( $r = .077$ ,  $p = .161$ ). EACI and SWLS were significantly correlated ( $r = .193$ ,  $p < .001$ ). EACI and age were also significant ( $r = .122$ ,  $p = .027$ ) (Figure 10).

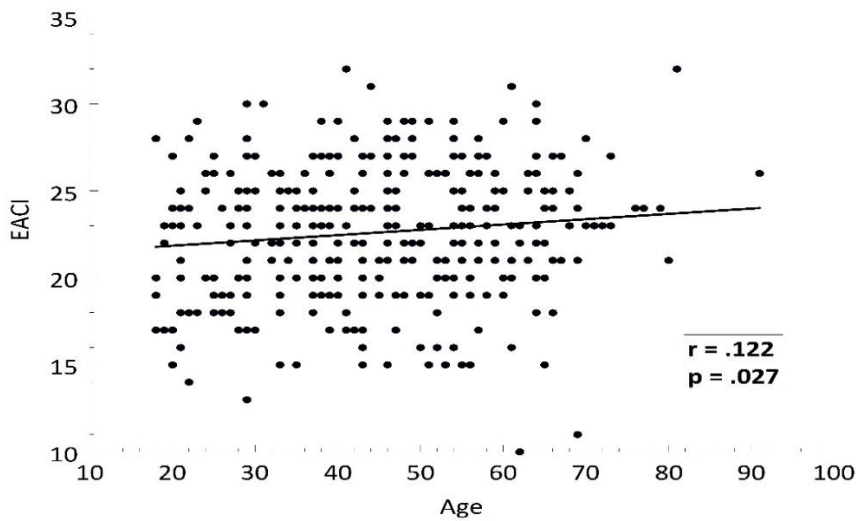


Figure 10. Correlation between EACI and age.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted using the four areas of cultural identification and SWLS total score. The means for the categories were as follow: bicultural 27.72, traditional 27.09, assimilated 26.85, and marginal 25.83 (Figure 11). There were no statistically significant differences between the groups.

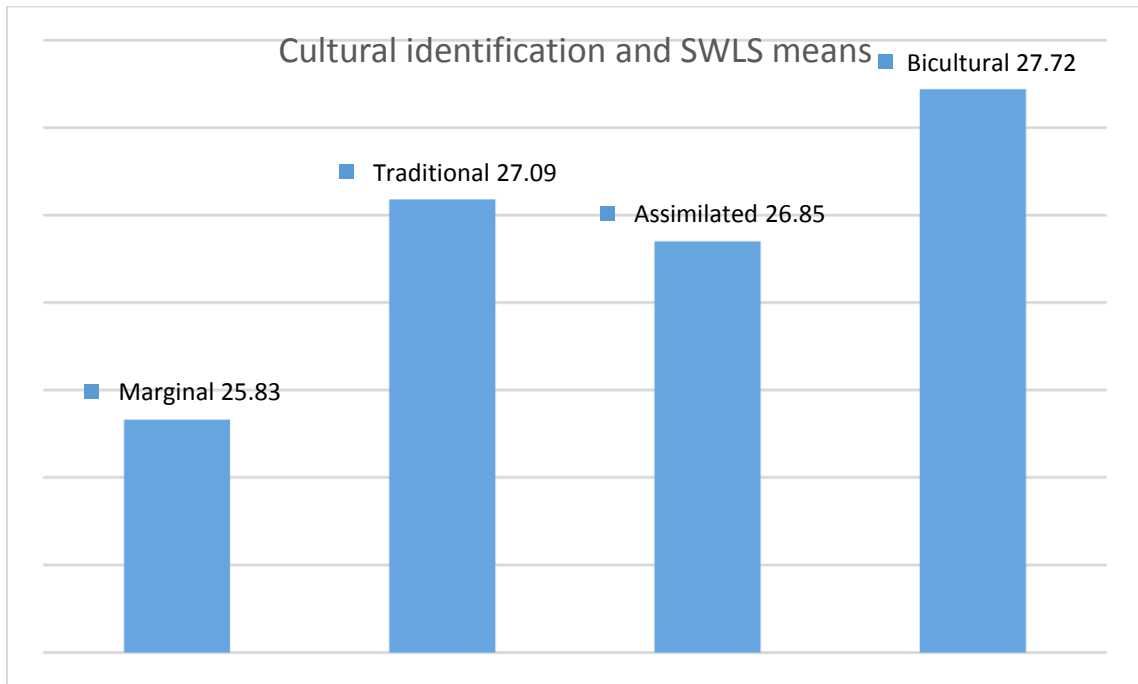


Figure 11. Cultural identification and SWLS means.

A multiple regression was conducted to predict SWLS using AICI and EACI as independent variables (Figure 12). The results indicated AICI and EACI explained a significant amount of the variance in the SWLS total score  $F(2, 327) = 7.628, p = .001, R^2 = .045, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .039$  (Table 6). This variance in prediction indicated satisfaction with life greatly varies regardless of AI and EA scores. As depicted in Figure 12, there may be some tendency for individuals identifying as bicultural being more satisfied, but not by much.

The multiple regression was further extended to predict SWLS using AICI, EACI, age, and gender as independent variables. The results indicated AICI, EACI, age and gender explain a significant amount of the variance in the SWLS total score  $F(4, 319) = 4.049$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $R^2 = .048$ , Adjusted  $R^2 = .036$  (Table 6). A third multiple regression was conducted to predict SWLS using AICI, EACI, age, gender, and degree of Indian blood as independent variables. The results indicated AICI, EACI, age, gender, and degree of Indian blood explain a significant amount of the variance in the SWLS total score  $F(5, 318) = 3.229$ ,  $p = .007$ ,  $R^2 = .048$ , Adjusted  $R^2 = .033$  (Table 6).

Table 6. Multiple Regressions using SWLS as the Dependent Variable.

