Being American: Traditional, Bicultural, and Assimilated:
The American Indian Dilemma

By

DaVita Copeland

A Thesis

Presented to

The Department of Psychology

Humboldt State University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Masters of Arts

In Psychology

May 2007

Being American: Traditional, Bicultural, and Assimilated:
The American Indian Dilemma

By

DaVita Copeland

Approved by Master's Committee:

_____
Bettye Elmore, Ph. D.   Date

_____
Sengi Hu, Ph.D.   Date

_____
Joseph Giovannetti, Ph.D.   Date

_____
Christopher Aberson, Ph.D.   Date

_____
Chris A. Hopper, Ph.D., Interim Dean   Date

ABSTRACT

The major questions involved in this research center around the relationship between three self-identified subgroups of American Indians, (a) traditional, (b) bicultural and (c) assimilated. This is an important issue because of this relevancy to college success for American Indian students. Four hypotheses were asked regarding perceived cultural values and reported perceived ego identity, self-efficacy and social distance and traditional, bicultural and assimilated American Indians. The participants completed a brief Demographic Questionnaire and a self-identified cultural checklist as to whether they identified themselves as traditional, bicultural or assimilated American Indian. In addition, they completed a Semantic Differential for Native Values, Erickson's Ego Identity Scale and Coppel's Perceived Self-Efficacy as well as the Modified Social Distance Test for American Indians. It was proposed that self-identified traditional American Indians would score significantly higher in American Indian cultural values, stronger ego strength, with higher levels of perceived self-efficacy as well as report less social distance than would self-identified bicultural and assimilated American Indians.

The results of one-way ANOVA and LSD post hoc test found no significant difference in the three groups for American Indians values, however, traditional American Indians reported significantly higher ego-strength and perceived self-efficacy but lower social distance which was not significant. It was concluded that it might be that bicultural and assimilated American Indians experience cultural needs, while traditional American Indians experience the luxury of cultural distance. Some of the differences

found here may suggest that not all individuals classified as American Indian have the same educational problems. Educators might better plan for the American Indian student if they become aware of how these differences affect learning style, classroom performance, and a sense of competence.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study was to examine four aspects of human behavior, one centering on external culture and three focusing on internal processes, i.e., (a) ego identity, (b) perceived self efficacy, and (c) social distance from others. The major prediction to be explored in this research was that there is a unique relationship between American Indians and their socialized culture and these variables (Bryant & Baker, 2003; Herring, 1995). This is important because some American researchers and scholars argue that the colonization of Indians continues and that we do not have a "post-colonial environment, although Duran (1995) and others talk about "post-colonial". Many American Indians continued to perceive their cultural values as different form those held by the dominant society (Herring, 1995).

This issue is important because of its relevancy to college success for minority member students (Gone, 2004). If we examine American Indians as being comprised of three sub-groups, traditional, bicultural and assimilated both points of view may be correct. The problem is most researchers' view American Indians as a single solitary group or at best see differences only in tribal affiliation. Few scholars have a strong appreciation of the cultural values and diversity among the tribes among the 567 federally recognized tribes existing (Giovannetti, personal communication, April, 2007). However, traditional American Indians are socialized using traditional values. They have as a core these values to examine when searching for an identity. For traditional American Indians, these traditional values represent an a priori consideration, however, for bicultural and

1

assimilated American Indians when experiencing the crisis of identity begin to examine these values, often for the first time, and may experience a different set of problems when coping with the educational system. This researcher suggests that ego-strength; perceived self-efficacy and social distance from others may not be of equal difficulty for these three groups of American Indians.

The process of acculturation has been a dilemma for many American Indians (Bryant & Baker, 2003). This process of acculturation may be different for each of these sub-groups. The American Indian student often views the dominant culture, as expressed in colleges and universities, as attempting to destroy their distinctive tribal culture and its values (Herring, 1995). This fear is based, in part, in the fact that attempts to destruct their culture have been promulgated for many centuries (Churchill, 1999). The values of kinship, affiliation, and even time and space are different in the Native view from the dominant culture (Herring, 1995). As a result, many American Indians have experienced problems in attaining a healthy sense of identity based upon European values (Bryant & Baker, 2003). The dominant culture was invested in eradication of any trace of Indian identity through the elimination of traditional ceremonies and practices (Deloria, 1988). The 1882 code of Indian offenses criminalized dances and created the American Indian reservation court system (Deloria).

This loss of identity frequently results in feelings of isolation not only from the university and its environment but isolation from ones self (Bryant & Baker, 2003; Erickson, 1968; Fleming, & Watts, 1980). Anthropologists assert that Indians are caught between two cultures and are confused; American Indian students' families have been

victims of genocide, and racism. The result is to feel as if they were caught in two worlds (Herring, 1995). Regarding the caught between two worlds hypothesis Deloria (1988) says authors have promulgated a distortion which provides apologists rationales for authors who are not addressing the victimization of American Indians by Euro-America As a result their belief in their own ability to be successful in college is diminished making higher education unavailable (Pavel, 1992). Bandura (1993) would view this as a failure to develop perceived self-efficacy. According to Bandura, self-efficacy will determine whether or not one accepts the challenge of college, how much effort they will expand, the degree of tenacity, and how much stress they will endure.

Many American Indians attending college today have been socialized in environments that have emphasized different values from those accepted by the dominant culture. The values, concepts and methods of learning presented in universities reflect the values and morals held by American society-Euro-American character by individuation, etc. Myers (1984), an American Indian student expressed this difficulty with her cultural values and university life in the following manner:

> What has helped me [in school] is understanding my Indian culture and
> being an active part of it. This has given me the knowledge that I have the
> right to be different within the university. I have had to accept that for me
> to survive in the academic environment, I must maintain balance. I am
> expected to function as a part of the dominant society, but I will not
> sacrifice my cultural identity (p. 2).

This particular student was able to shift her self-efficacy to maintain strength in the educational system in spite of the values clash. However, many American

Indian students are unable to make this shift. They may perceive self-efficacy

with in the subculture but are unable to find this balance.

Among American Indians, those adolescents graduating from high school are

staggeringly low; in some areas of the country, the dropout rate approaches 50 percent

(Reyhner & Eder, 1992). American Indians leave postsecondary education at a higher

rate than other ethnic groups. Pavel and Padilla (1993) found that only 15 percent of all

American Indians students earned bachelor degrees, while 37 percent of Euro-Americans

and Asians earned their degrees. They also found that the rate of American Indian

retention was better at some universities, particularly those respecting diversity.

Furthermore, high SAT scores were not a determining factor for American Indian

students, as it was with other ethnic and racial groups with similar SAT scores. Pavel

(1992) suggested that additional factors working in concert with academic preparation

influence persistence in academic work. One of these factors, for non-Euro-American

students, has been identification with a cultural group different from the dominant

society; this is particularly true for American Indian students.

This study examined a group of self identified American Indians who report their

perceived acculturation as traditional, bicultural or assimilated. This study is a first step

to examine differences, if any, that may exist between these three subgroups. American

Indian students who view themselves as traditional report problems with their identity

and this may be why they experience a clash between their socialized culture and the

dominate society system (Bryant & Baker, 2003). However, bicultural and assimilated

American Indians may struggle with a desire for being part of Native culture and

experience ego-identity, self-efficacy and social distance problems. If major differences exist, then different steps might be taken to assist these students though higher education.

Review of the Literature

There have been many studies on the effects of a lack of cultural identity on the American Indian (Churchill, 1999; Garrett, 1995; Little Soldier, 1985; Sanders, 1987; Smith, 1991). Although this effect has been devastating, too many questions remain unanswered. Most importantly is the question of how American Indians cope with the loss of their culture without the ability to acculturate. There are many ways to view influences of cultural effects and many ways of assessing identification. The questions of how many American Indians have reacted to this multiplicity of cultural views and ways of relating to the dominant culture will be the focus of this review. Recent researchers suggest that American Indians have a cultural identity is just that his identity differs from that of the dominant society (Bryant & Baker, 2003; Herring, 1995; Kroger, 2003).

Before an examination of the literature pertaining to this issue is presented, a definition of culture is needed. A basic all-inclusive way to view culture is to view it as the people (Bryde, 1971). According to Bryde, culture is all the peoples of a group doing important things in the same manner. The important things are (a) God, (in terms of Native Americans and God, the formulation of God for an Indian is an identification with the great mystery, vs. God. The Christian connotation of God is different): (b) myself (c) fellowmen and (d) earth or the world. The most important actions are created around these four dimensions of a belief system. The greatness of a people is judged by the good

ideas that they hold toward the important objects, i.e., creating values. Values are actions and things preferred over other things and actions are anything associated to and with a value. Thus, a value is like a hidden magnet in a thing or action that attracts a person to the culture.