Multiple Regressions Dependent variable: SWLS	B	Std. Error	p	F	p	R <sup>2</sup>
AICI EACI	.069 .243	.033 .070	.038 .001	F(2, 327) = 7.628	.001	.045
AICI EACI Age Gender	.073 .251 -.001 -.006	.034 .072 .019 .570	.032 .001 .977 .992	F(4, 319) = 4.049	.003	.048
AICI EACI Age Gender Degree of Indian blood	.073 .251 -.001 -.005 .000	.036 .072 .019 .571 .013	.043 .001 .974 .992 .985	F(5, 318) = 3.229	.007	.048



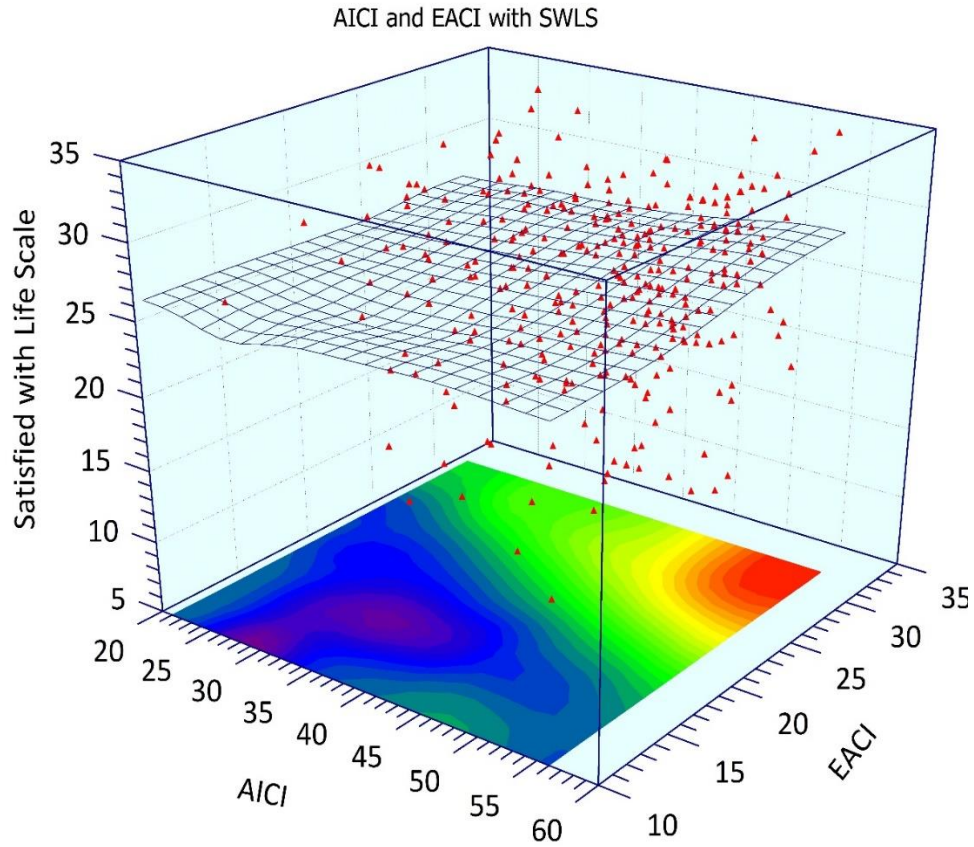


Figure 12. AICI, EACI and SWLS total score.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **DISCUSSION**

The sample was representative of the adult Pueblo population, which was inclusive of sixteen (16) of twenty (20) Pueblos, including the Hopi population in Arizona. The population surveyed was between the ages of 18 and 91 (n = 330), with the majority of participants' age distribution between 18 and 60 (n = 277). Approximately two-thirds of the population surveyed indicated being full blood Pueblo Indian (n = 202), with an additional 107 individuals being at least one-half, which was not an unusual distribution for Pueblo tribal enrollment. The sample was homogenous and not stratified. Only 19% of the population surveyed had not attended some sort of higher educational institution.

As the participants returned their surveys, the principal investigator perused the completed demographic questionnaire. On the demographic questionnaire two questions were not clearly articulated. The question pertaining to participation in cultural activities was poorly constructed, therefore the results reported are likely underrepresented (n = 270). Being that religious participation is an integral part of everyday Pueblo life, participation in cultural activities generally is not viewed as a compartmentalized activity or distinguished as a separate religious activity. Secondly, the wording regarding the question pertaining to the primary caretaker was also poorly worded. Many participants inquired about the definition of a primary caretaker, thus the wording was confusing for participants, most of whom identified family from an extended family perspective. The

results of this question were also probably underreported due to the wording of the question (n = 237).

The development of the AIBI - Pueblo began when a focus group convened, consisting of tribally enrolled Pueblo members, to formulate the AIBI - Pueblo. The focus group modified, edited and revised the AIBI - Northern Plains version making the items on the new version of the AIBI Pueblo relevant. Once all the surveys were collected and analysis began, initially a factor analysis with a Varimax rotation was conducted utilizing 25 items contained on the AIBI – Pueblo. Twenty-two of the items loaded on the two factors and exceeded a .4 threshold. Three items did not load onto these factors, which were items 21, 22, and 25. Using a .4 threshold, these variables fit weakly into both AICI and EACI measures and did not fully fit into the two categories, thus were eliminated. The remaining 22 items were retained and a second factor analysis was conducted. The AICI and EACI factor loadings were strengthened.

The reliability on the EACI scale was not as strong as the AICI. This difference may be attributed to fewer questions (8) pertaining to EACI identification, which may have caused a few gaps in the analysis. Two-thirds of the questions (14) were related to AICI identification.

Regarding internal validity, the full data set was randomly divided into two equal sets (N = 165) for a split half reliability test to test for bias. The factor loadings were similar in both sets of data and all 22 items maintained above a .4 threshold. Thus, the 14 items associated with the AICI scale and eight items correlated with the EACI scale appropriately measured the AICI and EACI latent variables. The AICI scale was more

refined having 14 items while the EACI scale may have been ambiguous due to less items.