It should be acknowledged that in this study when we speak of the values of the Native people, we are not inferring that each and every American Indian that one meets will hold the same values, but each individual Indian may hold these values to varying degrees. Brief definitions of these values, according to Bryde are as follows:

1. God: the great, holy power that is above everything else, He is good, He looks after us, and, in the words of Red Cloud 'He make us in order to have mercy on us'

2. Myself: Indian had deep sense of pride in himself, because he was Indian. He regarded himself as extremely important because he was free and because he could do hard things with no fear.

3. Fellow Man: this meant fellow tribesman His additive was to share and help others. It made for a strong people.

4. The World: The Indians regarded the world as all one and related (pp. 99-100).

Second, the concept of identity needs to be defined in the context of how it will be employed in this study. Similar to a teenager surrounded by the adult world, developing feelings of being somewhat lost and weak, and without an identity of their own outside of the family, so many Indians feel when faced with identity and the constraints of the dominant culture. In an attempt to create their own identity, they begin to dress distinctively to feel a sense individuality of pride. In comparison, Indians can feel pride in themselves by being proud of their racial group. This may represent traditional American

Indians. Many American Indians have internalized the negative stereotypes put forth by the dominant culture. Their self-system or ego-identity, therefore based on negative feeling of their self-worth and self-confidence, has been compromised (Garrett, 1995). This view may represent bicultural and assimilated American Indians.

In order to obtain a sense of individuality or pride in him or herself the American Indian person must develop a sense of identity, i.e., they need to be aware of and socialized in their Indian culture. The number of American Indian raised in non-traditional homes, or in foster care or adopted, or completely living in assimilated environments of the dominant society have not had the opportunity to fully participate in their culture. In addition to concepts of God self, fellow man and the world and cultural values several other aspects are of importance, first the values of group participation over individual freedom (Herring, 1995). The dominant society tends to value individual freedom and group compliance (Herring). Native culture tends to promote, generosity over the acquisition of things or objects, i.e., materialism is not valued. Wealth may be seen more in terms of richness of spirit and protection of the environment that cannot be owned.

According to Erickson (1968), one important aspect of identity is morals and values. These values come from the family at an early age through socialization, but must be re-examined and internalized as one's own values during adolescence. In this manner, adults are able to acquire their "perceptual filter" for screening the outside world. Some American Indian moral and values differ from those of the dominant society. An example of one difference can be seen in Gone (2004) who found that Native culture has wider

with more stringent needs of social responsibility. He also found that American Indians were more forgiving of transgressions than members of the dominant society were.

Values from the family are transmitted to the offspring through the socialization process by their parents, "social referencing", which has been obtained by the parent through society or their culture in the first place (Bandura, 1997; Bryde, 1971; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Kochanska & Akson, 1995; Kochanska, Tjebkes & Forman, 1998). A culture is passed on in this way, by parents teaching their children the ways of doing the important things and when these children grow up they in turn pass on this valuable information from generation to generation.

When groups of different cultures live in close proximity to one another, the more frequently they can compare their actions they are able to borrow ideas and imitate ways from one another (Bryant & Baker, 2003). A culture will grow and change as the group encounters other groups of different cultures. When this happens some of the values may change by adapting from other cultures the rapid near total annihilation of tribal cultures accelerated this process. It is important to recognize this process of changing cultural values is a voluntary one (Smith, 1991).

Many of the values of different American Indian tribes in the Unites States were affected in this manner (Bryant & Baker, 2003). Therefore, we can speak of American Indian values. There are many similarities in the values of Indian tribes because of the contact, however there are also differences. The focus of the research will be on common values that unite American Indians that have resisted change by the dominant culture.

What happens when the change in a culture's values are not voluntary? This question is important for this research. Forced assimilation and the loss of values are the result. Most people, and some historians, assume that is what happened to the American Indian, i.e., a new culture surrounded the existing Indian culture and forced it to accept the new dominate society cultural values and mores (Churchill, 1999). Many ancestors of Indian people living today, however, did not accept the new cultural values. Exhibiting resistance to the new values, they passed along dissatisfaction through the generations. This accounts for some of the alienation that is found in many Indian communities. Scores of Indians did not accept the new culture and its values, which have an over-achieving goal to change Indians into non-Indians.

In spite of resistance, a change has occurred, however, the character of the change has centered on the manner (or the how) in which many American Indians acted as Indians, but not as western peoples. This change resulted in anomie or alienation of American Indian people (Deloria, 2001). The number of Indian men in prisons past and present has been looked at as a statement of resistance to cultural annihilation (Deloria). High school drop out rates may be an indication of resistance to racism or the cultural irrelevance of high schools (Garrett, 1995). However, many of the traditional American Indian values were saved but were fragmented and access to traditional knowledge has been severely reduced or almost eliminated by deaths due to war, disease, hunger (J. Giovannetti, personal communication, April, 2007).

The most prevalent negative effects can be seen in these attempts to acculturate the American Indian youth (Garcia & Ahler, 1992). The American Indian youth has been

caught between two worlds and they struggle for a sense of place and identity because they do not have a solid foundation or cultural values to draw upon to balance between the two conflicting worlds that they must live in. The result is often social, cultural, and self-alienation (Garrett, 1995).

Little Soldier (1985) suggested that enculturation is the process by which individuals learn their home culture and their identity. If this is so, then when the Indian youth tries to apply the values they learn in the dominate society school environment they oftentimes are faced with pressure to compromise their basic cultural values (Sanders, 1987). This leads to conflict and results in serious identity crises (Little Soldier, 1985.) American Indian identity widely varies along a continuum with more or less, three distinct divisions: Traditional, Bicultural and Assimilated or Acculturated (Garrett, 1995) depending upon the degree to which they know, understand, and practice Indian values. Today many Indians struggle to be traditional and accept the values of Indians that have existed for countless centuries. Evidence for this fact can be seen in the pursuit of many Indians to learn their Native language. It is difficult to learn one's language and remain part of the dominant culture. This struggle can be seen in the negative psychological impact of biculturalism (Lafromboise, Hardin, Coleman & Gerton, 1993).

Identity and American Indians

According to Erickson's (1968), theory of identity development, there is an emphasis on the need for individuals to complete certain developmental tasks during specific developmental stages in order to maintain a healthy personality and successfully

progress through subsequent developmental stages. The inability to sufficiently answer questions of values and morals, acceptance of ones' appearance, and finding a sense of community in which to find a mate results in identity confusion, which is accompanied by feelings of alienation, isolation and uncertainty (Erickson).

Social and personal difficulties have been attributed to these cultural differences of living in two worlds (Garrett, 1995). It is important to provide supportive settings that maintain identity consolidation in Native American young people (Lafromboise, et al., 1993). Members of marginalized groups have not been able to adopt values from the prevailing American culture in ways that preserves their social pride and personal self-esteem (Lafromboise, et al.).

The social alienation, identity confusion and self-hate that American Indians experience are reflected in their rates of alcoholism and suicide. Lower suicide rates are found with tribes "Navajo" who have succeeded in maintaining a separate cultural identity (Lafromboise, et. al.).

Universally it has been suggested that individuals, in order to be psychologically healthy, go through a process of separating from their families in order to maintain autonomy and a separate identity (Bowen, 1978; Mahler, 1949; Hoffman & Weiss, 1987; Moore, l987). Bowen (1978) suggested that a healthy differentiation of self involves the ability to develop a strong sense of oneself while maintaining a connection with the family of origin. In 1995, Sprinthall and Collins found that a family environment that encouraged individuation and connectedness resulted in the individual establishing a mature sense of self and the ability to understand and accommodate the perspective held

by other people. According to Moore (1987), separation from the family involved four aspects, functional independence, attitudinal independence, emotional independence, and conflictual independence.

Functional independence was defined as the individual's ability to physically take care of their needs, i.e., food; shelter, etc. with minimum support from their parents. In their research, the concept of seeking support from the community was not addressed. According to Bryde (1971), the concept of fellow man, described earlier, suggests that individuation for American Indians meant fellow tribesman with an additive to share and help others within the tribe. This made for a stronger more individuated person. This factor can also be seen in attitudinal independence, that is having a set of values and beliefs separate from one's parents. Within cultures with shared values the differences in child rearing, marriage, governance, etc. are not as great as in the dominant society. Hoffman and Weiss (1987) who looked at the same variables did not address cultural or subcultural differences.

In this emotional and conflictual independence are of greater importance. First, emotional independence suggested that the individual was not dependent upon one's parents for approval and emotional support. According to Erikson (1968), ego-identity involves a sense of being independent but able to relate to parents and others as well. It is in conflictual independence, freedom from excessive anxiety, guilt, resentment, and anger, and responsibility toward one's parents that many American Indian students may have or find difficulty. The clash between subcultural and dominant culture are most noted here in college.

Hoffman and Weiss (1987) found that greater emotional and conflictual independence were related to fewer academic problems and greater interpersonal adjustments in relationships with others outside of the family. Lopez, Campbell, and Watkins (1986) in opposition to Hoffman and Weiss (1987) found that individuation was not related to general college adjustment in males and negatively related to adjustment in females. Traditional American Indians may have less difficulty in college adjustment than bicultural and assimilated if their traditions are respected. It is assumed in this study that the greater the separation from the traditional cultures the less difficulty. Therefore, bicultural students might have a more adjustment difficulties in terms of ego-identity and social distance.

Perceived Self-Efficacy

Perceived self-efficacy is defined as person's beliefs in their ability to exercise control over their ability to organize and carry out behaviors, to attain goals and behave in socially appropriate ways based on internalized standards from the environment (Bandura, 1997). Self-efficacy is also a significant determinant of self-regulation, which aides in maintaining our internalized standards and a person's real and perceived self-efficacy. Bandura (1993) states that perceived self-efficacy not only determines how people behave, think and feel but is related to how they are motivated as well. How well they are motivated and the extent to which they persevere in the face of adversities is determined by a person's self-efficacy. In addition, their vulnerability to stress and depression as well as the life choices they might make are mediated through self-efficacy.

In other words, the success or failure that many people experience as they engage in the many tasks, especially those associated with academia, will influence how they make decisions (Pajares, 1996). In the case of American Indians often the choice is to leave the institution because of a sense of failure. Often the knowledge and skills as well as values the American Indian student brings to schools are at odd or different from those in the institution (Herring, 1995). Success and failure in terms of self-efficacy may be the key to understanding the dropout rate of many American Indian students. While in the school situation they may make judgments about the quality of the knowledge and skills they posses and view themselves as less then the other students in terms of performance. Academic self-efficacy is related to the students' perception that he or she has the ability to do the course work required, to participate in the learning activities and to meet the expectations of the system and themselves. Their low self-efficacy in this reciprocally determined interaction might affect their motivation and tenacity to remain in school.

This relationship between self-efficacy and motivation can be seen in Van and Malcolm (1996) who states that motivation, self-efficacy and values, among other behaviors, are related. If their sense of self-efficacy and their belief competent to complete a task are high, then students may be motivated to be successful. However, self-efficacy and thereby efficacy motivation stem from several sources according to the social cognitive model of Bandura (1993). Self-efficacy starts with the family, (Bandura, 1997; Soberg & Villarreal, 1997) later with peers (Parjares, 1996) and grows in terms of competence, the academic system, elementary school, high school and later college (Schunk & Pajares, 2002). American Indian students are socialized in such a manner that

makes it more difficult for them to demonstrate their self-efficacy in a positive or successful manner because there way of accomplishing tasks and acquiring skills is not acknowledged or recognized by main stream culture (Bryant & Lafromboise, 2005; Deloria, 2001).

An observation made by both Erikson (1968) and Bandura (1993) is that the development of identity and self-efficacy are greatly influenced by culture. An individual's self-efficacy operates through their cultural group through a connection to the community. Spindler and Spindler (1989) in an anthropological study on the concept of "the self" suggest that there are several ways to identify what is termed "self". According to these researchers, the concept of the "enduring self," is equated with ideal-romantic instrumental choices and rationalizations, and is often associated with images of the land, village life, and the occupation of the individual. The second is the "situated self", and is equated with the pragmatic modality and is associated with images of urbanized life-styles and occupations.

The authors hypothesized that self is related to self-esteem and self-efficacy. When the identity of self is under attack, as happens with many minorities, the effect is that minority individuals are less able to see themselves as being successful in the mainstream culture. Another explanation might be that they have a realization of how grossly ignored or underestimated their value is perceived (Deloria, 2001). The implication is that knowledge of both the traditional self as well as the mainstream culture is necessary for minority groups to resist the destruction of their self-efficacy.

When individuals have their self-concept in tact, there is more of a tendency to have higher self-efficacy and they are more likely to have self-determination.

When children in minority populations try to interpret their concept of themselves through terms of the dominant society, they end up understanding themselves as being at a disadvantage. The dominant society, according to Spindler and Spindler, (1989) often disregards their circumstances. The victim is often blamed for his or her own victimization that results from colonization (Deloria, 1988). As a result the person is seen as having little value, especially when Euro-Americans believed they were savages, while the American Indian value the richness of his or her community, traditions and the people who developed these ideas. The value of the community, however, comes from knowledge of the original context of the culture based on tradition and ritual. Identification with the richness of the traditions of the culture can result in a greater self-concept, which in turn may affect self-efficacy. A review of the development of self-efficacy and the dilemma for students, and the American Indian student in particular, follows.

Resilient children tend to have high social and cognitive self-efficacy (Wang, Geneva & Walberg, 1997). They also have the ability to plan and set realistic goals. These researchers believe that self-efficacy and therefore competency are not innate but are learned from the family, schools and the community as a whole (Bandura, 1997; Wang, et al.). American Indians learn self-efficacy in the same manner cultural values are attained, i.e., as part of socialization by parents. In the case of American Indians, this often involves the entire community.

Yamauchi and Green (1997) using social cognitive theory as the basis of their research found that ones' belief about their own self-efficacy differs depending upon the environment the person is acting within. For example, a person's self-efficacy may be low in school because of the impact of the level of motivation in that environment. Their research was a comparative study involving Native Hawaiian students living in Hawaii and students with a Euro-American background living on the mainland of the United States. They found that their Hawaiian students reported lower levels of self-efficacy in all areas of academic achievement except biology in comparison to mainland students. These researchers felt the explanation for this exception in biology was the cultural background or environment the Hawaiian students had been socialized. The Hawaiian students' rural island lifestyle made them more familiar and thereby more comfortable with biological related ideas, plants and animals. The environment similar to their cultural socialization made for higher levels of self-efficacy

Bandura (1997) also suggests that the two most important powerful sources of self-efficacy are previous experience with tasks and observation. That American Indian students' self-efficacy it can be argued stems from having experiences that differ from the dominant academic institutions. As stated above, self-efficacy is initially acquired in the family. Students later model in their own behavior aspects of the socialized environment (Bandura). Different family structures, i.e., family size, sibling birth order and the cultural values of the family create different social comparisons for judging ones' personal self-efficacy. According to Attneave (1982) strong familial ties and allegiance are extremely important to American Indian identify, this is also true for self-efficacy.

The American Indian community works as a whole to deal with problems and it could be added to socialize their children. According to Lafromboise, Trimble, and Mohatt (1990) the importance of the community and the social environment often limits the effectiveness of traditionally focused services to American Indians.

Therefore, similar to the Hawaiian students described above, although they are raised and socialized on the "mainland" United States, the environment and the content of their socialization for many American Indians is quite different. According to Juntunen, Barraclough, Broneck, Seibel, Winrow, and Morin (2001), the American Indians in their study held the perspective that they were moving between two worlds. Furthermore, they reported that this experience had different feelings about the two worlds and different experiences while living in them. "The process of moving between two worlds was often described as difficult, both emotionally and cognitively, (p. 280)". This finding is in agreement with Bandura's (1997) social cognitive theory and self-efficacy. According to Bandura, self-efficacy is unlike self-esteem in that self-efficacy can differ from one subject area or performance approach to another.

As children age the peer group begins to serve an important role in developing self-efficacy. Researchers have found that a great deal of socialization of the individual occurs among peers (Bandura, 1993; Pellegrini & Bartini, 2001). In cooperative cultures, these relationships become extremely important in the formation of self-efficacy. The schools in the dominant society function as the primary environment for developing and validating academic competencies as well as the family and peers (Bandura, 1993). In the school environment, many social factors are seen as important, peer modeling of

cognitive skills, comparison of their performance with other students as well as teacher interpretation of the students' success or failure in ways that reflect positive or negative view of the students' ability. All of these factors can affect the students' judgment of his or her level of self-efficacy. Many teachers do not understand American Indians relationship with their peers in the dominant culture educational systems. Billy Mills the cross-country runner for the University of Kansas is an excellent example of this misunderstanding between teachers and American Indian students. Billy's coach wanted him to be competitive with his peers but he found competition intolerable (J. Giovannetti, personal communication, April, 2007). The problem is creating cultural aware environments, including peer relationships that are conducive to the development of self-efficacy from different cultural perspectives that are valued.

American Indians feel close to their community and it has been shown that within this community they are able to demonstrate high levels of self-efficacy (Deloria, 2001; Herring, 1995; Yamauchi & Green, 1997). However, when dealing with the dominate culture many American Indians such as Myer (1984) quoted earlier feel isolated and had to achieve a balance between a closeness to her Native traditional culture and the culture of the academic world which represents the denominate culture. Many American Indians not only feel high levels of self-efficacy within their culture but closeness to others and values within the culture. The social distance that is observed in the dominant culture is not part of Native culture.

Social Distance

Social distance has been defined as the personal space or distance a person needs between them and the other in communication. Hall (1960) was one of the first researchers to measure four spatial zones or distances used in relationships to other people, i.e., the intimate, the personal, the social and the public. In intimate relationships in which people are responsive, trusting, and protective of one another the social distance is very short, 0 to 18 inches (Hall). This closeness enables someone to hear the breath and feel the touch of another person. Buss (2000) suggested that close social relations are essential for feelings of well-being. Personal distance is maintained in most social interactions. This distance is maintained in most social interactions. It allows for close interactions with enough distance to remain separate. Miller (2000) states the dominant culture has a long history of thinking in terms of individualism and at some point; the closeness of social relations was abandoned. Closeness remains a value for many American Indians in spite of it being "abandonment" by the dominant society.