Pertaining to the scoring of the AIBI-Pueblo, initially the median split technique was used to classify participants in the AICI or EACI domains. As mentioned, the AICI was greatly skewed, attributed to the high American Indian cultural identification of this population. When the median value of 48 for AICI was used as the cutoff, or the mean value of 45.4 was used as the cutoff, numerous participants were compulsorily forced into other areas of identification. Being that approximately two-thirds of the population surveyed reported being 100% Native American ( $n = 202$ ), using the midpoint of reported range of 38.5 was a more judicious measure. Using 38.5 as the cutoff appropriately redistributed the cultural identification of the participants. Further confirmation for the adjustment of the cutoff score was the positive correlation between AICI and blood quantum ( $r = .329, p < .001$ ), which was to be expected. As blood quantum increased, AICI increased as well.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted using the four areas of cultural identification and SWLS total score. The means for the categories were as follow: bicultural 27.72, traditional 27.09, assimilated 26.85, and marginal 25.83. Although the means for SWLS did not result in statistically significant differences for the four areas of identification, all means were distributed within the 26-30 range (Satisfied). Thus, regardless of cultural orientation, it may be suggested Pueblo tribal members are satisfied with the circumstances of their lives. With respect to this specific population, these results conflicted with the Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991). The Orthogonal Theory suggested individuals generally orienting as marginal may

struggle in areas of functioning and mental health since they did not identify with either culture.

Differences between the AICI measured cultural identification and participant self-identification varied. Based upon the AICI measured group affiliation, 260 (traditional  $n = 130$ ; bicultural  $n = 130$ ) identified as AICI, representing 79%, and 70 (marginal  $n = 47$ ; assimilated  $n = 23$ ) identified as EACI, representing 21%. Based upon demographic self-identification group affiliation, 88.8% (traditional  $n = 105$ ; bicultural  $n = 188$ ) identified as AICI. Eleven percent (marginal  $n = 16$ ; assimilated  $n = 20$ ) identified as EACI. In comparing the AICI measured cultural identification and participant self-identification, bicultural classification had the highest match (about two-thirds of those scored as bicultural on the AICI self-identification), but for those scoring as traditional (45%), marginal (22%), or assimilated (29%) on the AICI, these groups consisted of people misidentifying themselves as bicultural. These differences in self-identification may be attributed to unidirectional identification theories which are binary, in that an individual identified solely with one culture, versus orthogonal theory wherein one cultural identification did not decrease identification with another.

Statistically significant differences were not found for AICI and SWLS or AICI and age. However, EACI and SWLS were significantly correlated ( $r = .193, p < .001$ ). EACI and age were also significant ( $r = .122, p = .027$ ). Although EACI and SWLS were significantly correlated, less than 4% of the variance in one factor is accounted for by the other. In addition, although EACI and age were significantly correlated, less than 1.5% of the variance in one factor is accounted for by the other. One possible explanation may be as this population increased in age, the demands, pressure, and stress to acculturate or

assimilate decreased. Another possibility may be the SWLS scale was normed on a non-ethnic population, and norms for ethnic populations are unavailable, thus the wording of the SWLS items may have been better suited for those participants orienting in the EACI range. Also, the interpretation of well-being likely has different connotations in different cultures. However, according to the representation depicted in Figure 9 (AICI and EACI with SWLS), as both AICI and EACI increase, satisfaction with life increases as well. This may infer as an individual establishes his/her AI, EA, or bicultural identity, satisfaction with life increases.

Regarding the various multiple regressions with satisfaction with life as the dependent variable, the coefficients on AICI and EACI minimally changed. Thus, AICI and EACI are consistent predictors of satisfaction with life, even in consideration of the demographics (age, gender, and degree of Indian blood) added as independent variables. The demographic independent variables are not confounders and are not indirectly influencing the relationship between cultural identity and satisfaction with life.

Pertaining to external validity, the only psychometric instrument in existence is the AIBI – NP. In comparison, the AIBI – Pueblo is an entirely independent psychometric assessment tool.

### **Limitations of the Current Study**

Limitations of this study include the lack of surveys and psychometric instruments normed on the Pueblo population, which are extremely limited or non-existent, as well as deemed empirically valid. For the purposes of this study, the AIBI-Pueblo was normed on the Pueblo population, as the items were Pueblo cultural identification relevant. Therefore, the survey's utility is specific to the Pueblo

population, however this study may not be applicable to all Pueblo tribal members. The concept of “Pan-Indianism” is not appropriate with the results of this study and is not generalizable to other Native American populations. The U. S. Native American population is diverse with over 500 federally recognized tribes.

The demographic questionnaire questions regarding participation in cultural events and primary caregiver encouraging cultural teachings were poorly worded. Thus, the responses to these two questions were not fully representative of participant’s experiences had the questions been worded appropriately. With regard to the SWLS, the wording of the items on the instrument may not fully capture the meaning of well-being in the Pueblo population.

Another consideration would be the self-report measures used in this study. Likert-type surveys and instruments limit the participants’ responses to the questions asked. Further, the participants may not have fully disclosed information pertaining to the questions surveyed. Response bias may have also resulted in endorsing items reflective of a positive Pueblo self-image.

The results of this study must be interpreted with caution, as the participant sample was small. In this project of study, less than one percent of the overall Pueblo population was surveyed. Increasing the power of the study with a larger sample size may result in different outcomes than were found in this study.

### **Implications for Further Research**

The AIBI - Pueblo is a newly formulated psychometric cultural identification assessment tool. There may be other items absent in this survey relevant to Pueblo cultural identification which were not included. In addition, other pertinent questions, or

areas of study, may further strengthen the predictive value in satisfaction with life with this population. Potentially, the creation of a Pueblo relevant measure defining well-being, or a SWLS instrument, may need to be developed to appropriately measure this construct. In addition, a demographic questionnaire might be constructed using clearer, concise wording to eliminate confusion by participants.

A confirmatory analysis needs to be conducted on the AIBI-Pueblo. A confirmatory analysis would test whether the factors are measuring the construct appropriately. Another data set would be required for the confirmatory analysis.

Further research regarding the positive relationships between EACI and age and EACI and satisfaction with life might be explored. Potentially qualitative technique applications, via phenomenological research using participant interviews, may result in further understanding of this relationship. An adult population was sampled and sampling a younger population, including adolescents, may provide different results.

Additionally, a study of younger Pueblo participants may yield interesting outcomes. The advances in technology and readily available electronic devices within the younger Pueblo generation may potentially influence AI or EA orientation. Currently, the younger population can YouTube or Google practically any topic or question. In future research, surveying those ranging in age now in their 20s and 30s may have a bimodal distribution of acculturation.