In this paper, only intimate and personal distance will be measured. Personal distance is referred to as social distance because both intimate and personal spaces in psychology currently are defined in terms of proximity to a loved one (Bowlby, 1969; Lopez & Brenna, 2000; Schuster, Kessler & Aseltine, 1990). The closer ones see themselves to a person the greater familiarity and trust a person may understand and feel.

This study explores the relationship between identifying oneself as traditional, bicultural, or assimilated in terms American Indian heritage and the variables of self-efficacy, ego-identity, and social distance.

Research Hypotheses

1. Self-identified traditional American Indians will score significantly higher (.05 level of significance) in global Native American cultural values than will self-identified biracial and assimilated American Indians as measured by the Cultural Identity Checklist and the Semantic Differential of Native American Values.

2. Self-identified traditional American Indians will score significantly higher (.05 level of significance) in ego-identity than will self-identified biracial and assimilated American Indians as measured by the Cultural Identity Checklist and the Ego-Identity Scale.

3. Self-identified traditional American Indians will score significantly higher in perceived self-efficacy (.05 level significance) than will self-identified biracial and assimilated American Indians as measured by the Cultural Identity Checklist and the Perceived Self-Efficacy Scale.

4. Self-identified traditional American Indians will score significantly lower in social distance (.05 level significance) in than will self-identified biracial and assimilated American Indians as measured by the Cultural Identity Checklist and the Modified Social Distance Test for Native Values.

METHODS

Participants

The number of participants in this study was 53 respondents obtained on the Internet. There were 31 self-identify traditional, 42 bi-cultural and 12 assimilated American Indians. Seven demographic questions were asked: 1) gender (Male, Female); 2) age (18-25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, and 40+); 3) level of education (less than high school graduation, high school graduation, some college, college graduation and graduate education); 4) do you consider yourself to be: a) traditional American Indian: b) bi-cultural American Indian, or) an assimilated American Indian; and finally, Please write on the blank line how you refer to yourself as a Native person. (See appendix A for demographic sheet.)

Operational Definitions

Traditional American Indians: Traditional American Indian was defined as one who practices traditional Indian values and customs on a daily basis. A traditional American Indian knows and speaks their language fluently. A traditional American Indian practices and participates in their cultural religion. The traditional American Indian will most likely be living on Indian land such as a reservation or a rancheria where their most recent ancestors have lived.

In this study, traditional American Indian was self-identified on the demographic portion of the measures packet as well as obtaining a high score on the Global American Indian values test.

The bicultural American Indian: The bicultural American Indian was one who may or may not live on the reservation, rancheria or on their most recent ancestral land. This person will know and speak some of their Native language. This person may also participate in some of the religious ceremonies and dances of their traditional culture. The difference from this person and the traditional person is that this person will also participate in the western Euro-American society part of the time. This person will most likely be working, socializing and may even be living in the Euro-American society of the United States. In this study, bicultural American Indian was self-identified on the demographic portion of the measures.

Assimilated: Assimilation is the process by which an individual develops a new cultural identity. The Assimilated American Indian will have no knowledge of their Native language and may not participate in their Native religious or cultural events. This person is living in the modern western Euro-American society of the United States. In this study, an assimilated American Indian was self-identified on the demographic portion of the measures packet

Global Native Cultural Values: When defining Global Native Cultural Values one must always keep in mind that there are many Indian tribes and peoples and they are not an easily generalized entity. Tribal variations must be considered. We must also realize that the Indian culture has been exposed to over five hundred years of European

culture and has been under great pressure to conform. In spite of these adversities, the values discussed here will be those that were the most prevalent when the elders held more influence and American Indian societies were more stable. The Indian people of today are living in a world of transitions and current values held may reflect the influence of the dominant society in varying degrees. The following is a list of selected American Indian values was constructed from the California Department of Education on American Indian values (1990) and Dobrec (1987):

Orientation to the present immediate gratification of desires rather than postponement of gratification. This puts emphasis on living each day as it comes. The philosophy is that one should be more interested in being than becoming.

Pluralism is very important to the Indian people have a desire to retain as much of their cultural heritage as possible. They may leave the reservation to find jobs in the city and for educational opportunities, but they do not stop being Indian. Indians tend to sty among Indians and go into non-Indian areas only when necessary.

Family and the extended family are very important in the cultural of pluralism. One cannot underestimate the importance of the extended family. Aunts and Uncles may be considered mothers and fathers and cousins may be considered bothers and sisters. Even clan members may be considered relatives. Kinship is based on affiliation not biology. This large network of relatives provides much support and a strong sense of security.

The Indian people value age. It is believed that wisdom comes with age and experience. Tribal elders are treated with great respect. The talents of the elders are utilized for the continuance for the group.

Children are raised in a self-exploratory rather than a restrictive environment they are generally raised in an atmosphere of love, and a great deal of attention is lavished on them by a large array of relatives. The Indian parent generally lowers their voice than raise it when correcting a child. A child learns to be seen and not heard when adults are present.

Discipline that is harsh and demeaning using personal criticism is felt to only damage a child's self-image and are thus avoided by the Indian. Spanking was not a normal practice. Non-corporal means of discipline are preferred. Traditional forms of non-corporal punishment included frowning, ignoring, ridiculing, shaming, or scolding the individual or withholding all praise. Sibling and peer pressure are also important means to control behavior. Parents were not responsible for disciplining the child usually the aunt or uncle, thereby leaving the parent free for a closer, non-threatening relationship with the child.

Community oriented, group harmony and cooperation all go hand in hand in the Indian environment. A community that is close knit needs to be harmonious for the greater good of the group.

Cooperation is the key element in keeping a close relationship in the community. This was necessary for the survival of the family and group. There was rarely competition within the group it was usually with the individual and his or her past

performance. The sense of cooperation is so strong in many tribal communities that democracy means consent by consensus, not by majority rule.

Interdependence is another value that is necessary for the Indian community. It is all-important for one to be available to help other members of the community and in return receive help when needed.

Generosity or giving and sharing are the lifeline of the Indian people. This value adds to the health and welfare of the whole tribe. When one cannot provide for there own needs then the one who has abundance will share and in return, they will have their needs met when needed.

Modesty is a value that is well respected among the American Indian communities. Boasting and loud behavior that attracts attention to one is discouraged.

Autonomy is a value placed on respect for an individual's dignity and personal autonomy. Controlling the individual from the outside was not valued. One is taught not to interfere in the affairs of another. Children are given the same respect as adults

Placidity is valued, as is the ability to remain quiet and still. Indians have few nervous mannerisms. Silence is used to mask feelings of discomfort to avoid embarrassment. Silence is also observed when inwardly determining what is expected.

Patience is considered a good quality among Indians. Evidence of this value is apparent in delicate, time-consuming works of art, such as beadwork, quillwork, sand painting or basket weaving.

Bilingualism is important to Indians. Many cultural elements are contained within the context of a Native language. Certain words and concepts are not easily translated

into English. Each Indian Language contains the key to that society's view of the universe.

Mystical beliefs are an important aspect of the religious aspects, which is introduced into all areas of one's life. Religion is an integral part of each day; it is a way of life. The Indian philosophy may be contemplative rather than a utilitarian philosophy.

Respect for Nature is most important value because nature cannot be regulated. Indians formed a cooperative way of life to function in balance with nature. The Indian believes that the necessary balance or harmony has somehow been destroyed if sickness occurs or food is lacking. Nature is full of spirits and hence spiritual. The Indians designed their way of life by living in harmony with nature. Even today, most Indians do not believe in progress at the expense of all else. Many Indians have rejected scientific explanation of the cosmos in favor of a supernatural one. Certain tribes adhere to restrictions against touching certain animals.

In this study, the above information was used to develop the Native Values Semantic Differential as well as discussions with American Indian faculty and staff (B. Elmore, Fraser, George, F., Giovannetti, J., Risling, L. & Zastrow, P., personal communication, March, 2004). Adherence to Native values in this study was seen as a higher score on the Native Values Semantic Differential Scale.

Identity: According to Erikson (1968) identity is defined as a person's self-definition as a separate individual in terms of roles, attitudes, beliefs, and aspirations" Erikson believed values were an important component of identity. It has been suggested that a sense of identity allows us to make countless daily decisions. Identity has been seen

as a part of our personality that we are aware of and as such, it allows us to see our lives in meaningful and coherent wholes. In this study, identity was defined as a high score on The Ego Identity Scale.

Perceived Self-Efficacy: Perceived Self-efficacy is defined as a person's belief in their ability to exercise control over their abilities to organize and carry out behaviors to obtain goals, solve problems and master particular tasks (Bandura, 1993). In this study self-efficacy was seen as a high score on a modified version of Coppel's perceived self-efficacy scale (1980).

Social Distance: Social distance has been defined as the personal space or distance a person needs between them and the other in communication Hall (1960). He identified four spatial zones or distances used in relationships to other people, i.e., the intimate, the personal, the social and the public. Only intimate and personal space was examined in this study. In intimate relationships in which people are responsive, trusting, and protective of one another the social distance is very short (Hall, 1960). Personal distance is maintained in most social interactions. The closer ones see themselves to a person the greater familiarity and trust a person may understand and feel. Social distance in this study was defined as a high score on the Modified Social Distance Test for American Indians.

Instruments

Four measures were employed in this study, Semantic Differential of Native American Values, the Ego Identity Scale (EIS), the Perceived Self-Efficacy Scale, and the Modified Social Distance Test for Native Values Semantic Differential of Native American Values

The Semantic Differential (SD) measures the participants' responses to two bipolar stimulus concepts in terms of ratings on a single scale defined with contrasting adjectives at each end. Bipolar adjective scales are a simple, economical means for obtaining data on participants' attitudes. It has been suggested that with adaptations, the scales can be used with adults or children, individuals of different socioeconomic statuses, and individuals from different cultures. Osgood the author of the SD has used it as a measure of attitude in a wide variety of projects (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). The SD has been used by many researchers to study attitude formation (Oetting, 1964), attitudes toward organizations (Rosenfield, 1967), attitudes toward jobs and occupations, (Gusfield, (1963), and attitudes toward minorities (Tanaka, Osgood, 1965; Weksel, Hennes, 1965).

In this study, the attitudes toward Native American values were studied. The bipolar adjective list was developed from the Global Native Cultural Values produced by the California Department of Education, 1990 and Dobrec, 1987. After the values had been reduced to a list of core values comparisons of values for the dominant culture were developed from Dobrec's Dominant Society values as they differed from traditional Native American Cultural values. There is neither reliability nor validity available for use

of the scale in the manner employed in this study. Reliability coefficients for other uses

of the measure fall from alpha coefficient .82 to .94 (Osgood, et al., 1957). Reliability for

this measure was obtained for these participants. The Cronbach's reliability Alpha in this

study was .69.

The Ego Identity Scale

The Ego Identity Scale, (Tan, Kendis, Fine, and Porac, 1977), measures identity

from Erikson's perspective. They defined identity in the following manner:

> Identity achieved implies an acceptance of oneself while, and being
> comfortable with one's physical self, having a sense of direction, and as a
> result having an ability to make decisions. Identity diffused is the
> maladaptive outcome or polar extreme of identity achievement. It, and
> implies that the person has doubts about their physical and sexual self,
> lacks an ability to make decisions and commitments because of doubts,
> and lacks a sense of continuity of their selves over time (p. 279).

The Ego-identity Scale is a brief measure of Erikson's (1968) concept of

ego identity with a forced-choice response format based on the above definition.

The respondent chooses between pairs of statements. One of each pair is a

statement indicative of ego identity and the other of ego diffusion. For example,

l. a. I enjoy being active in clubs and youth groups. b. I prefer to focus on hobbies,

which I can do on my own time, at my own pace.

Split-half reliability of the EIS 12 item scale was .68. A factor analysis was

performed to determine how many factors would be needed to account for the common

variance among the 12 items. Using the standard criterion of eigen value=1, the analysis

resulted in the extraction of only one factor which accounted for 40 percent of the

criterion. The loadings of the 12 items on this general factor ranged from .14 to .64 with nine of them loading .35 or higher. The emergence of this general factor was taken as evidence of the homogeneity of the scale items (Tan, et al.). The Cronbach's reliability Alpha for these participants was .68. (See Appendix B).

The Modified Perceived Self-Efficacy Test

Perceived Self-efficacy is defined as a person's belief in their ability to exercise control over their abilities to organize and carry out behaviors to obtain goals, solve problems and master particular tasks. The Perceived Self-Efficacy Scale (PSS) (Coppel, 1980) is a 5-point Likert-type scale from not at all like me to very much like me. There are 22 items in the scale and respondents are asked to rate themselves in response to each. For example, "I'm proud of myself." High scores on the measure indicate a strong sense of self-efficacy. There are four subscales embedded in the measure. They are positive coping, pride/positive learning expectations, expectations in interpersonal situations, feelings of influence/contribution to one's life, negative self-thoughts/lack of self-assuredness.

Coppel found an internal consistency reliability of .91 and test-retest reliability with an $N = 90$, was .90. Construct validity was established by correlations with the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Scale ($r = .79$) and the perceived Social Support scale by Coppel ($r = .35$). The PSS was found to have a construct validity of .76 at a 99% confidence level. The Cronbach's reliability Alpha for these participants was .73. (See Appendix C.)

The Social Distance Scale for Natives

Distance Test for Natives grow out of the Self Symbols Social Distance Scale (SDS) designed by Long, Zellers, and Henderson (1972) for use with adults and modified by Elmore (B. Elmore, personal conversation, January 17, 2000). The original scale consisted of nine rows of six circles with the first circle representing the scorer. The participants were asked to mark important relationships in terms of the remaining five circles. The six circles represent the closeness or distance you may feel between yourself and another. This first circle on the left side of the page represents you. Each question introduced an individual you might share a relationship with. For each question, the respondent was asked to please place a mark representing the circle you feel best describes the closeness of this relationship.

In 1985 the modified the Self Symbols Social Distance Scale became the Social Distance Test (SDT). The SDT is a pen and pencil measure in which printed circles including the self in relationship to others, i.e., mother, father, sibling, cousin, best friend, current romantic partner (former or expected), grandparents, and significant adults in one's life. Father has been included twice as a reliability check. Furthermore, two neutral relationships were included, i.e., the president of the United States and "Your favorite actor/actress in relationship to you." The scoring system consisted of 1 point for each circle away from the participant. The higher the score the more social distance a person reported experiencing.

The Modified Social Distance Test was again modified in this study to include questions that involved American Indians. Based on a talk presented in Hoopa, California

by Rainer for the Hoopa-Yurok Technical Education Program on his 1988 book the

following questions of importance to American Indians, i.e., regarding family, tradition,

stories, memories, tribal affiliation or extended family and the environment, including

trees, wild life and fishing were added.

The Cronbach's reliability Alpha for these participants on the Modified Social

Distance Test for American Indians was .70.

The following is an example of the instructions and one relationship:

The Modified Social Distance Test for American Indians

Instructions

These six circles represent the closeness or distance you may feel between
yourself and another. This first circle on the left side of the page represents you. Each
question introduces an individual you might share a relationship.. For each question,
please place a mark representing the circle you feel best describes the closeness of this
relationship. The answers you give will be kept in complete confidence.

Mark the circle where you would place your mother in relationship to you
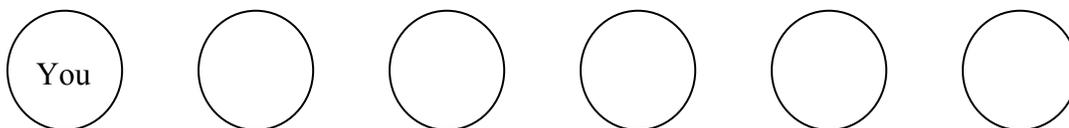
(See Appendix D for complete measure.)

Procedure

The surveys were on line through a web page designed especially for this

particular survey. The web page did not record personal information. The web page

address was sent to several different list serves that serves Native Americans in the

United States of America. The responses were sent to an e-mail account.

A consent form thanking the participants was presented first. The participants were advised that their participation was appreciated and that their information would remain anonymous. Confidentiality was accomplished by not using names at anytime during the information gathering and analysis. They were informed that their participation was voluntary and they could decline to continue at any time without jeopardy. They were also informed that by completing and submitting the questionnaires they were indicating their consent to participate. Finally, they were informed as to how to contact the supervisor for this study and were and when they could see a summary of the results once they had been obtained.

RESULTS

The demographic characteristics for this study are as follows. They can be seen below in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1

Age Distribution of Respondents

Age Ranges	Frequencies	Percentages
18-25	18	16
26-30	9	11
31-35	16	19
36-40	12	14
Over 40	34	40
Totals	89	100

The median age range for this sample was between 36 to 40 years of age.

Table 2

Educational Attainments of the Sample

Educational Levels	Frequencies	Percentages
Less than HS grad	2	2.3
HS grad	8	9.3
Some college	27	31.4
Community College grad	13	15.1
College/university grad	19	22.1
MA/MS degree	14	16.3
PhD	2	2.3
Totals	85	98.8*

Note. *n* = 85 for Educational Attainment Sample. *n* = 86 for Total Sample.
* Not 100% due to one missing case.

The median educational attainment for this group of respondents was "community college (JC) graduate". The gender composition of this group was 17 (20%) males and 68 (79%) females.