With the development of this newly formulated psychometric cultural identification assessment tool, further cultural identification assessments with other Native American populations, specific to tribe(s) or regional geographic locations, are in need of further study. Though difficult to develop, these tools may provide a valuable



resource to the professional providing culturally sensitive psychological services to Native American clients.

### **Conclusion**

The Pueblo tribes are a strong People, surviving countless assaults on core values throughout history of Spanish, Mexican, and American domination. The resilience of the Pueblo People will continue to endure, with their culture, despite demands to assimilate and acculturate into dominant society. Should the past be a predictor of the future, the Pueblo People will retain their cultural heritage into generations to come. In addition, the Pueblo People will continue to thrive in both the traditional and professional worlds.

As discussed earlier in this study, culture, ethnicity, cultural identity, and cultural identification are convoluted subjects in the psychological arena. These concepts are also difficult to operationalize and define within margins and limitations. However, the American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Pueblo (AIBI – Pueblo) demonstrated the development and validity of a psychometric tool when working with the Pueblo population that had real world utility and implications. The AIBI-Pueblo may be utilized in therapeutic settings wherein assessing an individual's cultural orientation is imperative in order to provide the patient the best mental health care, via a culturally sensitive approach. Further, an appropriate mental health provider may also be distinguished and matched with the client to maximize and achieve the best possible outcomes.

In May 2016, First Lady Michelle Obama delivered the commencement speech at the Santa Fe Indian School in Santa Fe, New Mexico. In her speech, she stated the following:

... Whether you're saying an ancient blessing over your hydroponically-grown crops, or using cutting-edge computer technology to understand the biology and hydrology of your ancestral lands, every day at this school you've been weaving together thousands of years of your heritage with the realities of your modern lives. (para. 19)

... We're all connected, we're all obligated to treat one another with respect, to act with integrity, to give back to those in need. (para. 27)

And most of all, you have taken your place in the long line of those before you whose continued survival in the face of overwhelming threats should inspire you every day of your lives – every day. I'm talking about many of your ancestors who came together to lead a revolt, risking their lives to preserve their traditions. (para. 30)

... And as we honor their legacy today, I'm reminded of how some of your communities have seeds that your ancestors have been planting and harvesting for thousands of years, long before America was even an idea. (para. 31)

And just as they have been blessing those crops and lovingly preserving those seeds through storms and droughts, struggles and upheavals so that they could keep handing them down, generation after generation, so, too, have they handed down their wisdom, and their values and their dreams, fighting to save them in the face of unthinkable odds, spurred on by their devotion to those who came before them and those who would come after. (para. 32)

The AIBI – Pueblo potentially provides a psychometric tool for mental health professionals to conduct valid and reliable assessments with Pueblo people regarding their cultural identification. As social justice has begun to assume its place in the psychological world, this instrument serves to assist the clinician/practitioner with identifying culturally competent therapeutic approaches with the Pueblo client in the therapeutic setting. Thus the Pueblo client is no longer subjected to a one-size fits all psychology approach, regardless of orientation, and it is incumbent upon the clinician to meet the client on their terms. Therein lies the purpose of the development of the American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Pueblo.

## APPENDICES

## **APPENDIX A**

### **CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY**

#### **PAPER & PENCIL VERSION**

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA  
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY  
Title of study: American Indian Biculturalism Inventory- Pueblo  
Principle Investigator: Royleen J. Ross (701) 777-4497  
Dr. J. Douglas McDonald (701) 777-4495

#### **Purpose**

You are invited to participate in a voluntary research project that is attempting to examine cultural identification.

#### **Duration of Study**

The duration of this study is approximately 10 minutes.

#### **Subjects**

You have been selected to participate in this study because you identify as a Pueblo Indian. You will be asked to complete a questionnaire pertaining to your cultural competence.

#### **Procedures**

Participation in this study is confidential. All names and identifying information will be removed from the data, to ensure your information remains anonymous. After being provided the Consent to Participate form, you will be given a questionnaire to determine your eligibility to participate in the study. If you are eligible, you will be given an additional questionnaire to complete. Once you have completed all the questionnaires, you will be offered \$5.00 as compensation for your time.

#### **Risks**

There are no potential risks associated with this study. However if for any reason you feel uncomfortable and wish to discontinue your participation, you are encouraged to inform the experimenter. You are free to discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

#### **Compensation/cost**

If you meet eligibility requirements, you will be compensated in the amount of \$5.00. There is no cost to participate in this study.

#### **Confidentiality**

Information gathered from the questionnaires will be coded with an identification number and your name will not be associated with the data. All materials gathered during this study will

be kept securely in a locked file cabinet in the Indians into Psychology Doctoral Education office, Northern Plains Behavioral Center for Behavioral Health, University of North Dakota (UND), in a secure filing cabinet. Records containing the questionnaire packets will be maintained in a locked box for the purpose of protecting the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. In accordance with the UND Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines, all records will be kept for a minimum of three years after data analysis has been completed. The documents will be maintained for a maximum of five years, at which time they will be shredded. You will not be personally identified in any reports or publications that may result from this study.

### **Right to Refuse or Withdraw**

You may refuse to participate or withdraw from this study at any time without penalty. If you decide to withdraw from the study, please tell the experimenter.

### **Questions**

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to ask the experimenter. If you have additional questions later, contact Royleen Ross or Dr. J. Douglas McDonald at the UND Psychology Department. The phone number for Dr. McDonald is (701) 777-4495. The phone number for Royleen Ross is (701) 777-4497.

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, you may contact The University of North Dakota Institutional Review Board at (701) 777-4279. You may also call this number with problems, complaints, or concerns about the research. Please call this number if you cannot reach research staff, or you wish to talk with someone who is an informed individual who is independent of the research team.

General information about being a research subject can be found on the Institutional Review Board website "Information for Research Participants" <http://und.edu/research/resources/human-subjects/research-participants.cfm>

### **Voluntary Participation**

You do not have to participate in this research. You can stop your participation at any time. You may refuse to participate or choose to discontinue participation at any time without losing any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer.

You must be 18 years of age or older to participate in this research study.

Completion and return of the questionnaire implies that you have read the information in this form and consent to participate in the research.

Please keep this form for your records or future reference.