This study tested four hypotheses regarding differences among three groups of self identified American Indians. The groups were traditional, bicultural and assimilated. There were thirty-one (37 %) self-reported traditional American Indians, forty-two (49 %) self reported bicultural American Indians and twelve (14 %) self reported assimilated American Indian participants. Four dependent variables were measured regarding differences in Native American values, perceived self-efficacy, ego-Identity and social

distance. It was expected that there would be no differences found between the three groups for Native values; however, there would be differences in ego-identity, perceived self-efficacy and social distance with traditional self identified American Indians scoring the highest. The means for each of these variables can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3

Means Based on Total Scores for Native American Values, Ego Identity,

Perceived Self-Efficacy, and Social Distance

Cultural Orientation		Native Value	Ego Identity	Perceived Self-Efficacy	Social Distance
Traditional	Number	31	31	31	31
	Mean	71.42	20.71	86.93	32.16
	Std. Deviation	16.19	1.70	9.29	9.51
Bicultural	Number	42	42	42	42
	Mean	75.76	19.36	81.48	34.71
	Std. Deviation	12.93	2.44	10.97	7.59
Assimilated	Number	12	12	12	12
	Mean	78.92	19.00	79.00	38.67
	Std. Deviation	14.14	2.76	11.69	6.77

The differences among the means of these scores were investigated using 1-way analyses of variances, as well as post hoc tests of their results, to answer the research hypotheses. These comparisons were completed through inputting the data into SPSS 13,

General Linear Model, Univariate Analysis of Variance. The post hoc test utilized was the least significant difference (LSD) test.

As predicted in Hypothesis 1, no significant differences were found for Native American Values among the three self-identified orientations. The F (2, 84) = 1.19, p = .31, η^2 = .03. Given the lack of significant differences, no post hoc tests were calculated. However, as can be seen in Table 3, the greatest difference among the means for Native Values was between the traditional and bicultural respondents (71.4 to 75.8).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that self-identified traditional American Indians would score higher in ego-identity than would the self-identified bicultural or the assimilated subsets of the sample. There was a significant difference among the three groups for ego identity, F (2,84) = 4.11, p = .02, η^2 = .09. The highest mean ego identity scores were found for the traditional American Indian respondents. Post hoc analysis revealed that this significance was largely due to the difference between those with traditional American Indian values and both of the other two groups – those with bicultural values and those with assimilated values. The difference between those with traditional and bicultural values was significant with p = .013, while the differences in ego-identity scores between the traditional and the assimilated subsets obtained a significance of .028.

Hypothesis 3 stated the expectation that traditional American Indians would score significantly higher in perceived self-efficacy than the bicultural and assimilated American Indians. The overall differences as calculated were significantly different, F (2, 84) = 3.49, p = .04, η^2 = .08. The self identified traditional sample subset scored highest on this test, 86.94, compared to the next lowest scoring group, the bicultural

respondents with a mean score of 81.48. The post hoc test revealed that the traditional cultural respondents differed on perceived self esteem scores with those with a significance of .03 and with the assimilated with a significance of .03

Hypothesis 4 was not supported by the ANOVA findings at the usual .05 level, but it was at the .07 level, $F(2,84) = 2.77$, $p = .068$, $\eta^2 = .06$. However, the means differences were in the predicted direction. The self–identified traditional American Indian group obtained the lowest mean, as predicted by Hypothesis 4. The post hoc test results showed that those who were traditionally oriented scored differently on social distance scores with those who scored as assimilated ($p = .03$).

In summary, the first hypothesis was not supported, while the second and third were supported, and the fourth was only weakly supported at a significance level of .07.

DISCUSSION

American Indians have been both the dominant and a sub-culture within the

history and the continent of the United States. They have commingled with members of

the current Euro-immigrants and others making up sub-cultural groups within the

country. Today, many Natives self identify themselves as traditional, bicultural or

assimilated. This study asked self-identified American Indians to report whether they see

themselves as belonging to one of these American Indian three subgroups. It was

expected that self-reported traditional Native Americans would report higher agreement

with Native values, higher ego-identity and perceived self-efficacy as well as lower social

distance than would bicultural or assimilated American Indians

The first hypothesis was not supported no difference were found among the three

groups for Native values. However, according to the mean scores for these three groups

assimilated American Indians reported a stronger belief in Native values over traditional

and bicultural American Indians. This may seem counter intuitive but researchers

examining the socialization process and culture may provide insight to this finding.

Several researchers found that a socialization process that encouraged individuation and

connectedness at the same time left the person with a sense of self-identity and ability to

respect the values of others (Bryant & Baker, 2003; Herring, 1995; Myers, 1984; Shield,

1999; Sprintall and Collins, 1995). American Indian close to their culture, that is

traditional, may not have experienced the social alienation or need for cultural closure

and identity confusion experienced by bicultural and assimilated American Indian.

Lafromboise, et al. (1993) found better adjustment for Navajo American Indians who succeeded in having a separate identity from the tribe. This separate identity may be the result of knowing one's culture well enough to experience a degree of "cultural distance".

The second hypothesis looked at ego-identity among the three groups and predicted that self-reported traditional American Indian would reported significantly higher levels of ego-identity than would bicultural and assimilated American Indian. As was predicted this was true for these participants. This finding is in agreement with those researchers who found that being socialized in one's culture results in having a strong sense of identity (Bryant & Baker, 2003; Erickson, 1968; Herring, 1995). Traditional American Indian usually live on or near the reservation and participate to a large degree in ceremonies traditional to the culture (Duran & Duran, 1995). Learning the "ways" of the culture might result in a strong sense of identity (Bryant & Baker, 2005) especially for the American Indian in that the ceremonies make up the spiritual life of the tribe (Duran & Duran, 1995). The spiritual life of the American Indian and his or her sense of being are inseparable: according to Giovannetti, many of these aspects occur a priori to identity formation are an integral part of the persons self (J. Giovannetti, personal communication, April, 2007).

The third hypothesis examined perceived self-efficacy and the three subgroups of American Indians. Self-reported traditional Native Americans reported having higher levels of perceived self-efficacy than did bi-culture or assimilated Native Americans. As was predicted, this was true for these participants. The higher levels of ego identity and perceived self-efficacy of the traditional American Indians support the observation made

by Erikson (1968) and Bandura (1993) that both ego-identity and perceived self-efficacy are related. They also maintain that both are influenced by culture. This writer feels the traditional American Indians with close socialization to the culture resulted in high levels of self-efficacy. This view is supported by those researchers that see a relationship between a connection to ones culture and high self-efficacy (Deloria, 1975; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Kochanska & Akson, 1995; Kochanska, et al., 1998; Lafromboise, et al., 1993; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995).

This finding also lends some support to Yamauchi and Green (1997) who found Hawaiian youth had high self-efficacy in their Native environment. The low self-efficacy that Juntunen, et al. (2001) and Garrett (1995) expect for American Indian students was not found for these traditional American Indian participants. Their view may true for bicultural and assimilated American Indians. The Traditional American Indians may have scored higher because the questionnaires were place on "Native Web Sites". The traditional American Indians in this study reported having higher levels of self-efficacy, perhaps because their sense of tradition, community and self may have contributed to their her levels of self-efficacy (Bryant & Baker, 2003; Herring, 1996).

The fourth, and final, hypothesis of this study examined the relations among the three groups and social distance. It was predicted that bicultural and assimilated Native Americans would report greater social distance from others than would traditional American Indians. This hypothesis was not supported at the .05 level of significance but there was trend toward significance as predicted. Assimilated American Indians reported the least degree of social distance of the three groups. This finding gives some support to

Miller (2000) who found that and important American Indian value was closeness to others. The traditional American Indians' responses in this study support, to some degree, the idea of Miller that American Indians share feelings of closeness to one another.

In order to participate in many American Indian traditional social and ceremonial activities deal of trust and familiarity among those participating has to be established (Bryde, 1971). In fact, in many tribes, it is forbidden to participate when the person is angry, distant or upset with members of the tribe (J. Giovannetti, personal communication , April, 2007). This closeness, which permeates tribal behavior, was seen in traditional American Indian reporting feeling a greater although not significant, closer relationship to family, members of the tribe and their community.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited by some of the traditional limitations of student research, i.e., small sample size, which limits the degree of generalization of these findings and lack of empirical rigor. First, sample size, the questionnaires were placed on a number of web sites thought to be use by American Indian. No additional participants were sought, therefore, only these participants visiting these particular web sites were included. Furthermore, time constraints forced closure of the site after a brief period in order to enable the researcher to complete the thesis. Given more time more participants could have been obtained. Only those participants early to the site were included, participants coming to the site over time may have answered in a different manner.

A second limitation of this study is generalization. The generalizations of these findings are limited because the participants were self-reported as traditional, bicultural

or assimilated. No follow up was obtained to verify or cross reference of their self-report as to type of American Indian. However, it should be noted that this is a common problem for researchers addressing ethnicity or culture. Ethnicity is either assumed or obtained by self-report. This problem is further complicated by the fact that some researchers assume that ethnicity and culture overlap largely. In this study, only culture was defined in a particular manner and ethnicity self reported.

Last of all, in terms of limitations of this study is the problem of survey research. This was not an empirical study with a pre and posttest and treatment in between. This type of research is referred to as survey research. This type of research is limited but an important type of research in the social sciences. Furthermore, researchers often use it. There are two types of survey research interview and questionnaires. The type of research employed in this study was group-administered questionnaires. There are both advantages and disadvantages in this type of research. The carefully planning of this research in making questions clear, short and concise hopefully resulted in more advantages than disadvantages.

Implications for Future Research

The major finding of this study was no difference in the three subgroups for belief in Native values. This finding should be further investigated. There may be some aspects regarding cultural identity, at least for American Indians, which suggest an intrinsic quality that may be greater than identity as suggested by Giovannetti (J. Giovannetti, personal communication, April, 2007). Therefore, proximity to the tribe may not be as

important as a belief that one is part of a tribe. However, such research should be conducted in a face-to-face laboratory. Collecting data from a web site, although expedient, leaves room for errors through misrepresentation and lack of clarification of the responses to the questions. A clinical interview with more precise measures of whether or not the person is a traditional, bicultural or assimilated American Indian should be employed. Furthermore, different more valid and reliable measures of culture and cultural values and identity should be employed as well. These changes may result in a different finding.

Further research should be conducted to examine the relationship between the additional dependent variables in this study, ego identity, perceived self-efficacy and social distance to see how they relate to a comparison cultural group, Asian American or Mexican American for example. Conducting the same type of study with a comparison group would not only add some clarification of the relationship the behaviors studied in this study but shed some additional light on the role of cultural values as well.

In addition, new factors in identity should be investigated as they relate to cultural values, not just ego identity, i.e., ethnic, gender, career, sexual orientation might also reveal some interesting associations. As a final point, a larger group of participants in replication of this study will add to the reliability of these results.

Conclusions

This study found an interesting relationship between Native American values and self reported traditional, bicultural and assimilated American Indians.

Assimilated American Indians reported the lowest level of beliefs towards Native American values than did bicultural and traditional American Indians. It was suggested that assimilated American Indians may experience cultural needs and thereby accept wholeheartedly what they feel are Native values, while traditional American Indians may have developed some cultural distance through a strong sense of identity. Their sense of identity may allow them to accept the values, to some degree, of another or the dominant society.

It was also interesting to find that traditional American Indians scored significantly higher in ego identity, perceived self-efficacy and scored lower, but not significant, in social distance than did bicultural and assimilated American Indian. The notion based on social cognitive theory suggests that the socialization in cultural values for the traditional American Indians may mediate these variables allowing for greater strength in identity, higher levels of perceived self-efficacy as well as the experience of social connectedness as opposed to social distance. The lower scores obtained by bicultural and assimilated American Indians suggest a lack of socialization into their culture not only made for higher adherence to Native values but for lower scores in ego identity and perceived self-efficacy and higher social distance as well.

Finally, these findings offer some insight to educators. Some of the differences found here may suggest that not all individuals classified as American Indian have the same educational problems. Traditional, bicultural and assimilated American Indian may have experienced important differences in their socialization that may result in different attitudes and beliefs about themselves, their self-efficacy, and their culture they may

bring to the educational system. Educators might better plan for the American Indian

student if they become aware of how these differences affect learning style, classroom

performance and a sense of competence.

REFERENCES

Attneave, C. (1982). American Indians and Alaska Native families: emigrants in their

  own homeland. In M. McGoldrick, J. K. Pearce, and J. Giordano, (Eds.) *Ethnicity*

  and Family Therapy. NY: Guilford Press.

Bandura, A. (1993). Perceived self-efficacy in cognitive development and functioning.

  Educational Psychologist, 28, 117-148.

Bandura, A. (1997) *Self-efficacy: the exercise of control*. NY: Freeman.

Bowen, M. (1978). *Family therapy in clinical practice*. NY: Jason Arason, Publisher.

Bowlby, J. (1996). *Attachment and loss* (Vols. 1-2). NY: Basic.

Bryant, A., & Baker, S. (2003). The feasibility of constructing profiles of Native

  Americans from the people of color racial identity attitude scale: a brief report.

  Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development, 36, 2-8.

Bryant, A., & Lafromboise T. (2005). The racial identity and cultural orientation of

  Lumbee American Indian high school students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic*

  Minority Psychology, 11, 82-89.

Bryde, J. (1971). *Modern Indian psychology*. Vermillion: University of South Dakota

  Press.

Buss, D. M. (2000). The evolution of happiness. *American Psychologist, 55*, 15-23.

California Department of Education. (1990). *American Indian Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow. (A Handbook for Educator Publication)* Sacramento, California: American Indian Education Unit California State Government Printing Office.

Churchill, W. (1999). The crucible of American Indian identity: Native tradition versus colonial imposition in postcolonial North America. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 23*, 39-59.

Coppel, D. B. (1980). *The relationship of perceived social support and self-efficacy to major and minor stressors*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Washington, Seattle.

Deloria V. (1988). *Custer died for your sins: An Indian manifesto*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Deloria V. (2001). Power and place *Indian education.* Norman, OK: Fulcrum Press.

Dobrec, A. (1987). *Cultural aspects of working with American Indian youth*. Unpublished manuscript.

Duran, E., & Duran, B. (1995). *Native American postcolonial psychology.* Stony Brook: State University of New York Press.

Erickson, E. H. (1968). *Childhood in society* (2nd Ed.). New York: Norton Press.

Fleming, J. S., & Watts, W. A. (1980). The dimensionality of self-esteem: Some results for a college sample. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *39*, 921-929.

Garcia, R.L., & Ahler, J. G. (1992). Indian education: assumptions, ideologies, strategies. In J. Reyhner (Ed.), *Teaching American Indian Students* (pp. 167-179). Santa Fe, NM: Bear and Company

Garrett. W. (1995). Between two worlds: cultural discontinuity in the dropout of Native American youth. *The School Counselor, 42*, 186-195.

Grusec, J. E., & Goodnow, J. J. (1994). The impact of parental discipline methods on children's internalization of values: a reconceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental Psychology*, *30*, 4-19.

Gusfield, J. (1963). *Symbolic crusade*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Gone, J. P. (2004). Keeping culture in mind: Transforming academic training in professional psychology for Indian country. In D. Mihesuah & A. Cavender-Wilson (Eds.). *Indigenizing the academy: Transforming scholarship and empowering communities* (pp. 124-142). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Hall, E. L. (1960). *The Hidden Dimension*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959.

Herring, R. D. (1995). Developing biracial ethnic identity: A review of the increasing dilemma. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *23*, 29-38.

Hoffman, L., & Weiss, M. (1987). Family dynamics and presenting problems in college students. *Journal of counseling Psychology*, *34*, 157-163.

Juntunen, C. L., Barraclough, D., Broneck, C., Seibel, G., Winrow, S. A., & Morin, P. M. (2001). American Indian perspectives on the career journey. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *48*, 274-285.

Kochanska. G., Tjebkes,T.L., & Forman, D.R. (1998). Children's emerging regulation of conduct: From toddler to early school age. *Child Development*, *68*, 263-277

Kochanska, G., & Akson, N. (1995). Mother-child positive affect, the quality of child compliance to requests and prohibitions, and maternal control as correlates of early internalization. *Child Development*, *75*, 1229-1242

Kroger, J. (2003). Identity development during adolescence. In G. R. Adams and M.D. Berzonsky (Eds.), Blackwell handbook of adolescence (pp. 205-226). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Lafromboise, T. D., Hardin, L.K., Coleman, J. S., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin.114,* 395-412.

Lafromboise, T. D., Trimble, J.E., & Mohatt, G.V. (1990). Counseling intervention and American Indian traditions. *The counseling Psychologist, 18*, 628-654.

Little Soldier, L. (1985). To soar with the eagles: Enculturation of Indian children. *Childhood Education, 61*, 185-191.

Long, S.H., Ziller, R.C., & Henderson, E.H. (1969). Manual for self-social symbols tasks and the children's self-social construction test. Washington, DC. *American Psychological Association*.

Lopez, F. G., Campbell, V. L., & Watkins, C. E. (1986). Depression, psychological separation, and college adjustment: An investigation of sex differences. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 33*, 52-56.

Lopez, F. G., & Brenna, K.A. (2000). Dynamic processes underlining adult attachment organization: toward an attachment theoretical perspective on the healthy and effective self. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 44*, 283-300.

Miller, D.T. (2000). The norm of self-interest. *American Psychologist, 54*, 1053-1060.

Moore, D. (1987). Parent-adolescent separation: The construction of adulthood by late adolescents. *Developmental Psychology, 23*, 298-307.

Myers, L. (1984). *To Walk in Honor: Retaining One's Cultural Identity While Attending College*. Paper presented at the American Minority Leadership Conference, Flagstaff, AZ.