ONLINE VERSION

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA  
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY  
Title of study: American Indian Biculturalism Inventory- Pueblo  
Principal Investigator: Royleen J. Ross (701) 777-4497  
Dr. J. Douglas McDonald (701) 777-4495

Purpose

You are invited to participate in a voluntary research project that is attempting to examine cultural identification.

Duration of Study

The duration of this study is approximately 10 minutes.

Subjects

You have been selected to participate in this study because you identify as a Pueblo Indian. You will be asked to complete a questionnaire pertaining to your cultural competence.

Procedures

Participation in this study is confidential. All names and identifying information will be removed from the data, to ensure your information remains anonymous. After being provided the Consent to Participate form, you will be given a questionnaire to determine your eligibility to participate in the study. If you are eligible, you will be given two additional questionnaires to complete. Once you have completed all the questionnaires, if you would like your name to be entered into a random drawing for one of eight \$25.00 VISA gift cards, at the end of the study please enter your e-mail address.

Risks

There are no potential risks associated with this study. However if for any reason you feel uncomfortable and wish to discontinue your participation, you are encouraged to inform the experimenter. You are free to discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

Compensation/cost

You meet eligibility requirements, identifying as a Pueblo Indian. There is no cost to participate in this study. If you completed all the questionnaires and would like your name to be entered into a random drawing for one of eight \$25.00 VISA gift cards, at the end of the study please enter your e-mail address.

Confidentiality

Information gathered from the questionnaires will be coded with an identification number and your name will not be associated with the data. All materials gathered during this study will be kept securely in a locked file cabinet in the Indians into Psychology Doctoral Education office, Northern Plains Behavioral Center for Behavioral Health, University of North Dakota (UND), in a secure filing cabinet. Records containing the questionnaire

packets will be maintained in a locked box for the purpose of protecting the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. In accordance with the UND Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines, all records will be kept for a minimum of three years after data analysis has been completed. The documents will be maintained for a maximum of five years, at which time they will be shredded. You will not be personally identified in any reports or publications that may result from this study.

#### Right to Refuse or Withdraw

You may refuse to participate or withdraw from this study at any time without penalty. If you decide to withdraw from the study, please tell the experimenter.

#### Questions

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to ask the experimenter. If you have additional questions later, contact Royleen Ross or Dr. J. Douglas McDonald at the UND Psychology Department. The phone number for Dr. McDonald is (701) 777-4495. The phone number for Royleen Ross is (701) 777-4497.

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, you may contact The University of North Dakota Institutional Review Board at (701) 777-4279. You may also call this number with problems, complaints, or concerns about the research. Please call this number if you cannot reach research staff, or you wish to talk with someone who is an informed individual who is independent of the research team.

General information about being a research subject can be found on the Institutional Review Board website "Information for Research Participants" <http://und.edu/research/resources/human-subjects/research-participants.cfm>

#### Voluntary Participation

You do not have to participate in this research. You can stop your participation at any time. You may refuse to participate or choose to discontinue participation at any time without losing any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer.

You must be 18 years of age or older to participate in this research study.

Completion and return of the questionnaire implies that you have read the information in this form and consent to participate in the research.

Please keep this form for your records or future reference.



**APPENDIX B**

**AMERICAN INDIAN BICULTURALISM INVENTORY – PUEBLO**

Demographic Questionnaire

Please complete the following information as accurately as possible. All information is strictly confidential and anonymous. This form will not include your name, only a subject number and at no time will your name be used in the data collection process. This will ensure that you will not be linked to the information given. Please complete all questions. Thank you.

1. Your age: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Your gender (check one): Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_
3. Your tribal affiliation: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Your Degree of Indian Blood: \_\_\_\_\_
5. What is your highest level of education?
6. Where did you attend high school? Circle one:  
Public Private Boarding school Mission school Other  
(e.g. St. Pius, Hope) (e.g. AIS/SFIS) (e.g. St. Catherine's)
7. If you went to college, what type of college did you attended college? Circle one:  
University college (e.g. UNM/NMSU) Tribal college (e.g. SIPI, IAIA) Other  
Community college (e.g. TVI, CNM) Vocational/technical
8. Do you participate in cultural events or activities? Circle one: Yes No

9. Did your primary caregiver encourage cultural teachings? Circle one: Yes No
10. Would you say you identify most as: Traditional, with Anglo ways, both, or neither?

## APPENDIX C

### AIBI-PUEBLO (AMERICAN INDIAN BICULTURALISM INVENTORY – PUEBLO) 2015, Royleen J. Ross, Harmony Lindgren, J. Doug McDonald

These questions ask you to describe your attitudes, feelings, and participation in Native/ American Indian and Anglo cultures. Items may apply to you completely, some, or not at all, so please read each question carefully and answer as accurately as you can. Then mark the number above the answer that best fits how you feel or what you do, as in the example below.

**Example:** What is your degree of comfort with paper and pencil questionnaires?

1. ____	2. ____	3. <u>X</u>	4. ____
No			Great
comfort			comfort

In this example, the person felt moderate but not complete comfort with paper and pencil questionnaires, so the person filled in 3.

In the case of attitudes and feelings, your first impression is usually correct. We are interested in how much your daily thoughts, feelings, and actions are influenced by Native and Anglo cultures, keeping in mind that no two people have the same background.

1. In general, how comfortable are you around Anglo people?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. ____
No			Complete
comfort			comfort

2. How comfortable are you in encouraging your children to learn and practice Native ways if you have children, or plan to have children?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. ____
No			Complete
comfort			comfort

3. How strongly do you identify with your Pueblo culture/ tribal community?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 No Greatly  
 identification identify
4. How strongly do you identify with Anglo culture?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 No Greatly  
 identification identify
5. How often do you think in your Pueblo/Indian language?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I rarely or Very often or  
 never think in always think in  
 Indian Indian
6. How confident are you in Non-Native medical practices (doctors in hospitals)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I do not use Have complete  
 Non-Native medical faith in Non-Native  
 doctors medical doctors
7. How confident are you in traditional medicine and ceremonies?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 No confidence Have very strong  
 in traditional faith in traditional  
 medicine medicine
8. What is your way of thinking of "Family:" Native (extended family, cousins same as brothers and sisters, aunts/uncles as parents, everyone is related)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 My idea of "Family" My idea of "Family"  
 is mostly Anglo, is very strongly Native and  
 relatives/friends are we are all relatives  
 what they are
9. How often do you attend Pueblo dances?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never I attend very  
 attend frequently

10. How often do you attend Christian religious ceremonies (Christenings, Baptisms, Church services)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never attend Christian ceremonies I attend Christian ceremonies very frequently
11. How often do you participate in Pueblo ceremonies?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never participate I participate very frequently
12. How often do you attend Anglo celebrations (i.e. Balloon Fiesta, State Fair, parades etc)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never attend Anglo celebrations I attend Anglo celebrations very frequently
13. How often do you attend Pueblo celebrations (i.e. Feast Days, Grab Day, etc)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never attend Pueblo celebrations I attend Pueblo celebrations very frequently
14. How many of your family members speak a Pueblo/Indian language?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 None of my family speak Indian Most of my family speak Indian
15. How often do you speak a Pueblo/Indian language?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I rarely or never speak Indian I often or always speak Indian
16. To what extent do members of your family have Pueblo Indian names?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 None have Indian names All have Indian names

17. How often do you talk about Non-Native topics, news and culture in your daily conversations?
- |  |         |         |  |
|--|---------|---------|--|
| 1. ____  | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____  |
| I never engage in topics of conversation about Non-Native news and culture |         |         | I engage in topics of conversation about Non-Native news and culture very frequently |
18. How often do you talk about Pueblo/Indian topics, news, and culture in your daily conversations?
- |  |         |         |  |
|--|---------|---------|--|
| 1. ____  | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____  |
| I never discuss Indian news or Cultural issues |         |         | I discuss Indian news or cultural issues daily |
19. How much do you believe in Pueblo Creation Stories (how Earth/People/Animals were made?)
- |  |         |         |  |
|--|---------|---------|--|
| 1. ____                                    | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____  |
| I don't believe in Pueblo creation stories |         |         | I very strongly believe in Pueblo creation stories |
20. How much do you believe in any Non-Native Creation Stories (Adam & Eve, Garden of Eden, etc?)
- |   |         |         |                                       |
|---|---------|---------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. ____                                 | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____                               |
| I don't believe in any of those stories |         |         | I completely believe in those stories |
21. In general, how much do you believe "Success" is when an **individual** wins or achieves something?
- |   |         |         |  |
|---|---------|---------|--|
| 1. ____   | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____  |
| I totally believe success is best achieved by individuals |         |         | I totally believe success is best achieved by groups (i.e. families teams, tribes, etc.) |
22. In general, how much do you believe "Success" is when a **group** (i.e. families teams, tribes, etc.) wins or achieves something?
- |   |         |         |  |
|---|---------|---------|--|
| 1. ____   | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____  |
| I totally believe success is best achieved by individuals |         |         | I totally believe success is best achieved by groups |

23. How important is your Non-Native heritage to you?  
1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
Not at all Very  
important important
24. How important to you is sharing with others (i.e. food, resources, time, etc)?  
1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
Not at all Very  
important important
25. What kind of humor do you use most?  
1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
I mostly use I mostly use Pueblo/  
Non-Native humor Indian humor

## APPENDIX D

### SATISFACTION WITH LIFE SCALE (SWLS)

(Ed Diener, Robert A. Emmons, Randy J. Larsen and Sharon Griffin as noted in the 1985 article in the *Journal of Personality Assessment*.)

Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1 - 7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

- 7 - Strongly agree
- 6 - Agree
- 5 - Slightly agree
- 4 - Neither agree nor disagree
- 3 - Slightly disagree
- 2 - Disagree
- 1 - Strongly disagree

\_\_\_\_ In most ways my life is close to my ideal.

\_\_\_\_ The conditions of my life are excellent.

\_\_\_\_ I am satisfied with my life.

\_\_\_\_ So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.

\_\_\_\_ If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

Scoring:

- 31 - 35 Extremely satisfied
- 26 - 30 Satisfied
- 21 - 25 Slightly satisfied
- 20 Neutral
- 15 - 19 Slightly dissatisfied
- 10 - 14 Dissatisfied
- 5 - 9 Extremely dissatisfied



## APPENDIX E

### **American Indian Biculturalism Inventory – Pueblo**

INSTRUCTION SHEET (PAPER & PENCIL VERSION):

**This brief questionnaire is designed to measure your thoughts, feelings and experiences relevant to Native American and non-Native American cultural identity. Anyone can fill out the questionnaire, regardless of racial, cultural, or ethnic background. Please answer with as much honest insight as possible. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers, and not even “better” or “worse” answers – we understand that everyone’s upbringing is different. As a matter of fact there may be items that don’t pertain to you at all, that’s fine. Simply indicate that in your response by check -marking the degree each item’s statement describes you or your family.**

#### **Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS)**

**This brief questionnaire is designed to measure your satisfaction with life. Anyone can fill out the questionnaire, regardless of racial, cultural, or ethnic background. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers, and not even “better” or “worse” answers – we understand everyone’s life experiences are different.**

**Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw with no penalty. The data will be used in a study of Cultural Identity conducted by Royleen Ross. Any questions or concerns about the study should be directed to her by email (royleen.ross@my.und.edu) or at 505/206-3853. It should only take a few minutes. You will be compensated in the amount of \$5.00 for your time. There are no perceived risks associated with your participation.**

## APPENDIX F

### RECRUITMENT ELECTRONIC MESSAGE:

Dear Prospective Participant,

My name is Royleen Ross and I am doctoral student in the clinical psychology program at the University of North Dakota (UND). My dissertation research project pertains to examining Pueblo cultural identity. Your participation will assist in learning more about Pueblo cultural identity and your participation is essential in achieving this goal. Thus, your participation is respectfully requested.

In order to participate, you must identify as a Pueblo Indian and must be at least 18 years of age. If you would like to participate in this study, please click on this link and it will take you to the surveys:

Participation will take approximately 10 minutes. At the end of the surveys, if you would like your name to be entered into a random drawing for one of eight \$25.00 VISA gift cards, please enter your e-mail address.

This study has been approved by the UND Institutional Review Board. If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at [royleen.ross@my.und.edu](mailto:royleen.ross@my.und.edu) or [justin.mcdonald@email.und.edu](mailto:justin.mcdonald@email.und.edu). In advance, thank you for your time and participation.

Respectfully,  
Royleen Ross, MA, Clinical Psychology  
Justin Douglas McDonald, PhD  
University of North Dakota

## APPENDIX G

### AIBI-NP (AMERICAN INDIAN BICULTURALISM INVENTORY – NORTHERN PLAINS)

(2014, McDonald, J. D., Ross, R. J., Rose, W. J.)

These questions ask you to describe your attitudes, feelings, and participation in Indian and White cultures. Items may apply completely, some, or not at all, so please read each question carefully and answer as accurately as you can. Then mark the number above the answer that best fits how you feel or what you do, as in the example below.

**Example:** What is your degree of comfort with paper and pencil questionnaires?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. <u>X</u>
No			Great
comfort			comfort

In this example, the person felt moderate but not complete comfort with paper and pencil questionnaires, so filled in 4.

In the case of attitudes and feelings, your first impression is usually correct. We are interested in how much your daily thoughts, feelings and actions are influenced by Indian and White cultures, keeping in mind that no two people have the same background.

1. In general, how comfortable are you around White people?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. ____
No			Complete
comfort			comfort

2. How comfortable are you in encouraging your children to learn and practice American Indian ways?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. ____
No			Complete
comfort			comfort

3. How strongly do you identify with American Indian culture?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. ____
No			Greatly
Identification			Identify

4. How strongly do you identify with White culture?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 No Identify  
 Identification Greatly
5. How often do you think in an American Indian language?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I rarely or Very often or  
 never think in an always think in an  
 Indian language Indian language
6. How confident are you in White/Western (doctors in hospitals) medicine?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I do not Have complete  
 use White medical faith in White  
 doctors medical doctors
7. How confident are you in traditional Native/American Indian medicine and ceremonies?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 No confidence Have very strong  
 In Native faith in Native  
 medicine medicine
8. How much is your way of thinking of "Family" American Indian (cousins same as brothers and sisters, aunts/uncles as parents, everyone is related)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 My idea of "Family" My idea of "Family"  
 is mostly "White", rela- is very strongly Indian  
 tives/friends are what we are all relatives  
 they are
9. How often do you attend traditional American Indian ceremonies (i.e Sweat lodge, Pipe Ceremonies, Sundance, Shaky Tent, Vision Quest)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never I attend Indian  
 attend Indian ceremonies  
 ceremonies frequently
10. How often do you attend more White, Christian religious ceremonies (Christenings, Baptisms, Church services)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never attend I attend  
 Christian Christian  
 ceremonies ceremonies frequently

11. How often do you participate in Indian dancing (Grass, Fancy, Jingle-Dress, Round, etc.)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never participate in Indian dances I participate in Indian dances frequently
12. To how many social organizations do you belong where most of the members are Indian?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I belong to no Indian organizations Most of the organizations I belong to are Indian organizations
13. How often do you attend White celebrations (i.e. White ethnic festivals, parades, etc.)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never attend White celebrations I attend White celebrations frequently
14. How often do you attend Indian celebrations (i.e. Pow-Wows, Wacipis, Hand-games)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never attend Indian celebrations I attend Indian celebrations frequently
15. How many of your family speak an American Indian language?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 None of my family speak Indian Most of my family speak Indian
16. How much do you speak an American Indian language?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I rarely or never speak Indian I often or always speak Indian
17. To what extent do members of your family have Indian first or last names (like “Wambli” or “Kills-in-Water”)?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 None have Indian last names All have Indian last names

18. How often do you talk about White news and culture in your daily conversation?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never engage in topics of conversation about Whites and their culture I engage in topics of conversation about Whites and their culture frequently
19. How often do you talk about Indian topics, news and culture in your daily conversations?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I never discuss Indian news or cultural issues I discuss Indian news or cultural issues daily
20. How much do you believe in any Indian Creation Stories (how Earth/People/Animals were made?)  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I don't believe in any of those stories I very strongly believe in those stories
21. How much do you believe in any non-Indian Creation Stories (Adam/Eve, Garden of Eden, etc?)  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I don't believe in any of those stories I very strongly believe in those stories
22. In general, how much do you believe "Success" best means when an **Individual** wins or achieves something?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I totally believe success is best achieved by individuals I totally believe success is best achieved by groups (i.e.families teams, tribes, etc.)
23. In general, how much do you believe "Success" best means when a **Group** (i.e. families teams, tribes, etc.) wins or achieves something?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 I totally believe success is best achieved by individuals I totally believe success is best achieved by Groups
24. How important is your European or White American heritage and history to you?  
 1. \_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_  
 Not at all Important Very important

25. My AGE is \_\_\_\_\_
26. My highest education level achieved is (# of years): \_\_\_\_\_
27. My PRIMARY Cultural/Ethnic Identification is (circle one only)
- a. White/Caucasian ethnicity (ethnic group [i.e. "Swedish", "American"]) \_\_\_\_\_)
  - b. American Indian/Alaska Native (tribe: \_\_\_\_\_)
  - c. Asian (affiliation [i.e. "Chinese"]) \_\_\_\_\_)
  - d. Latino/a (affiliation [i.e. "Mexican"]) \_\_\_\_\_)
  - e. Other (please list \_\_\_\_\_)



## APPENDIX H

### MULTIGROUP ETHNIC IDENTITY MEASURE

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

**(4) Strongly agree   (3) Agree   (2) Disagree   (1) Strongly disagree**

- 1 I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
- 2 I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
- 3 I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
- 4 I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
- 5 I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
- 6 I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
- 7 I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
- 8 In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
- 9 I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
- 10 I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
- 11 I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
- 12 I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.
- 13 My ethnicity is  
(1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others  
(2) Black or African American

- (3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
- (4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
- (5) American Indian/Native American
- (6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
- (7) Other (write in): \_\_\_\_\_

14 My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

15 My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

**APPENDIX I**  
**ETHNIC IDENTITY SCALE**

1. My feelings about my ethnicity are mostly negative.
2. I have not participated in any activities that would teach me about my ethnicity.
3. I am clear about what my ethnicity means to me
4. I have experienced things that reflect my ethnicity, such as eating food, listening to music, and watching movies.
5. I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my culture
6. I have read books, magazines, newspapers, or other materials that have taught me about my ethnicity.
7. I feel negatively about my ethnicity.
8. I have participated in activities that have exposed me to my ethnicity.
9. I am not happy with my ethnicity.
10. I wish I were a different ethnicity.
11. I have learned about my ethnicity by doing things such as reading books, magazines, newspapers, searching the internet, or keeping up with current events.
12. I understand how I feel about my ethnicity.
13. If I could choose, I would prefer to be of a different ethnicity.
14. I know what my ethnicity means to me.
15. I have participated in activities that have taught me about my ethnicity.
16. I dislike my ethnicity.
17. I have some clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me.

## APPENDIX J

### NATIVE AMERICAN ACCULTURATION SCALE

**Instructions: This questionnaire will collect information about your background and cultural identity. For each item, choose the one answer that best describes you by filling in the blank.**

\_\_\_\_ 1. What language can you speak?

1. Tribal language only (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, and Lakota)
2. Mostly tribal language, some English
3. Tribal language and English about equally well (bilingual)
4. Mostly English, some tribal language
5. English only

\_\_\_\_ 2. What language do you prefer?

1. Tribal language only (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, and Lakota)
2. Mostly tribal language, some English
3. Tribal language and English about equally well (bilingual)
4. Mostly English, some tribal language
5. English only

\_\_\_3. How do you identify yourself?

1. Native American
2. Native American and some nonNative American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)
3. Native American and nonNative American (bicultural)
4. NonNative American and some Native American
5. NonNative American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)

\_\_\_4. Which identification does (did) your mother use?

1. Native American
2. Native American and some nonNative American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)
3. Native American and nonNative American (bicultural)
4. NonNative American and some Native American
5. NonNative American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)

\_\_\_5. Which identification does (did) your father use?

1. Native American
2. Native American and some nonNative American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)
3. Native American and nonNative American (bicultural)
4. NonNative American and some Native American
5. NonNative American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)

- \_\_\_6. What was the ethnic origin of friends you had as a child up to age 6?
1. Only Native Americans
  2. Mostly Native Americans
  3. About equally Native Americans and non Native Americans
  4. Mostly nonNative Americans (e.g., Whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans)
  5. Only nonNative Americans
- \_\_\_7. What was the ethnic origin of friends you had as a child 6 to 18?
1. Only Native Americans
  2. Mostly Native Americans
  3. About equally Native Americans and non Native Americans
  4. Mostly nonNative Americans (e.g., Whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans)
  5. Only nonNative Americans
- \_\_\_8. Who do you associate with now in your community?
1. Only Native Americans
  2. Mostly Native Americans
  3. About equally Native Americans and non Native Americans
  4. Mostly nonNative Americans (e.g., Whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans)
  5. Only nonNative Americans
- \_\_\_9. What music do you prefer?
1. Native American music only (e.g., pow-wow music, traditional flute, contemporary, and chant)
  2. Mostly Native American music
  3. Equally Native American and other music
  4. Mostly other music (e.g., rock, pop, country, and rap)
  5. Other music only

- \_\_\_\_10. What movies do you prefer?
1. Native American movies only
  2. Mostly Native American movies
  3. Equally Native American and other movies
  4. Mostly other movies
  5. Other movies only
- \_\_\_\_11. Where were you born?
1. Reservation, Native American community
  2. Rural area, Native American community
  3. Urban area, Native American community
  4. Urban or Rural area, near Native American community
  5. Urban or Rural area, away from Native American community
- \_\_\_\_12. Where were you raised?
1. Reservation, Native American community
  2. Rural area, Native American community
  3. Urban area, Native American community
  4. Urban or Rural area, near Native American community
  5. Urban or Rural area, away from Native American community
- \_\_\_\_13. What contact have you had with Native American communities?
1. Raised for 1 year or more on the reservation or other Native American community
  2. Raised for 1 year or less on the reservation or other Native American community
  3. Occasional visits to the reservation or other Native American community
  4. Occasional communications with people on reservation or other Native American community
  5. No exposure or communications with people on reservation or other Native American community

- \_\_\_14. What foods do you prefer?
1. Native American foods only
  2. Mostly Native American foods and some other foods
  3. About equally Native American foods and other foods
  4. Mostly other foods
  5. Other foods only
- \_\_\_15. In what language do you think?
1. Tribal language only (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, and Lakota)
  2. Mostly tribal language, some English
  3. Tribal language and English about equally well (bilingual)
  4. Mostly English, some tribal language
  5. English only
- \_\_\_16. Do you
1. Read only a tribal language (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, and Lakota)
  2. Read a tribal language better than English
  3. Read both a tribal language and English about equally well
  4. Read English better than a tribal language
  5. Read only English
- \_\_\_17. Do you
1. Write only a tribal language (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, Lakota)
  2. Write a tribal language better than English
  3. Write both a tribal language and English about equally well
  4. Write English better than a tribal language
  5. Write only English
- \_\_\_18. How much pride do you have in Native American culture and heritage?
1. Extremely proud
  2. Moderately proud
  3. A little pride
  4. No pride, but do not feel negative toward group
  5. No pride, but do feel negative toward group



\_\_\_\_19. How would you rate yourself?

1. Very Native American
2. Mostly Native American
3. Bicultural
4. Mostly nonNative American
5. Very nonNative American

\_\_\_\_20. Do you participate in Native American traditions, ceremonies, occasions, and so on?

1. All of them
2. Most of them
3. Some of them
4. A few of them
5. None at all

Native American Acculturation Scale: Informal Assessment/Interview

1. What is your tribal affiliation, if any?
2. Do you speak any other languages, and if so, which do you prefer?
3. Tell me how you see yourself in terms of your own identity.
4. How does/did your mother identify herself?
5. How does/did your father identify herself?
6. Tell me where you come from or where you grew up, and who were some of the important people to you there (e.g, friends, family, and mentors).
7. Tell me where you live now, and who are some of the important people to you there (or at this point in your life).
8. What kind of music, movies, foods, and so on, do you prefer?
9. Tell me where you see yourself in relation to your (tribal) culture and heritage.
10. What other things would you like for me to know about you as a person?

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