Oetting, E. R. (1964). Cross-cultural communication and the semantic differential. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *11*, 292-293.

Osgood, C. E., Suci, G. J., & Tannenbaum, P. H. (1957). *The measurement of meaning*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Pavel, D. M. (1992). *The emerging role of tribal college libraries in Indian education* (Report No. Digest ED-RC-92-4). Clearing House on Rural Education in Small Schools. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. EDO-RC-92-4)

Pavel, D. M., & Padilla, R.V. (1993). American Indian and Alaska Native postsecondary departure: An example of assessing a mainstream model using national longitudinal data. Journal of American Indian Education, *32*, 1-19.

Pajares, F. (1996). *Self-efficacy beliefs in academic settings*. Review of Educational Research, *66*, 543-578.

Pellegrini, S.D., & Bartini, M. (2001). Dominance in early adolescent boys: affiliation and aggression dimensions and possible functions. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *47*, 142-163.

Rainer, H. (1988). *Proud moments: Generation to generation*. Wilsonville, Oregon Beautiful American Publishing Company.

Reyhner, J., & Eder, J. (1992). A history of Indian education In J. Reyhner (Ed.).
Teaching American Indian students (pp. 33-58). Norman, OK: University of
Oklahoma Press.

Rosenfield, J. (1967). Some perceptual and cognitive correlates of strong approval
motivation. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *31*, 507-512.

Sanders, D. (1987). Cultural conflicts: An important factor in the academic failure of
American Indian students. *Journal of Multicultural counseling and Development*,
15, 81-90.

Schunk, D. H., & Pajares, F. (2002). *The development of academic self-efficacy.* In A.
Wigfield & J. Eccles (Eds.), Development of achievement motivation (pp. 16-31).
San Diego: Academic Press.

Schuster, T.L., Kessler, R.C., & Aseltine, R.H. (1990). Positive interactions, negative
interactions, and depressed mood. *American Journal of Community Psychology,*
18, 423-438.

Smith, E., (1991). Ethnic identity development: Toward the development of a theory
within the context of majority/minority status. *Journal of Counseling and
Development, 70*, 181-187.

Solberg, V. S., & Villarreal, P. (1997). Examination of self-efficacy, social support, and stress as predictors of psychological and physical distress among Hispanic college students. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *19*, 182-201.

Spindler, G., & Spindler, L. (1989). Instrumental competence, self-efficacy linguistic minorities and cultural therapy. *Anthropology Quarterly, 10*, 36-50.

Sprinthall, N.A., & Collins, A. (1995). *Adolescent psychology: a developmental viewpoint.* NY: Random House.

Tan, A. L., Kendis R. J., Fine, J. T., & Porac, J. (1977). A short measure of Ericksonian Ego Identity. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 41*, 279-284

Tanaka,Y. Osgood, C.E. (1965). Cross-culture, cross-concept, and cross-subject generality of affective meaning systems. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2*, 143-153.

Van, B., & Malcolm, L. (1996). Academic perseverance, class attendance, and performance in the college classroom. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American psychological Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Wang, M. C. H., Geneva, D., & Walberg, H. J. (1997). *Fostering resilience: What do we know? Principal, 77*, 18-20.

Weksel, W., & Hennes, J.D. (1965). Attitude intensity and the Semantic Differential. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2*, 91-94.

Yamauchi, L. A., & Greene, W. L. (1997). Culture, gender, and the development of

perceived academic self-efficacy among Hawaiian adolescents. Paper presented at

the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Chicago,

IL.

APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

Circle the question that best describes you.

1. Gender
    Male   Female

2. Age
    18-25
    26-30
    31-35
    36-40
    40+

3. Level of Education
    Less than High School graduate
    High School graduate
    Some College
    Community College graduate
    University graduate
    Masters degree
    Doctorate degree
    Private College

APPENDIX B

CULTURAL IDENTITY CHECKLIST

Cultural Identity Checklist

Select only one of the below titles that best describe how you most often refer to yourself:

Traditional American Indian: _____

The Bicultural American Indian: _____

Assimilated American Indian: _____

APPENDIX C

THE EGO IDENTITY SCALE

The Ego Identity Scale

Circle the answer (a or b) that best describes you in each numbered question.

1.	a.	I enjoy being active in clubs and groups.
	b.	I prefer to focus on hobbies, which I can do on my own time, at my own pace.
2.	a.	When I daydream, it is primarily about my past experiences.
	b.	When I daydream, it is primarily about the future and what it has in store for me.
3.	a.	No matter how well I do a job, I always end up thinking that I could have done better.
	b.	Whenever I complete a job that I have seriously worked on, I usually do not have doubts as to its quality.
4.	a.	I will generally voice an opinion, even if I appear to be the only one in a group with that point of view.
	b.	If I appear to be the only one in a group with a certain opinion, I try to keep quiet in order to avoid feeling self-conscious.
5.	a.	Generally speaking, a person can keep much better control of himself and of situations if he maintains an emotional distance from others.
	b.	A person need not fear loss of control, of himself and of situations, simply because he becomes intimately involved with another person.
6.	a.	I have doubts as to the kind of person my abilities will enable me to become.
	b.	I try to formulate ideas now, which will help me achieve my future goals.
7.	a.	My evaluation of self-worth depends on the success or failure of my behavior in a given situation.
	b.	My evaluation, while flexible, remains about the same in most situations.
8.	a.	While there may be disadvantages to competition, I agree that it is sometimes necessary and even good.
	b.	I do not enjoy competition, and often do not see the need for it.
9.	a.	There are times when I don't know what is expected of me.
	b.	I have a clear vision of how my life will unfold ahead of me.
10.	a.	What I demand of myself and what others demand of me are often in conflict.
	b.	Most of the time, I don't mind doing what others demand of me because they are things I would probably have done anyway.
11.	a.	When confronted with a task that I do not particularly enjoy, I find that I usually can discipline myself enough to perform them.
	b.	Often, when confronted with a task, I find myself expending my energies on other interesting but unrelated activities instead of concentrating on completing the task.
12.	a.	Because of my philosophy of life, I have faith in myself, and in society in general.
	b.	Because of the uncertain nature of the individual and society, it is natural for me not to have a basic trust in society, in others, or even in myself.

APPENDIX D SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL
of Native Values

Please rate each of the following concepts on the semantic deferential below. Place an X on the line that closest to the idea that best describes how you feel and behave.

Individual freedom:	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Group compliance
Generosity (giving abundance)	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Acquisitiveness (getting more things)
Passive listening	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Active listing
Cooperate with nature humans	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Controls nature the environment
All in nature have spirits	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Only humans have spirits
Christ	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	No Religion
Active and free participation	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Prior Permission to participate
Accumulation money house, wealth	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Giving lots of things away
Private scolding of children (as a group)	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Public scolding of children (as an individual

Preparation for the future	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Enjoying the Now
Group Identity	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Individual Identity
Committed Only to Family	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Committed to Family & Community
Extended Family (kinship)	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Immediate Family (biological)
Living for the Future	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Living in the here and now
Children seen as Dependence	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Children seen as Independent
Calmness	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Excitability
Shared learning	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Individual Learning
Cooperation	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Competition
Self Sacrifice	__ __ __ __ __ __ __/	Self-preservation

Quietness	_ _ _ _ _ _/	Loudness
Delay gratification	_ _ _ _ _ _/	Immediate gratification
Participate in Indian ways	_ _ _ _ _ _/	Participate in Church
Nature cannot be Controlled	_ _ _ _ _ _/	Nature can be Controlled
Weakest Responsibility Of State	_ _ _ _ _ _/	Weakest Responsibility of Family and Community
Live in Tribal community	_ _ _ _ _ _/	Live in Town/City
Intuitive	_ _ _ _ _ _/	Rational

APPENDIX E

THE MODIFIED SOCIAL DISTANCE TEST
FOR AMERICAN INDIANS

The Modified Social Distance Test
For American Indians

Instructions

These six circles represent the closeness or distance you may feel between yourself and another. This first circle on the left side of the page represents you. Each question introduces an individual you might share a relationship with. For each question, please place a mark representing the circle you feel best describes the closeness of this relationship. The answers you give will be kept in complete confidence.

Mark the circle where you would place your mother in relationship to you

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your father in relationship to you

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your best friend in relationship to you

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the circle where you would place past education in relationship to meeting your future goals.

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your family traditions relationship to you.

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the cirle where you would place your family stories in relationship to you

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your family memories

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your closest sibling in relationship to you

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your current romantic partner in relationship to you

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your grandmother in relationship to you

(You)   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your tribal affiliation or extended family to you

(You) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your grandfather in relationship to you

(You) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

Mark the circle where you would place the environment including, trees, wildlife, and fishing in relation to you

(You) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

Mark the circle where you would place a mentor or non-romantic significant other

(You) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

Mark the circle where you would place your minister, priest, or spiritual advisor

(You) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

Mark the circle where you would place yourself in relation to you

(You) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )