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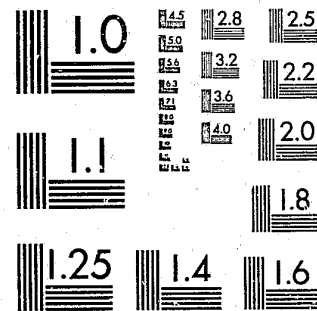
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SELF-CONCEPT OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

A Review of the Literature

Jan Kirby
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May, 1976

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UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
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ABSTRACT

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ACQUISITIONS

SELF-CONCEPT OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN:
A Review of the Literature

Jan Kirby

Project Directed By: Patricia Drew, D.S.W.

Problem: The purpose of this project was to conduct a search of the literature on self-concept of American Indians. The literature concerning Indian self-concept was guided by symbolic interaction theory.

While the focus of this study was to search the literature to examine previous research dealing with the self-concept of the American Indian, additional literature, considered relevant because of the effect on the psychological make-up of the Indian, was incorporated into the following areas: (1) Dominant society's perspective of the Indian; (2) Selected cultural differences between Indian and dominant cultures; (3) Overview of federal Indian policies and the psychological effect of them upon the Indian community; (4) A brief look at Indian education; (5) A Contemporary profile of the Indian--where is he now?

Method: In order to complete this bibliographic study of self-concept of American Indians, computer searches were conducted from data banks containing psychological, educational and psychiatric materials. Sociological materials are not available in any data bank and had to be

manually located. By these searches it was found that relative to the major area of self-concept, extremely little material on Indian self-concept existed.

Findings and Implications:

Of the studies reviewed, it was found that the research methodology varied considerably. Some researchers took into account the ethnic identity of the test examiners, the cultural appropriateness of the testing instruments, the representativeness of the sample while others did not. Certain researchers addressed the issue of Indian self-concept's being multidimensional and the necessity of having multiple instruments to measure it. The studies conducted by Havinghurst and Dreyer, certainly the most rigorous in their research methodology, suggest that Indian self-concept is not lower than self-concept in dominant culture individuals. Other studies offer the more pervasive view that the Indian possesses a low self-concept. The most careful researchers suggest, that if proper testing mechanisms were utilized, studies that indicate Indians have a low self-concept, might show the reverse, a high self-concept. As long as some researchers in the social-sciences, persist in viewing Indians as not being differentiated from dominant society members to the extent that standardized, culturally inappropriate tests continue to be utilized--the Indian community will continue to suffer at the hands of experts.

The literature relating to the sociological concepts of the "Marginal Man" and the "Sojourner" were reviewed to ascertain previous application to the Indian community and to aid the non-Indian reader in conceptualizing the bicultural experience of being an American Indian in modern American society, (as seen through the eyes of a non-Indian researcher). This aspect of biculturality is germane to the issue raised by several researchers, that is, Indian self-concept is multidimensional and reflects the influence of both Indian and dominant cultures.

Suggestions for future researchers include: (1) Research on Indians should be conducted by Indians whenever possible. While non-Indians may of course continue to be involved, it is crucial that at certain points in time, test construction and administration be conducted by qualified Indian researchers. (2) Research methodology should be as rigorous as resources allow. Tests that have not demonstrated nor been piloted for use with the Indian community with respect to validity and reliability should never be employed. Samples haphazardly drawn do not increase our body of knowledge. Findings of casually conducted research do not assist us in distributing resources more intelligently; often, they merely add to the myths and stereotypes that already exist about Indians to fortify politically-minded, biased or racial positions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is impossible to say a word of thanks to all who helped the

writer along the way, but a special debt is owed to some.

This project could neither have been undertaken nor completed

without the continued support of Dale Wing, colleague and Indian friend,

who lent me his vision through "Indian Eyes" at critical points and gave

unstintingly of his time over an extended period--from the first germ of

the idea to the last line of this project report. Any merit it may have is

due to his patience. Its shortcomings belong only to the writer.

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but who initially stimulated my interest to the peculiar joys of research

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The following offices have been kind enough to offer assistance and

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couragement during this busy time.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Problem

The purpose of this paper is to report and explore the findings of a search of the literature on self-concept of American Indians. No individual or group can intelligently be understood without considering the socio-cultural setting that has impacted his behavior. This is especially true for understanding the American Indian, who, by virtue of being a citizen and member of two societies, Indian and dominant culture, is uniquely influenced by both.

In order to understand where the Indian is today, his hopes, fears, dreams, one must, to some degree, unravel and examine a variety of historical, economic and cultural factors that continue to affect his view of himself--as a person and as an Indian. It has been postulated that underlying the multitude of problems facing Indians, such as high suicide rates, high alcoholism, school drop-out greatly in excess than the general population, is the possibility of the Indian's having a lower self-concept of himself than individuals from the dominant culture.

Indian self-concept is a complex subject and various professionals have proported to test it using a variety of tools. While the focus of

this study was to search the literature to examine the previous research dealing with the self-concept of the American Indian, additional literature that was considered relevant because of the effect on the psychological make-up of the Indian, was incorporated into the following areas:

1. Dominant Culture's Perspective of the Indian

2. Selected Cultural Differences Between Indian and Dominant Cultures

3. Overview of federal Indian policies and the psychological effect of them upon the Indian community

4. A brief look at Indian education

5. A contemporary profile of the Indian--Where is he now?

Questions that the study attempts to shed light on are as follows:

1. What is the effect of dominant culture on the self-concept of Indians?

2. Do Indians have a lower self-concept than individuals in dominant culture?

3. If Indians do have a lower self-concept, at what point in time does it occur?

4. What experiences most influence Indian self-concept?

5. In the studies that have proported to measure Indian self-concept, have the mechanisms been adequate for use with the Indian community?

Definitions of Terms

Dominant Culture

Dominant Culture is defined as the system of values and meanings that are shared by the majority of American society; historically, politically and emotionally evolving from Anglo-Saxon traditions.

Indian

There are a variety of definitions as to what is an Indian. The Bureau of Indian Affairs defines those to be Indian who are enrolled members of eligible tribes, living on or near Indian reservations, and who are one-quarter or more of Indian blood. Services are provided in accordance with this definition.

A more pervasive definition of Indian is that used by the Bureau of Census since 1971 which utilizes self-declaration or enumerator judgement as the criteria. Thus, any individual who considers himself an Indian, is one, regardless of the degree of Indian blood.

Since this review proposes to discuss American Indians generally, although considering that reservation and urban Indians may be influenced by dominant society differentially, the Bureau of Census definition will be utilized.

Self-Concept

Self-concept is the sum total of a person's ideas and attitudes about who and what he is. It comprises all the experiences that constitute a person's awareness of his existance.

Method

In order to complete this descriptive study of self-concept of American Indians, a comprehensive search of the literature was conducted. To that end file cards on Indian psychology, self-esteem, self-concept, were examined in the university, public and Bureau of Indian Affairs libraries in Washington, D. C.

Computer searches were utilized from the following data banks:

1. Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), containing psychological and educational materials

2. Medline, contains psychological and psychiatric materials.

3. American Psychological Association, (PACAR), contains psychological materials

Sociological materials are not currently available in any data bank and had to be examined manually. This examination dealt with the past five years of material.

There is no dearth of materials concerning Indians generally, but a serious limitation is in the area of psychology. For example, in the Bureau of Indian Affairs library, the card catalog notes fifty items on Indian pottery and twenty items on Indian psychology. This situation is discussed more fully in Chapter II.

The computer searches reflected a similar situation. For example, in Pacar, only nine items on Indian self-concept were noted, even though in the general field of self-concept there were approximately 2312 items cataloged for the same time period.

Interviews with selected Indians and experts in the field provided another useful resource.

The literature review concerning Indian self-concept will be guided by symbolic interaction theory.

Basis for this Study

The decision to do this study grew out of the writer's interest being evoked as a result of working with Native American programs in a federal agency. Anyone who embarks upon dealing with the Indian community for the first time is probably due for some startling surprises as was the writer. Previous familiarity with minority group problems was no help in understanding Indians; Indians being a totally unique minority that have participated even less in mainstream American life than Blacks or other minorities. Generally, Indians desire to share in the benefits of American society while maintaining their Indian cultural identity. Indians, additionally, suffer disproportionate to their numbers from a variety of social, psychological, health and educational problems greatly in excess to other minorities.

Quite by chance the writer read a review of a recent book by a Black author who noted that the Black community generally developed a self-concept which was dissimilar to that of the dominant culture in several respects due to the unique cultural experiences of that group. In subsequent discussions about this article with an Indian colleague, the possibility of exploring the area of Indian self-concept was suggested with the goal of

understanding some of the underlying causes of the multitude of problems that affect the Indian community, with the possibility of a low self-concept being at the root of these causes. Out of these conversations developed this project.

Significance of this Study

Not only has the American Indian been much studied, but huge sums of money have been spent on him, often with little or no benefits. For example, despite the fact that the Bureau of Indian Affairs spends considerable resources on Indian education, Indian students have a drop-out rate twice the national average. The Indian, too, heads the list of groups who suffer from social and psychological ills of all kinds. Research that investigates the root causes of these problems is still limited and very little has been done to incorporate existing research especially in the area of self-concept. The writer believes that this study will thus provide information which will fill a gap in the current literature and may have implications in the planning of Indian programs in light of increased knowledge of Indian self-concept, and of appropriateness of testing procedures for American Indians.

Limitations of the Study

It is evident that the frame of reference of the researcher cannot but fail to influence the direction that the research takes. Any claim to complete objectivity is necessarily false.

A non-Indian researcher is seriously limited in studying the Indian, and this researcher's being non-Indian was well aware of this difficulty. This limitation was made more serious because of the subject matter of the material, that is, one would not be as enormously handicapped in studying matters pertaining to Indian pottery as relating to Indian psychology. To try and comprehend perceptually and cognitively the intricacies of the Indian social system if one has never had to relate to, to explore the influences that it has on one's behavior and view of the world; to understand the psychological stress imposed by being impacted by two cultures that are often incompatible, are all beyond the scope of the researcher whose own frame of reference is that representing dominant culture.

In an attempt to overcome this limitation as much as is possible, the researcher had frequent consultations with Indian colleagues in order to borrow their vision and see issues through Indian eyes. It is hoped that bias has been lessened to a significant degree.

During these consultations not only were many useful suggestions offered as to the interpretation of the material, but valuable advice was given regarding the location of relevant materials as well.

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CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF THE INDIAN

Prior to summarizing the literature dealing specifically with self-concept of the Indian, areas that were considered relevant to this study were examined and will be reported in this chapter. Each of these tangential areas should aid the reader in understanding the American Indian, and are divided in the following categories:

1. Dominant Culture's Perspective of the Indian

2. Selected Cultural Differences between Indian and Dominant Cultures

3. Overview of Federal Indian Policies and the Psychological Effect of Them upon the Indian Community

4. A Brief Look at Indian Education

5. A Contemporary Profile of the Indian. Where Is He Now?

6. Summary

Dominant Culture's Perspective of the Indian

If we turned the clock back two hundred years, we would note that the early settlers probably found one million Indians occupying what is now the continental United States; approximately the figure of Native Americans

who now reside here. The similarity between that original Indian community and the one now existing, may be presumed to go no further. Just what the extent of disintegration of complex social systems, diminished autonomy and control by the individual communities, almost complete eradication of economic resources, have had on the millions of Indians who lived during this period, can never be fully documented. In an attempt to understand the impact that immigrants to this country have had on the original inhabitant, the Indian, we will briefly look at the dominant culture's perspective of the Indian.

From the time of the white man's first contact with the Indians in 1492, they have been misnamed by Columbus and misunderstood with small exception by all others. The settlers, judging the Indians from a European Judeo-Christian point of view, found them lacking in every way. In all of the white man's dealings with the Indian was the implicit assumption that the Indian way of life was less desirable than the Anglo-Saxon life style. Among contemporary historians who have noted this is Josephy who writes:

> The Indian did not share any of these (traditions) but on their part, were the inheritors of totally different traditions and ways of life, many of them rooted in Asia, some of them thousands of years old, and all as thoroughly a part of Indian societies as European ways were a part of the white man's culture.[1]

The view of the savage and barbaric nature of the Indian served the needs of the white settlers. Lafarge notes:

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[1] Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., The Indian Heritage of America (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1973), p. 4.

. . . most of the observations on the Indian tribes were made by frontiersmen. We admire the frontiersmen for their courage, persistence, and ingenuity, but we cannot deny that they were a rough, impatient, ill-educated lot. Also, they had an emotional need to despise the people among whom they came. They were engaged in driving them out. They had stolen their land, broken the treaties made with them, and intended to steal more land and break more treaties until the varmints were eliminated. To justify their line of conduct they had to claim that the original occupants of the land were beastly savages, that the only good Indian was a dead one.[1]

In general, not only was there disregard for Indian culture on the part of the whites, but Indians were seen as a homogeneous group. That this was not the case is noted in Indians of Minnesota, a book prepared by The League of Women Voters which states:

They were many peoples spread over a vast continent, living according to the demands of various climates and food supplies. Political styles, economic styles, language, dress, religion, differed from one group to another. Although many had common characteristics, their cultures were distinct.[2]

The obstinance, by dominant culture, to continue to see the Indian as acceptable only insofar as he is able to adapt and conform to that culture, persists until this day. Disregard for trial differences can be documented by the homogeneous educational system offered Indian youth-- one that disregards individual tribal languages and customs.

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[1] Oliver LaFarge, A Pictorial History of the American Indian (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1957), p. 29.

[2] League of Women Voters of Minnesota, Indians of Minnesota (St. Paul: North Central Publishing Co., 1971), p. 1.

Represented in the literature is another perspective that documents the dominant culture's way of looking at the Indian and shows the mind-set towards the latter, and will be briefly reviewed in the following section.

There has been no lack of interest in the reservation Indian; unfortunately, the interest customarily has been either of a specialized nature; among professionals, usually social scientists, it has generally be restricted to the area of anthropology; or else limited--as in the case of lay individuals--it is often merely a subliminal fascination. As flesh and blood people with pressing problems the concern is usually marginal.

Bromberg notes:

It is a strange paradox that although Americans have observed, studied, and analyzed the tribal and area cultural patterns of the American Indian, there is little understanding of his basic psychology, his inner mental life.[1]

The reservation system has afforded anthropologists an opportunity to examine another social system without travelling very far. As a noted Indian writer, Vine Deloria, Jr. comments: "Every Indian has at least one anthropologist."[2] Sociological and psychological materials dealing with the here and now social and psychological problems that Indians face, pro

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[1] Walter Bromberg and Sarah H. Hutchinson, "Self Image of the American Indian: A Preliminary Study," International Journal of Social Psychiatry 20 (Spring-Summer 1974): 39.

[2] As quoted in Bessie Yellowhair, by Grace Halsell (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1973).

are extremely limited in the literature. This situation was noted early in the century when MacKenzie wrote:

> We have eminent professors who are anthropologists and historians study the Indian of the past. Should we not have men who can devote themselves to the problem of the Indian as he now is, and to the problem of the means by which he may realize his highest possibilities as a citizen and fellow-worker?...Do we not owe this to the people we have so largely dispossessed?[1]

The picture had not changed much when Brewton Berry undertook his exhaustive research for the Subcommittee on Indian Education in 1968. An overwhelming amount of material dealing with Indians existed, but, he noted:

> The greater part of this massive literature, however, deals with the Indians as they used to be. Interest has focused on their origin and antiquity, their arts and crafts... The Indian as he is today has proved far less popular with writers and with the public. Poverty and disease, vice and despair, discrimination and exploitation, which are the dominant themes in the current picture, seem to attract a very limited audience.[2]

The Spindlers observed some problems in the data on Indians that do exist when they wrote:

> Although no area of the world has been so combed over by anthropologists as has North America, the combing has been mainly with cultural, not psychological, tools. For large areas, psychological data--including impressionistic descriptions of character--are

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[1] Avery Fayette McKenzie, "The Assimilation of the American Indian," American Journal of Sociology no. 19 (1914), p. 771.

[2] U. S. Senate, The Education of American Indians: A Survey of the Literature, by Brewton Berry, Hearings before a Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 92nd Cong., Government Printing Office, February 1969, p. 1.

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lacking. What psychological data are available--and probably more is available for North America than for any other major culture in the world--are frequently not comparable from one tribe to another because of differing theoretical orientations in their treatment, differing levels of abstractions in interpretations, and varient purposes of research.[1]

Not only is this literature often useless in dealing with problems in the Indian community, it frequently presents misinformation about Indians to the dominant culture such as recent books by whites trying to solve what they perceive to be the "Indian Problem." The current research, often with no practical value, or writings that only serve to bolster dominant society's current view of the Indian as a quaint object of paternalistic concern, are of little help to Indian people. The focus of present writings on Indians suggests Deloria should lie somewhere,

> Between the two extremes lives a dynamic people in a social structure of their own, asking only to be freed from cultural oppression. The future does not look bright for the attainment of such freedom because the white does not understand the Indian and the Indian does not wish to understand the white.[2]

Stereotyping of the Indian universally takes place as does extreme ignorance of his life style based on a lack of understanding of Indian culture. The Indians, while considered to be quaint and prized mainly for their

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[1] George D. Spindler and Louise S. Spindler, "American Indian Personality Types and Their Sociocultural Roots," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 311 (May 1957): 147.

[2] Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins (London: Collier-Macmillian Ltd., 1969), p. 275.

artistry--witnessed by the recent vogue in Indian jewelry, are usually thought about very little by other Americans, even those habitually concerned with minority problems.

Deloria notes:

In "The Other America," the classic study of poverty by Harrington, the thesis is developed that the poor are conspicuous by their invisibility. There is no mention of Indians in the book.[1]

In addition to stereotyping the Indian; viewing him from an anthropological perspective; another common way that some seek to gain understanding of the Indian is by generalizing from other minority groups. In truth, there is very little generalizability between other ethnics and Indians--Indians being a unique group in a variety of ways. The recent interest in the issues facing American minorities focuses generally on Black and Spanish-speaking ethnic groups. One cannot understand the Indian through understanding these groups.

The major differences between Indians and other groups are the Indians' relationship to the land and their relationship with the federal government.

Although much of the land they once had is lost to the American Indians, their original relationship to it remains. An Indian view of the world and nature is quite different from dominant society--he does not attempt to conquer nature but seeks instead to live in harmony with it.

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[1] Ibid., p. 12.

His original indigenous relationship to the land of America, his position and attitudes in this respect being dramatically different from those of the immigrant groups by whom he was eventually surrounded. Psychologically, the American Indian generally has remained aloof from the melting pot concept upon which this country was structured.[1]

This live-in-harmony-with-nature tie to the land differentiates an Indian from a dominant culture member's mastery-over-nature, at best, or at worse, exploitation-of-the-land philosophy. Even though blacks in this society have been deprived of mainstream participation, blacks and whites share many of the same values. Thus, in terms of participation, blacks may be outside dominant culture, but not in terms of awareness and acceptance of values implicit in that culture. Blacks have been almost totally separated from the culture of Africa and thus share the mores, values and traditions that encompass dominant culture of American society. Indians, on the other hand, having no emotional or historical ties with European life style and traditions, have, despite encroachment and exploitation of the settlers, retained their cultural heritage and tribal practices.

It is for these reasons that it is inappropriate to compare Indians with other minorities. Special caution is to be taken in the area of psychology where one's experiences that determine behavior are interrelated with one's particular frame of reference.

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[1] Lloyd New, "Cultural Differences as the Basis for Creative Education," Institute of American Indian Arts no. 1 (1968), p. 5.

By continuing to disregard the Indian's unique cultural heritage, dominant society members not only devalue the Indian in a personal way, but this disregard becomes the underpinning from which springs the very real power that they can wield in the Indian community. For example, the Indians maintain a special trust relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), whereby Indian lands are held in trust for them. A very real dependency has been built up in the Indian community by this relationship, and some Indians, if not all, want to control their own resources and destiny on their diminishing lands.

In certain respects Indian culture is not only different from, but antithetical to, dominant culture. The contradictions between these two cultures make life difficult for the contemporary Indian who must merge elements of both cultures into a meaningful gestault for himself. Several distinctive values of Indian culture will be noted here in order to aid the reader in his comprehension of the impact of living in two divergent cultures has on Native Americans.

Selected Cultural Differences Between Indian and Dominant Cultures

Certain cultural values that have been misunderstood by dominant society from the earliest days of their contact with the Indians continue to be misunderstood. In some instances these values contributed to the whites exploitation of Indians. For example, the Indian's view of the land which exists to be used, not to be bought and sold, made it easier for the

white man to take advantage of the Indian in his quest for continued expansion of colonial America.

In an attempt to illustrate the vast differences in culture, several values commonly viewed differentially by the Indian community will be discussed here. It is to be noted that if these and other values held by the Indian community were seen in their proper perspective by dominant society, those in power would have been and would now be relating to Indians in a different way. Thus, what is first an opinion, becomes translated into a policy--often with severe repercussions to the Indian community at which it is directed.

An example of a value that is viewed dissimilarly in these two cultures is that of generosity. While dominant society members may be individually generous, they are nonetheless influenced by capitalist values where great store is set in putting away one's good for future use. Deeply engrained among Indians is the concept of sharing as is noted in the literature by Lewis and Ho: "One's worth is measured by one's willingness and ability to share, the accumulation of material goods for social status is alien to the Native American."[1]

Those in American society who have amassed considerable material goods are usually much lauded without consideration for their personal

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[1] Ronald G. Lewis and Man Keung Ho, "Social Work with Native Americans," Social Work, September 1974, p. 379.

views towards sharing those goods. Maslow, writing on the Blackfoot Indian, remarked that if an Indian discovered a gold mine, all in the tribe would be happy because all would benefit from it; whereas in dominant culture, finding a gold mine would probably alienate those close to the discover. Maslow records:

> The Blackfoot Indian might work and save and borrow for a whole year so that he would have a pile of blankets and food etc. to give away to the public at the Sun Dance ceremony in early summer. The rich man is defined there as one who is very generous or who has given away a good deal. After such a giveaway he might not have a nickel in his pockets, but he is defined as a very wealthy man. [1]

One might suspect that Indians who live in an urban environment might be influenced to a greater extent by dominant culture views and lose some of the Indian's valuing the worth of generosity. Those who work among urban Indians report that this is not the case. Locklear devised a list of characteristics traditionally found in the urban Indian population. Heading this list:

> Generosity is still the paramount virtue among most Indians. Accumulation of wealth is not a major motivating factor. An Indian cares more about being able to work at a satisfying occupation and earn enough extra to share with relatives and friends than about putting money in the bank and purchasing a home in the city. [2]

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[1] Abraham H. Maslow, Eupsychian Management (Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1965), p. 20.

[2] Herbert H. Locklear, "American Indian Myths," Social Work, May 1972, p. 77.

While Locklear found this to be the case in Baltimore, Ablon also observed this characteristic in West Coast urban Indians and writes:

> A man's reputation was based on what he gave away, not on what he kept. Budgeting and putting away resources for a later day, for oneself is improper if others are in need. [1]

The value that Indians have on generosity can and is often misunderstood by whites whose behavior is characteristically influenced by capitalistic society whereby great store is set in saving resources for future use. Living for today often appears childlike and irresponsible for one so influenced. Add to this the often real dependency that has been created on the part of the Indians due to their special relationship with the federal government, and what would be valued in proper perspective as positive becomes a negative viewpoint of the Indian. The stereotypes of the "noble savage," and the "childlike Indian" emerge.

The consistency of the value of generosity in the Indian community as well as the consistency of dominant society's view of it was noted by McNickle who wrote:

> The Dominican monks who in 1544 described Indians as 'not acquisitive' and 'satisfied with having enough to get along on from day to day,' were describing traits that are complained of in modern times, by aggressive, hustling white men. [2]

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[1] Joan Ablon, "Cultural Conflict in Urban Indians," Mental Hygiene, April 1971, p. 203.

[2] D'Arcy McNickle, The Indian Tribes of the United States (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 8.

Dominant culture members' perspective of the Indian from their initial contact grew out of their ethnocentricity--continuing to view the Indian from the viewpoint of their own culture, never the Indian's. This can be noted in the concept of power--another cultural value that is quite dissimilar within the context of Indian life. The early settlers took for granted the idea of majority rule, a concept that existed in Anglo-Saxon tradition but was foreign to the tradition of the Indians and insisted on dealing with centralized political power. The dominant culture members, however, were able "to keep the upper hand" and further exploit the Indians, based on their misconceptions of Indians' view on power, authority and autonomy.

McNickle notes:

> . . . they (the Indians) were regularly out maneuvered, because it was always possible for the bargaining white man to find a pseudo-leader or spokesman who could be brought to agree to concessions demanded of him. [1]

He further notes that it would have been logical for the Indians to centralize their tribal power in order to deal more effectively with the white man but they did not because:

> . . . this would have lessened the individual autonomy which permeates and vitalizes Indian society almost universally. It would have meant the adoption of an alien tradition of authoritarian majority rule. [2]

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[1] McNickle, "The Sociocultural Setting of Indian Life," American Journal of Psychiatry 125 (August 1968): 116.

[2] Ibid.

According to the Indian view of governing bodies, notes McNickle: ". . . action is customarily delayed until all the people are in agreement, or at least the dissidents agree to stand aside."[1] This relates to the notion of individual autonomy, one man cannot speak for another man. The ideal situation is to achieve concensus whereby all are happy with the end result.

In contrast to the utter disregard for the Indians' views on power and authority, there has been a recent interest in examining how these concepts operate in an Indian community with the goal of utilizing some of the principles in management theory. Maslow, in studying the Blackfoot Indians was intrigued with their concept of functional leadership, whereby absolute power was not invested in general leaders, as with the President of the United States; a leader elected by majority rule who may be bitterly opposed by the minority and who further is allowed to have authority in all facets of public life as dictated by that position. This may be in complete disregard for his individual talents and abilities. Within the context of Indian culture, the person best suited for a particular job was the one to do it, regardless of who was chief in the tribe. Maslow, in writing of the different aspects of leadership among the Blackfoot, observes:

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[1] McNickle, Indian Tribes, p. 59.

. . . the leader had absolutely no power whatsoever that wasn't deliberately and voluntarily given to him ad hoc by the particular situation. That is to say, he didn't really influence anyone or order anyone about. . . It was assumed that they all had the same purpose and that the leader then was a kind of quarterback who called the signals and coordinated the group towards common ends rather than one who gave orders, who used power, who tried to influence the group in any way.[1]

Admiration for Indian values to the degree that there is recognition that not only another way of viewing reality exists, but, in fact, may be superior to dominant culture's way, is unique. Maslow, while not in a class by himself, is not the ordinary American who knows little of Indian culture and cares less.

The Indian community is bitterly aware of the lack of understanding of their culture on the part of the dominant society, as noted in a poem by Giago:

> The ideals of a man
> Cannot be measured
> in dollars or cents
>
> The depths of a man
> whose ancestors have
> arisen from cold tents.
>
> A WASP can read about
> or laugh about
> and be wrong as rain.
>
> Rain that falls upon
> the roof of a cozy home
> while he stood outside

---

[1]Maslow, Eupsychian Management, p. 124.

> trying to catch a glimpse
> of what America pretended
> and chose to hide.
>
> Hide its many faces from
> the lonely ones who came
> to warm their freezing hands
>
> As winds swirled and howled
> Through the open cracks
> of snowy Dakota lands.
>
> So he made his stand
> And Jesus Christ the people
> pointed the finger of hate.
>
> Hissed venomous outpourings
> of Watts and Wounded Knee
> while only the dead relate,
>
> But too late to see the sun
> That rose on a new today,
> A nation now wide awake
>
> That slept until the crash
> of burning buildings and guns
> Caused them to shudder and shake
>
> His message was "Look,
> Hear me, I'm alive,
> Don't turn your back on me. Don't
>
> My people have souls,
> My people have hearts,
> If you'd take time to see
>
> The poverty in which we live
> Hasn't stilled our laughter
> Or caused us to hate the nation

That didn't have the time,
That didn't have the pity,
Until I wrought a revelation

And forced you to look upon
The face of a time
That should have ended long ago.

So do your damndest
To make me a fool,
For only your conscience will know.

The foregoing discussion has focused on the Anglo-Saxon culture's impact upon the Indian culture. One must not conclude that it is intended to suggest that these cultures, who have been interacting for centuries, have not had an impact upon each other. However, the influence that the Indian culture has had on the dominant society has been of a positive nature. Josephy writes:

> Few persons today recognize, or are appreciative of, the vast contributions made to contemporary life by the American Indians. All aspects of Indian existence--agriculture, government, religion, trade, mythology, economics, and arts and crafts--influenced white men at one time or another and helped to shape the destiny of each of the countries of the Western Hemisphere.[2]

Regrettably, the influence was not mutually beneficial and the preceding discussion has attempted to briefly document the negative impact that the dominant culture has had on Indian society and suggests that the institutions that were utilized by the Anglo-Saxons have, over the years, so

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[1] Tim Giago, "Russell," Unpublished.

[2] Josephy, Indian Heritage, p. 6.

consistently devalued Indian culture that negative results have been felt in all aspects of Indian life.

The federal government through the power and authority that was ultimately invested in it, was successful in continuing encroachment of Indian land--at the expense of the Indian. The Indian policies that made this possible, will be reviewed in the following section.

Overview of Federal Indian Policies

In 1913, A. C. Parker wrote, "The Problem of what to do with the native American Indian has been the cause of much effort and discussion for three centuries."[1] The federal government has taken a variety of positions as how to best deal with those displaced by the early settlers, but underlying these positions has been an ambiguity and confusion relating to what do we do with these Indians?

Not only has the Indian suffered enormously in terms of day-to-day material needs: educational, health, employment and social opportunities, but these changing policies of the federal government towards the Indian has had a psychological effect of an adverse nature on him. Parker was one of the first writers to note this; referring to the policy that deprived Indians of United States citizenship he wrote: "Definite legal status in an

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[1] A. C. Parker, "The Social Elements of the Indian Problem," American Journal of Sociology 22 (December 1916): 252.

organized community has an important psychological value. It is for

want of this subtle psychological asset that the Indian suffers most

grievously."[1]

This variable has been little explored in the literature, but any

attempts to understand where the Indian is now in terms of psychological

well-being, or lack of it, must include a look at from whence he came.

It will not be attempted here to chronicle the early history of the European

settlers, but rather to briefly mention the various policies they adopted

towards those native Americans who had populated North America for

several thousands of years prior to their own migrations from Europe

commencing in the 17th century.

The Europeans were often schizophrenic in their behavior towards

the Indian. While they recognized the Indian's prior claim to the land

and negotiated treaties with him, these treaties were usually broken by

the government or ignored by the settlers. No coordinated policy towards

the Indian existed until 1755 when one was designed by the British dealing

with treaties and fur trading.

In 1763, King George III defined the concept of "Indian Country, "

lands that were to be reserved for the Indians which came under control

of the central government and were the only area where laws relating to

Indians were binding. King George III proclaimed:

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[1]Ibid., p. 253.

The several nations or tribes of nations, with whom we are
connected, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession
of such parts of our dominions and territories, as, not having
been ceded to, or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or
any of them as hunting grounds.[1]

This concept was strengthened in 1755 when the Continental Congress

named a committee on Indian affairs.

In 1784 the Congress placed the administration of Indian affairs

with the War Department. Over the years, laws continued to be added;

the federal government maintaining an authority to act on behalf of the

Indians. In general, the settlers ignored both these laws and the govern-

ment.

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 provided for the forced removal of

Indians from desirable lands in the east to less desirable lands in the

west. Of this forced removal LaFarge notes:

Between 1832 and 1839, by bribery, by persuasion, by fraud, and
above all, by brutal force, the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes
(as the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles
later became known) were driven out of their homelands and moved
to Oklahoma, a far, strange, unfriendly land. Several chiefs who
had been bribed into signing away the old land were killed. Thousands
of Indians, men, women, and children, died on the March, "The Trail
of Tears." Not a few were shot or bayoneted trying to defend their
homes, or as an example to others who were slow to move out.[2]

Settlers moving farther west continued to impinge upon the Indians,

not respecting the concept of "Indian Country." The government responded

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[1]Bureau of Indian Affairs, Federal Indian Policies from the Colonial
Period through the Early 1970's (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government
Printing Office, 1975), p. 3.

[2]LaFarge, Pictorial History, p. 40.

by moving Indians into areas called reservations by 1850, this process

lasting some twenty years, marked by much rebellion and despair on the

part of the Indians.

In 1871 the congress outlawed the making of treaties with Indians,

thus finishing the treaty period with the Indians.

In 1887 the policy changed again--this time to the Allotment Policy

which provided for individual ownership of land that had previously been

tribally owned. The philosophy behind it was to stamp out what was Indian

and it was supposed that by emphasizing each Indian as an individual rather

than as a member of a tribe, the Indians would be assimilated into the

general population. Much of this allotted land was subsequently sold to

non-Indians and as a result of fifty years of this policy, Indian land hold-

ings were reduced from 140 million acres to fifty million remaining in

1934 when the policy was discontinued.

The federal government always had some justification for their

actions. In 1890 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs rationalized the

government's theft of Indian lands in the following way:

> The sooner the tribal relations are broken up and the reservation-
> system done away with, the better it will be for all concerned. If
> there were no other reason for this change, the fact that individual
> ownership of property is the universal custom among civilized people
> of this country would be a sufficient reason for urging the handful of
> Indians to adopt it.[1]

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[1]As quoted in D'Arcy McNickle, "The Sociocultural Setting of Indian
Life," American Journal of Psychiatry 125 (August 1968): 116.

The lack of respect for the Indian way of life and the desire to

make Indians non-Indian, is epitomized by the Secretary of the Interior

who wrote in 1888:

> There seems to be no question that, although progress is not rapid,
> still the transformation of the Indian character and habits is steadily
> progressing. . . they may yet be molded into civilized form, embraced
> within the folds of society; and elevated by enlightenment to a condi-
> tion of development and happiness.[1]

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, ending the process of allot-

ment, provided for the acquisition of new lands, the revival of tribal

organization and the establishment of tribal laws. Thus, an attempt was

made to strengthen the tribal system that had been systematically weak-

ened over the past half-century.

McNickle noting it as an upswing for the Indian community compared

to earlier policy writes: "The opportunities offered in the Indian Reorgani-

zation Act brought into use the capacity for social action which had never

died in the Indian people, though it had been obscured."[2]

A revolving credit fund and credit money made it possible to increase

Indian-owned livestock from 171,000 to 261,000 in the period from 1933-

1947. During this same time period, agricultural income increased from

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[1]Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1888, by William F.
Vilas (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), p. 28.

[2]McNickle, Indian Tribes, p. 51.

$1,850,000 to $49 million. The Indian land base during this time increased by 3,700,000 acres, the first time since 1887 that Indians gained rather than lost land.

In 1954 yet another federal policy was established, the Termination Policy. The resolution called House resolution 108 read in part:

> It is the policy of the Congress, as rapidly as is possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, and to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship. [1]

The Menominees of Wisconsin became the first of a number of tribes that were terminated in the same year. With the trust relationship removed, the tribe was suddenly placed in an independent status and subsequently lost prime economic resources. An additional burden was placed on the tribe from a psychological standpoint inasmuch as the dissolution of the Tribal Council was a part of the dubious rewards of this act. Thus, individuals in the community who once had power and prestige with tribal members were suddenly rendered powerless, and the tribal structure of the community was damaged--perhaps irreparably.

Deloria likens this policy to the old days when blankets were infected with smallpox and given to tribes in an effort to destroy them and systematically hunting down Indians was commonplace. He writes:

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[1] Bureau of Indian Affairs, Federal Indian Policies, p. 10.

The congressional policy of termination, advanced in 1954 and pushed vigorously for nearly a decade, was a combination of the old systematic hunt and the deprivation of services. Yet this policy was not conceived as a policy of murder. Rather it was thought that it would provide the elusive "answer" to the Indian problem. And when it proved to be no answer at all, Congress continued its policy, having found a new weapon in the ancient battle for Indian land. [1]

In essence, then, this policy provided for the termination of Federal trusteeship and the termination of special services to Indian tribes. Strong opposition from the Indian community took place. In 1958 Interior Secretary, Fred Seaton, declared of this policy:

> It would be incredible, even criminal to send any Indian tribe out into the mainstream of American life until and unless the educational level of that tribe was one which was equal to the responsibilities which it was shouldering. [2]

Through the Termination Policy, Indian land lost its tax exempt status and more lands were lost from Indian control as had been the case under the Allotment Policy. Thus, while the stated rationale for this policy was to allow the Indians to "do for themselves" and take their place "shoulder to shoulder" with everyone else in society, in effect, it became a mechanism whereby unscrupulous investors or greedy farmers could further deplete the already diminished resources of the Indian community. It also proved to be an effective mechanism to deprive Indian tribes of much needed services. In some instances hospitals were closed, tribes

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[1] Deloria, Custer Died, p. 54.

[2] Bureau of Indian Affairs, Federal Indian Policies, p. 10.

could no longer afford to keep them open. Subsequently, the infant death rate continued to rise. While the Termination Policy is still on the books, the push for termination slowed down with the advent of the War on Poverty, which encouraged local initiative and rekindled tribal leadership.

In the 1960's the key note of Indian policy was a push towards maximum self-sufficiency and full participation in American life. A relocation program took individuals and families from the reservation to urban areas for employment and training and supposed self-sufficiency. The psychological, social, and economic benefits were not always forthcoming and in fact, many were worse off than before. It has been estimated that for every Indian which the government undertook to formally resettle into the urban "gulch," that three more followed on their own into the "valley" of the city.

Ushering in a new decade, the "new" concept engineered for the 1970's--the policy of "Self-Determination" became the order of the day. In reality, Indian programs since then have been piecemeal, often ineffective and not founded at a level consistent with stated policy. The BIA continues to be underfunded and reservation Indians, underfed. In general, the higher administrative jobs at the BIA are held by non-Indians, thus interpretation and implementation of policy does not enhance self-determination for the Indians; instead, the status quo is maintained.

The Indian community today has desires that in a way are in opposition to each other. On the one hand, it wants the BIA to have adequate

funding to fulfill treaties with the Indian people that provide the necessary provision of services to the Indian community and on the other hand Indians want to exercise self-determination in managing their own affairs. PL 93-638, the Self-determination Act, gives the BIA authority to contact with tribes for running their own programs, thus the tribe becomes responsible for the tribal members for the proper conduct of the program. The BIA then takes the role of the contract officer and program monitor. The accountable entity then is the tribal leadership and the conduct of the delivery of services must abide by the work plan in the terms of the contract.

The federal policies towards the Indian has swung far in both directions. On the one side, the pendulum swings towards less interference and no services--on the other side, towards maximum interference and some degree of services.

What effect has all this had on the Indian community? They have not only lost their land, livelihood, had their religious pursuits infringed upon, had their entire way of life continuously disrupted over several hundred years; but additionally had to maintain a relationship with the federal government that was often ambiguous, ever changing; and one which added to their discomfort in a variety of ways.

In 1914, Franklin E. Lane, the secretary of the Interior commented on this when he wrote:

Thus the Indian is confused in mind as to his status and very much at sea as to our ultimate purpose toward him is not surprising.

For a hundred years he has been spun around like a blindfolded child in a game of blindman's bluff. Treated as an enemy at first, overcome, driven from his lands, negotiated with most formally as an independent nation, given by treaty distinct boundary which was never to be changed "while waters run and grass grows," he later found himself pushed beyond that boundary line, negotiated with again, and then set down upon a reservation, half captive, half protege. What could an Indian make of all this? To him it must have seemed the systematized malevolence of a cynical civilization. It has been difficult for Uncle Sam to regard the babe in arms all at the same time. . . We did not mark ourselves a clear course, and so "like bats that fly at noon, we have spelled out our paths in syllables of pain."[1]

What are the psychological effects upon the Indian community from these changing policies? During the times of strong interference from the federal government a strong dependency was built up in the Indian community so that in times of being cut loose, withour resources, a loss of security and concomitant anxiety was produced. Indians were sometimes pushed towards assimilation with the larger American culture--other times encouraged to be Indian, but always they suffered from inadequate services to a far greater extent than any other minority group has been subject to, prejudice, and an unenviable position of being between two worlds and two cultures.

Changing governmental policies have had a deleterious effect on the Indian and have been experienced by the Indian community as tidal waves, earthquakes or other acts of nature that impact greatly at first and leave

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[1]Annual Report 1914, Franklin E. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, p. 28.

in their wake continuous reminders of their unwelcome presence, sometimes over a long period of time. Usually the negative presence of the last policy is still being felt when yet another policy is decreed.

Another variable that must be looked at in terms of the psychological impact upon the Indian community is the educational system. Unlike changing policies, this variable has exerted control not in waves, but in day-by-day continuous influence upon members of the Indian community.

Indian Education

Much has been written on Indian Education, the most extensive report being Brewton Berry's report in 1968 prepared for the Sub-Committee on Indian Education at which time some 1500 items were examined. He noted that the educational status of the Indian is generally a record of frustration and disappointment. He writes:

Millions of dollars have been spent, and continue to be spent each year on Indian Education; the results are disappointing. It is easy to criticize the motives and the competence of those who have been engaged in this effort, and much of this criticism is well founded. At the same time there have been many able and dedicated teachers and administrators, as is amply manifested in the numerous personal documents which are available. It is also possible to defend the thesis--that progress has been made against insuperable obstacles. Even so, there is widespread agreement that the Indian has not profited satisfactorily from the vast expenditure of money and effort.[1]

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[1]Berry, Education of American Indians, p. 1.

One of the suggested failings of the education of the Indian focuses on; what do the schools teach? Havinghurst notes:

> Two things stand out clearly in any examination of education for Indians. First is the fact that with the exception of a few innovative situations, all schools view themselves as primarily teaching the dominant non-Indian culture. Second, is that while most Indian peoples resist total assimilation, they nevertheless wish the schools to teach the skills required to participate in the dominant cash economy.[1]

A slightly different view is offered by Hammerschlag, who sees the emphasis more on providing skills that are adaptable in the market place but within the context of reservation life when he writes:

> In the past, success for the Indian has implied absorption into the societal mainstream. Tribal people often see education and its consequences as not-so-subtle attempts to destroy the Indian culture. Such feelings are reinforced by schools that have few, if any, Indian teachers and by off-reservation training programs that teach skills that are rarely translatable into getting jobs on reservations. The idea, then, of upward mobility has been tainted because it is seen as an abandonment of one's tradition.[2]

The aspects of biculturality imposing hardships on the self-identity of the Indians through the educational system which by and large represents dominant culture is poignantly noted in a poem by Ed Edmo.

> I sit in your crowded classrooms
> and learn how to read about Dick,
> Jane and Spot.

[1] Estelle Fuchs and Robert Havinghurst, To Live on This Earth, (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1972), p. 142.

[2] Carl A. Hammerschlag, "Using T-Groups to Train American Indians as Physician Assistants," Hospital and Community Psychiatry 25 (April 1975): 212.

> But I remember how to get a deer
> I remember how to do beadwork
> I remember how to fish
> I remember the stories told by the old
>
> But Spot keeps showing up and
> my report card is bad.[1]

Who operates schools for Indians and why do they continue by and large to represent dominant society?

The BIA is responsible for educating Indian reservation children and operates more than 200 schools in seventeen states; educating some 200,000 children. Of these, approximately 35,000 children are in boarding schools. Boarding schools have long created uneasy feelings in the Indian community and outside of it have been noted for inadequacies as far back as the 1928 Merriam Report on Indian Education.[2]

In the days prior to federal control, missionaries had a large hand in educating Indians and in some instances were very cognizant of the need to maintain an Indian cultural identity. Catholics were very active in building schools for Indians and a variety of religious orders were concerned with the treatment Indians received. The Benedictine Fathers, for example, from 1893-1910 published "The Indian Advocate" which always spoke for Indian rights and welfare particularly from the standpoint of maintaining, not destroying their cultural identity.

[1] Ed Edmo, Untitled Poem, quoted in Ben Bushyhead, "A Field of Hope for the American Indian," presented to the Southern Sociological Society Conference, Washington, D. C., April 1975. (Mimeographed.)

[2] Carl A. Hammerschlag, Clayton P. Alderfer and David Berg, "Indian Education: A Human System Analysis," American Journal of Psychiatry 130 (October 1973): 1098.

Berry writes of the Jesuits' educational endeavors for the Indians,

It was their policy to gather Indians into native villages surrounding the mission, thus keeping families intact and to instruct them in the arts and crafts which they could use in making a living. . . . There was no conscious effort to make Europeans of them.[1]

Contemporary educational policies focus on dominant culture society and recent studies indicate that Indian children fall behind their white counterparts in school achievement but the gap narrows as Indian children become more like the whites culturally. This result is noted in the Indian community implying that the educational system has thusly been used to further control the Indian population and further destroy Indian identity. Hammerschlag, et al. observe:

To many Indian people that implies a not very subtle attempt to sow the seeds of cultural dissolution to use the schools as an instrument of Indian annihilation. There are subtle rituals among tribes today to cleanse their children of white contamination on their return from boarding schools.[2]

In addition to the lack of culturally enhancing curriculum in the schools from the standpoint of the Indian, another factor that may adversely affect Indian children's performance in the classroom is the make-up of the teaching staff. Indian children, as well as children from other minority groups, are more likely to be taught by teachers not of their race. This may be a significant factor not only in terms of limiting role models

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[1]Berry, Education of American Indians, p. 5.

[2]Hammerschlag, et al., "Indian Education," p. 1098.

for the children but in terms of the effect of possible discrimination on the part of the teacher towards the student. One study by Brockmann suggests that Indian children leave school at a higher rate than whites not only because of a lack of a felt need of education or economic necessity, but for an additional reason, that being: ". . . discrimination in the classroom which leads to differential treatment resulting in lowered self-concept in the Indian and a self-fulfilling prophecy for the discriminators."[1]

Certainly there are many capable teachers who do not discriminate in the classroom but a negative attitude on the part of some teachers to the minority child has been noted by various investigators. Hobart reports of his shock at anti-minority jokes that non-minority teachers engaged in--all teachers in a school with a large minority enrollment.

Moreover, emotionalized (though perhaps not intellectual) belief in the inferiority of these minority groups is often firmly held by the teachers whom the youngster encounters in school. Here again there are numerous subtle ways in which the feeling of the teacher is all too clearly communicated to those upon whom the teacher looks down.[2]

Another persistent problem in Indian education today is the high drop-out rate. D'Arcy McNickle reports of a workshop conducted by the University of Colorado that addressed this situation and noted that:

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[1]T. Brockmann, "Correlation of Social Class and Education on the Flathead Reservation, Montana," Rocky Mount Social Science Journal, October 1971, p. 2.

[2]Charles W. Hobart, "Underachievement Among Minority Group Students: An Analysis and a Proposal," Phylon no. 24 (1963), p. 185.

It became apparent that the process of formal education, as most
of the students experienced it, either tore them apart--in which
case they withdrew to the safe world of the tribe--or threatened
to reduce them to a colorless anonymity--what the hostile ones
in the entire group tauntingly referred to as "brown-skinned white
men."[1]

Poor participation in school has been commented on by various
writers who note that school experience is often not relevant to Indian
children and unrelated to their values. Friesen quotes Wolcott who
observed:

> When they do come to school their participation is analogous
> to travelling on someone else's boat; one gets on, sits patiently
> during the long slow ride, and eventually gets off. Age sixteen
> is the destination of the educational journey.[2]

In summary, we would not suggest that the educational system
always fails the Indian student. Still, it happens with enough frequency
for concern to arise about the lack of preparation students receive to
participate equitably in dominant society as well as the detrimental effect
that it has on the self-image of Indian youth. The plight of Indian youth
in Canada almost exactly parallels the experience of the American Indian
child and we quote from Lazure who observed:

> The schooling of Indian children today raises many questions.
> School for some of them is unpleasant, frightening and painful.
> For these and for some others it is not so much adaptive as mal-
> adaptive. They have little reason to like or to be interested in the

[1]McNickle, Indian Tribes, p. 221.

[2]H. F. Wolcott, A Kwakiutl Village and School, quoted in J. W.
Friesen, "Education and Values in an Indian Community," The Alberta
Journal of Educational Research 20 (June 1974): 150.

school in any way, in or out of the classroom. They fall behind
from the beginning and come to see themselves as failures.
Their schooling is not justified by results and moreover they are
unhappy in it. A pattern that is followed by a few White children
is followed by many, perhaps most, Indian children.[1]

Ample documentation that Indian students achieve poor academic
performance and have high drop-out rates, exists. Exactly what variables
within the educational system have the strongest influence, is still being
explored. However, all but a few would agree that a curriculum that
enhances a feeling of pride in Indian culture, tuaght within an Indian
frame of reference, by either Indian teachers preferably or at least those
who understand and value traditional Indian life--would be an immense
advancement and a step forward to make the educational experience
meaningful for Indian youth.

Bryde emphasized that curriculum is the key when he suggests a new
approach to Indian education that would encompass Indian culture and
would bolster an Indian self-identity on the youths' part. He writes of
such a program with a:

> . . . basic course outline could be applied to Indian youths of any
> tribe. Within Indian groups, the only differences in the course
> would be in the sections on tribal history and tribal values. If the
> vast machinery of all the private, public and federal Indian schools
> would teach such courses, vast strides would be made toward the
> right kind of acculturation.[2]

[1]Denis Lazure, "Indian Children of Canada: Educational Services
and Mental Health," Child Psychiatry and Human Development 4 (Fall 1973):
52.

[2]J. F. Bryde, The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Fail-
ure and Personality Conflict (Vermillion: Dakota Press, 1970), p. 144.

While there may be disagreement as to the exact cause of school failure, or remedial actions needed to change the system, generally there is agreement with Berry who writes:

> One concludes, from a survey of the literature, that the feeling in general, both on the part of educators and of the Indians themselves, that formal education is failing to meet the Indian's needs, that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the results, and that the schools are falling short of their goal of preparing the Indian to participate effectively in American society.[1]

In concluding pages of this chapter, a contemporary profile of the Indian will be offered in an attempt to determine--The Indian--Where is he now?

The final portion of this review will deal with--The Indian--Where is he going?

Contemporary Profile of the Indian-- Where Is He Now?

Some basic questions concerning the Indian remain to be answered, such as; how many? where do they live? how do they fare? and the like.

Of the one million Indians who now live in the United States, approximately one-half live on reservations; the other half is dispersed throughout the population, although generally concentrated in large western urban areas. Aleuts and Eskimos are included in the Indian population since the Federal Government has responsibility to them similar to those it has to

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[1]Berry, Education of American Indians, p. 30.

Indians on trust lands. This is not to suggest, however, that Indians are residing exclusively in the western states. Indian populations are growing in most major cities. New York, for example, has 10,000 Indians; Buffalo, New York, 5,000; Baltimore, Maryland, some 6,000. Since Indian birthrates are high and infant mortality rates are continuing to drop, the figure promises to grow. The Indians who reside on reservations represent 467 tribes, bands and groups with populations varying from fewer than 100 to 130,000 (Navajo). The reservations number 267 of differing sizes, the largest being the Navajo--which comprises almost as much land as the states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island combined. The Navajo reservation is not only the largest, but atypically so; no other reservation approaches it in size. Some of the reservations are quite small, the total of all federal reservations being only 53 million acres.[1]

Turning first to a brief look at urban Indians, we note that very little research has been conducted on urban Indians, but we do know that since the second world war, a steady flow of Indians have moved from reservations to large urban centers. Seeking a higher standard of living for their families, or job opportunities, they trade the support of a homogeneous culture for an unknown future in a dominant culture from which they are utterly alienated. Ablon, on writing of the urban Indian noted,

> American Indians bring a peculiar cultural heritage to the urban world. Most Indians are basically tribal men who leave the primary,

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[1]Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1975.

kin-oriented relationships of a closed reservation community to enter a highly individualistic metropolitan milieu. Many fundamental Indian values not only are incompatible with those of American culture but work directly in opposition to the principles on which the modern competitive capitalistic order is based.[1]

The individuals and families who pack up and move to cities are imigrants who encounter a multitude of problems. While unemployment on the reservation may reach 40 percent, in today's economic recession, minority and youthful city dwellers face similar job shortages. When jobs do exist, newcomers frequently lack appropriate skills. Expensive and scarce housing, language difficulty, and other unfamiliar urban stresses press in on Indian individuals and their families. The urban Indian has been characterized as being: "alienated, insecure, lonesome, poorly housed, highly mobile, frequently arrested, and victimized by alcohol."[2]

Poor living conditions is not the only factor that contributes to the plight of the urban Indian. The milieu in which the urban Indian finds himself is not only completely different with respect to the psychological support he received from the Indian community, but in other essential ways. Tangible health services that the Bureau of Indian Affair and the Indian Health Service had provided him with are gone; and how he goes about receiving these services in the city may not be known to him. The services that he received on the reservation, although often inadequate,

[1]Ablon, "Cultural Conflict in Urban Indians," p. 203.

[2]Berry, Education of American Indians, p.

were at least negotiated in a system he was quite familiar with, the tribal system. Now he becomes an ordinary citizen and must grope through maze of bureaucracies seeking services that may or may not exist. It is not uncommon to hear of an Indian woman returning to her reservation for maternity care because she was unable to find such services in the city and could not afford private care.

The Indian also encounters prejudice when he leaves the reservation. Researchers have noted that prejudice is another handicap that the Indian experiences upon his arrival in the city. Hurt noted that the Indian "is generally excluded from the social and political activities in the community."[1] Colson found, "they are neither rigidly excluded not completely accepted."[2] Why then does the Indian stay in this unfriendly environment?

Most will readily say that they came to the city to seek jobs and schooling, not to become whites or to stop being Indian. Were jobs and educational opportunities available on their home reservations, most would return home as soon as possible.[3]

Thus, the urban setting that Indians leaving the reservation find themselves in, is often hostile and impersonal.

How do the Indians who have remained on the reservation fare? Compared to everyone in the general population, they are truly, "low man

[1]Ibid., p. 26.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ablon, "Cultural Conflict in Urban Indians," p. 200.

on the totem pole." The following statistics reflect their situation:[1]

<u>Unemployment</u> - Average rate is 35%.

<u>Life Expectancy</u> - For child born now, Indian 65; U. S. all races 70.9.

<u>Infant Death Rate</u> - 20.9 Indian; 18 for U. S. all races per 1,000 births.

<u>Health</u> - Tuberculosis incidence is 6.4 times as high for Indians as U. S. all races. Cirrhosis of Liver Deaths - 26.3 per 100,000 as compared with 5.2 U. S. all races.

<u>Education</u> - 42% of Indians drop out before completing High School, twice the national average. 10% of Indians above 14 years of age have no schooling at all; 60% have less than eighth grade education.

<u>Per Capita Income</u> - $1,450.

<u>Housing</u> - Of 96,200 housing units for Indians, 53,300 are substandard units, 23,900 of which are worth renovating.

<u>Industry</u> - There are 255 industrial and commercial enterprises located on or near reservations in 23 states. They employ 9,500 Indians (53% of the total staff.)

While those who remain on reservations do not necessarily have to undergo the psychological and cultural change that those moving to the cities undergo; and while they have the familiar security of the tribe; life for the average Indian is difficult, economically insecure and lacking in the creature comforts that most Americans take for granted.

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[1]Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1975.

The reservation Indian is not free from stress in his familiar environment. One of the most serious mental health problems is that of suicide. For the reservation Indian, all ages, it is 16.3 per 100,000 population; while for U.S. all races, it is 10.7. It is most alarming in the lower age brackets. For example, in the 15-24 age bracket for Indians it is 35.0 per 100,000 population; while for the general population, all races, it is 7.1. In the 25-34 age bracket for Indians it is 39.2 per 100,000 population; while for the general population it is 12.1. One might speculate, according to the traditional view of the Indian who turns frustration and hostility inward upon himself, that the suicide rate is reflective of this.

However, the hostility is not turned solely towards himself by any means. In 1971 for Indians, all ages, the number of homicides was 20.6 per 100,000 population; while it was 8.5 for all races. Again it rises in the lower aged bracket. In the 15-24 age bracket for Indians it was 28.1 per 100,000 population; for all races it was 10.1. The situations under which homicide occurs is somewhat different among the Indian community than in the general population. Frederick notes:

> In the general population, homicide is both premeditatedly and impulsively committed. Among the Indian people it is rarely planned but occurs almost entirely as a result of brawls while drinking or during arguments at home.[1]

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[1]Calvin J. Frederick, <u>Suicide, Homicide, and Alcoholism among American Indians: Guidelines for Help</u> (National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, Maryland 1973), p. 18.

The problem of alcohol not only affects the homicide rate, but is a serious health problem within the Indian community, as is reflected in part by the high cirrhosis of the liver deaths previously mentioned. It is estimated that some eighty percent of all suicides among Indians are alcohol-related, a rate which exceeds that of the general population two or three times over.

We have briefly reviewed statistics showing that the incidence of social, health and economic problems abound in the Indian community. This is not to suggest, however, that the picture for Indians is entirely bleak. Indians today, especially the youth, are moving forward in a more effective and sophisticated way in an effort to gain a piece of the "proverbial pie" that they so justly deserve and so long have been deprived. "Red Power," a recently coined phrase largely associated with militant Indians, represents a posture of aggressiveness that would have been impossible a generation ago. A recent study indicates that while thirty percent of the older Indians in the urban areas were potential activists, identifying with this concept, seventy percent of the youth were.[1] Among the reservation Indians, tribal councils and Indian leadership in the tribes have taken a more aggressive stance in an effort to participate with governmental and other agencies in decisions that affect their constituents. Intertribal organizations are greater in number and in strength. Much work needs to be done, but gone are the days when the myth of the

[1]Jay Stauss, Bruck A. Chadwick and Howard M. Bahr, "Red Power a Sample of Indian Adults and Youth," Final Report for the National Science Report, January 1975, p. 186.

"dumb Indian" prevailed; when Tonto hung on every word of "The Great White Father," better known to us who remember as "The Lone Ranger." Those days will not be missed.

Summary

We have looked briefly at Native Americans with respect to their relationship to and cultural differences from dominant society; reviewed the federal policies affecting them; considered certain aspects of Indian education; and presented a contemporary profile of the Indian. It would not be inaccurate to say that relative to any other minority group the Indian has grieviously suffered longer and more seriously from a variety of social dysfunctions. The effects of exploitation, discrimination and disenfranchisement have irreparably weakened the fabric of the unique Native American social systems that were well functioning at the time of the white's arrival in the continental United States. How successful individual Indians can merge the warp of Indian culture with the woof of dominant culture, which in reality cannot be ignored and continues to infringe upon a traditional Indian way of life--is a dilemma for all Indians in modern society. In attempts to weave the two cultural threads in a manner that allows for an individual Indian self-identity and full participation in dominant culture society, may individuals have not been successful in jointly adapting to both worlds--and may feel comfortable in neither. However, it would be incorrect to say that this situation applies equally to all Indians; many have found their "place in the sun" by synthesizing all that is useful for them from both cultures.

Why are some Indians successful in uniting these two worlds and others are not? Researchers such as Leon have noted the possibility of stress: "The need to function in two cultures or the need to move from functioning in one culture to functioning in another has the potential for creating psychosocial disorganization among the Indians."[1]

All Indians, whatever their background, must locate themselves somewhere on a continuum between traditional Indian and those who have been so acculturated that they eventually are assimilated into the general population without being distinguished either subjectively or objectively as Indian.

The Spindlers have developed a schema that they think is useful in understanding individual or collective Indian adaptation to the impact of European-American culture. They believe that despite regional and tribal differences certain core psychological characteristics can be discerned. They list as follows:

Native Type - Has had only marginal contact with whites and white culture. . . He thinks and acts Indian. . . His personality is adequate within the traditional setting, but he is quite unequipped, psychologically and technologically for competition in the modern socio-economic system. . . Almost by definition he is aged.

Reaffirmative Native Type is usually represented by younger men. . . Raised Indian, frequently by grandparents. . . experienced wide and extensive contact with white culture. He is ambivalent about whites and white culture, has some doubts about his personal adequacy in the Indian as well as the white man's world. His personality however, is modally like that of the native type, but clouded

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[1] Robert L. Leon, "Some Implications for a Preventive Program for American Indians," American Journal of Psychiatry 125 (August 1968): 128.

by his doubts and ambivalence, distorted somewhat by his compensation, and attenuated in some degree through cultural loss, since he has learned no one culture fully.

Transitional Types are individuals who are clearly suspended between the white and Indian ways of life. . . Marginal Men. There is no one transitional type. . . still fundamentally Indians in basic psychological structure. . . unpredictable. . . or withdrawn. . . or set sights on achievement in white terms and is trying to acquire the necessary technique with varying degrees of success.

Acculturated Types are not all the same. . . may move to a middle-class standard, a laboring class pattern. . . or cultural norms of local subgroups. . . marked psychological departure requires a dramatic rechannelizing of energies and capacities. . . when a person reaches this state in most situations, he leaves the reservation and is assimilated into the American social structure.[1]

Utilizing the Spindlers' schema, insofar as it is possible to compartmentalize individuals, provocative questions arise as to which variables are the determinants which decide what adaptation process the Indians will internalize. In an effort to explore the dynamics of bicultural living, variables such as reservation size, family size, birth order, school experience, tribe, sibling birth order and, no doubt, numerous other variables could be examined. All of these variables, however, can be related to the individual's sense of self. After all, the designation, "eldest son," in and of itself, has no power over one apart from the rights, responsibilities and honors that we understand it to mean.

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[1] Spindler and Spindler, "American Indian Personality Types," pp. 154-156.

In an effort to gain a fuller understanding of Indians, this review
of the literature on self-concept of Indians was conducted. The litera-
ture, including empirical research reports, will be presented and analyzed
in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review of the literature of Indian self-concept includes articles,
books and research reports dealing with the subject. This chapter is
organized by first discussing self-concept theory in order to guide the
reader in the subsequent review which will begin with research studies
that have:

1. Addressed various dimensions of self-concept

2. Examined ways of measuring self-concept

3. Raised particular variables that have to be considered in
explaining self-concept in an Indian population

Theories of Self-Concept

Much has been written about the self and self-concept; viewed his-
torically the self was first written of by William James in 1890.[1] Since
then, many theorists have written on the self and postulated whether or
not it is conscious or unconscious, how it is developed and the extent to
which it is biologically or environmentally determined. Mead theorized

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[1] William James, Principles of Psychology (New York: Henry Holt
and Co., 1890), p. 299.

that human behavior could only be understood on a social basis, thus individuals try to ascertain the intention of others and respond by guiding their own behavior to fit in with the actions of others as they understand the others' actions from their knowledge of that particular society.[1]

According to Mead, human behavior involves responses to interpreted stimuli and the individual must be able to take the role of others, to identify in order to understand the gestures of the other person. This process takes place within the context of the particular culture the person is reared in and starts during infancy. Thus, a child who cries in order for the mother to pick it up, has knowledge that the sound of its cries will bring the mother from the other room. The behavior of the child is part of an interactive process that depends on what the mother is conditioned to do within that culture. One must be able to be the object of one's own gestures, to be able to praise or blame oneself for one's behavior. Charles Cooley, who coined the concept of the "looking-glass self," writes of a social self called the reflected or looking-glass self, which he sees as how we look in the mirror plus the way we think we look to others.[2] This latter dimension consists of our imagined judgement

[1]George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 103.

[2]Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 143.

by others of our appearance. The character or weight of the other, in whose mind we see ourselves, makes all the difference in our feeling about ourselves. Man, in his imaginings, is able to share the judgement of others about himself.

The conceptualization of Mead and Cooley together form symbolic interactionist theory which Myamoto and Dornbusch summarize as follows:

1. The responses of others have an influence in shaping one's self-definitions;
2. There is a distinction between (a) the actual response of the other and (b) the subject's perception of the responses of the other;
3. The self takes the role of the "generalized other" that is, of the individual's conception of the organized process of which he is a part.[1]

Carl Rogers was another major theorist who contributed to the understanding of the self by his emphasis on the perception of reality by the individual that has a major impact rather than on the reality itself. He writes: "Behavior is not directly influenced or determined by organic or cultural factors, but primarily (and perhaps only) by the perception of these elements."[2]

[1]S. Frank Myamoto and Sanford Dornbusch, "A Test of the Symbolic Interactionist Hypothesis of Self-Conception," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (March, 1956): 400.

[2]Carl R. Rogers, "Some Observations on the Organization of Personality," American Psychologist, no. II (1947), p. 360.

Erickson contributed to self-theory by the development of his epigentic principle, a term borrowed from the science of biology and applied to the schema of personality development by him.[1] He devised eight stages that an individual should master in order to develop a healthy personality. In order that the individual move on to the next level, certain tasks must be mastered in each stage. The successful accomplishment of these tasks, in part, depends upon opportunities that are available to him in the particular culture in which he lives. Thus, an infant moves from mistrust to trust, when the nurturing person provides a trusting situation for him. The critical stage, in terms of one's development being inextricably bound up in the view that others have of one, is the fifth stage which Erickson calls "identity versus diffusion" at which time the youth probes for his individual identity. Erickson notes that youth moving from puberty into adulthood are:

> . . . faced with the physiological revolution within them, and with tangible adult tasks ahead of them are now primarily concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are, and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated with the occupational prototypes of the day.[2]

Of the self, Lecky writes:

Man is confronted with maintaining both inner harmony and harmony with his environment in the face of the need for self-consistency.

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[1]Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1963), p. 97.

[2]Ibid.

> Even if he holds a positive view of himself he cannot continue to do so if he is constantly devalued by others and will come to think of himself in similar terms. . . Eventually, he comes to realize that the others view is the "correct" one. Thereafter, he also views himself as unfavorable.[1]

In this vein, Journard writes, "As they believe he is, he comes to believe he is."[2]

Therefore, our view of our self, is based on what others view us to be. Symbolic Interaction theory stresses the importance of examining man in relation to his social environment; the self develops not isolated from society but as a response to repeated interactions within society.

Self-Concept of the Indian

Symbolic Interaction theory has particular significance for the Indian because of the impact of dual cultures upon him. An Indian, living on a reservation, may have positive feelings about himself that become modified when he leaves the reservation or moves into some aspect of dominant society that has an impact upon his view of the world and himself. Informal discussions with Indians, conducted in the course of this research, reveal that their feelings about themselves changed

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[1]Prescott Lecky, Self-Consistency, A Theory of Personality (New York: The Island Press, 1945), as quoted in Anthony T. Soares and Louise M. Soares, "Self-Perceptions of Culturally Disadvantaged Children," American Educational Research Journal 6 (January 1969): 14.

[2]Sidney Journard, Personal Adjustment (New York: The Macmillian Co., 1958), as quoted in Louise M. Soares, "Self-Perceptions of Culturally Disadvantaged Children," American Educational Research Journal 6 (January 1969): 55.

drastically as they moved into dominant culture to a greater extent than they had in their early years. "When I was with my family on the reservation I felt good about myself. It was only when I left, that I found out I was worthless. This I saw reflected in the eyes of the shopkeepers in town."

An individual's feelings about himself may work the opposite way. The modification may be positive rather than negative. One Indian reported, "It wasn't until I joined the army that I discovered I was a man."

No doubt other Indians have different perceptions regarding the changes in their feelings of self-esteem and self-worth that may have taken place as they move away from traditional Indian life. In an effort to gain more understanding of Indian self-concept, one cannot rely merely on individual subjective experiences but must review the literature for further insight. It may aid the reader to understand something of studies of Indian self-concept as reported by Dreyer who notes:

> Studies involving American Indians traditionally have not dealt
> directly with the concept of "self," and those that have attempted
> to draw conclusions about the self-concept have stressed anthro-
> pological judgements by non-Indian observers, rather than Indian
> self-reports. The anthropologists, however, have pointed out a
> number of factors about the nature of the Indian self-concept which
> have been helpful, for they have noted the complexity of the self-
> concept for individuals who are non-Western in orientation, especially
> for those who live in what might be called cooperative societies,
> rather than competitive ones.[1]

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[1]Philip H. Dreyer, "The Meaning and Validity of the 'Phenomenal Self' for American Indian Students," The National Study of American Indian Education, Series III, No. 7, Final Report, August 1970, p. 2.

Berry, an Indian researcher, reviewed the literature on Indian education which dealt in part with studies of Indian self-concept. He noted that a popular stereotype of the Indian pictures him as brave and courageous and that, indeed, the validity of certain stereotypes hold in this case. However, in addition to these personality traits, many studies characterized the Indian by "Terms used to describe the modern Indian's attitudes and feelings are alienation, hopelessness, powerlessness, rejection, depression, anxiety, estrangement and frustration."[1]

Berry quoting several researchers notes: Kennedy, ". . . the Pomo appear to be ashamed of themselves."[2] Bryde reports that the Sioux "feel more rejected, depressed, withdrawn, paranoid, as well as more socially emotionally and self-alienated."[3] Ablon writes of the suspicion and fear Indians feel about the white community.[4] West reports, ". . . even long residence in Detroit fails to dispel the sense of inferiority."[5]

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[1]Berry, Education of American Indians, p. 2.

[2]Mary J. Kennedy, "Culture Contact and Acculturation of the Southwestern Pomo," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1955), p. 20 as quoted in Berry.

[3]John Bryde, S.J., The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict, (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver), p. 55 as quoted in Berry.

[4]Ablon, "Cultural Conflict in Urban Indians," p. 203 as quoted in Berry.

[5]Ralph L. West, The Adjustment of the American Indian in Detroit, as quoted in Berry.

Berry concludes:

> Much research needs to be done on the Indian's self-concept, but there is evidence that the problem of identity is uppermost, and that he is plagued with feelings of alienation, anxiety, and inadequacy. [1]

Since Berry's review was on Indian education, he was primarily interested in the effect of possible low self-concept on the poor academic performance of Indian youth. It is suggested that negative self-concept is a factor, perhaps even a cause of this performance. Or, as Berry notes, the relationship may be the reverse or reciprocal. He writes:

> It is possible, of course, that poor academic achievement is the cause, rather than the result, of a negative self-image. Or, quite possibly, the relationship is circular, and the two reinforce each other. [2]

Much of the research on self-concept focuses on Indian youth; their education and development.

Saslow and Harrover reviewed pertinent research to present a point of view on the psychological development of Indian youth. Their thesis, which the reviewed research supports, is:

> There is a failure in psychosocial development of Indian youth during the latency and early pubertal years which contributes heavily to the reported incidences of problem behavior and the reported differences between Indian and non-Indian youth. [3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 69.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Harry L. Saslow and May J. Harrover, "Research on Psychosocial Adjustment of Indian Youth," American Journal of Psychiatry 125 (August 1968): 120.

They relate their thesis to Erikson's stages, specifically that of initiative versus guilt and industry versus inferiority. These stages involve the time span that the youth attend school, thus if the failure occurs during this time, the school system is implicated.

A number of studies of infants and children in several tribes appear to indicate that the early stages of development are reasonably satisfied within the context of traditional Indian reservation life. These studies, therefore, support the thesis that when the dominant culture plays a greater influence upon the youth vis-a-vis the educational system, there is a lowering of self-concept.

The studies reviewed by Saslow and Harrover used a variety of tests, sampling procedures and populations yet they think that all of these studies support their conclusion which they state as:

> Without having definite answers to offer, we would suggest that a case has been made that Indian and other minority groups suffer from identity problems in adolescence which manifest themselves in feelings of low self-worth, alienation, helplessness, etc. [1]

An article by Lee gives some understanding of the difficulty in examining the concept of self in Indians by discussing the self in terms of the Wintun Indians and the dominant culture and the variation of perspective of the concept of self. The dominant culture, being ethnocentric, always has the emphasis on "us." For example:

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[1] Ibid., p. 126.

When we go for a walk, the hills are to our right, the river to
the left; when we return, the hills and the river change, while
we remain the same, since we are the pivot, the focus. Now
the hills have pivoted to the left of me. [1]

The Indian sees himself in relation to nature, not as the center of
it. Lee notes: "When the Wintun goes up the river the hills are to the
West, the river to the East. The geography has remained unchanged,
and the self has had to be reoriented in relation to it."[2]

Dreyer, in his review of this material observed:

Lee Analyzed linguistic form and structure. . . to discuss how
Indian definitions of the self differed from White society's way of
defining the self. She noted that White society's definition of the
self cannot be both self and not self, both self and other. Accord-
ing to this law, the self excluded the other and led to the distinction
of the self and society. Wintun philosophy, on the other hand, had
no such law of contradiction; the notion of self did not exclude the
other, so that it was appropriate to refer to the self in society.[3]

Lee addressed the issue of examining self-concept--basically a dominant
culture concept, in the Indian population. Despite the difficulties involved,
a number of researchers have conducted empirical studies in this area.
Some of the researchers have addressed the issue of the validity of
studying this concept, which reflects theoretical formulations that have

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[1] D. D. Lee, "Notes on the Concept of Self Among the Wintun
Indians," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 45 (1951): 543.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Dreyer, "Meaning and Validity of 'Phenomenal Self'," p. 2.

been derived within the framework of dominant culture, with Indians;
others have not. In any event, the remainder of this chapter will be
devoted to summary and analysis of those studies.

Various Dimensions of Self-Concept

Summary

A study by Stanton Tefft examined the differential impact of cul-
tural change upon Arapaho and Shoshone Indian youth in an attempt to
explore anomy in these groups. Anomy is defined as feeling alienated,
adrift, demoralized, powerless. [1]

In the review of the literature, the researcher quotes Kluckhohn
who notes: ". . . people become 'stranded and confused' when their older
value orientations are destroyed yet they do not have sufficient under-
standing of the new orientations."[2]

Tefft, in his review, notes that Chance, in studying the Katkavik
Eskimo, found that,

Eskimos who strongly identified with Western society but remained
socially isolated from the white world showed more symptoms of
personality maladjustment than those who had greater degrees of
contact irrespective of their identification. [3]

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[1] Stanton K. Tefft, "Anomy, Values and Culture Change Among
Teen-Aged Indians: An Exploratory Study," Sociology of Education
40 (1976): 145-155.

[2] Ibid., p. 149.

[3] Ibid., p. 147.

In an attempt to explore the effect of culture contact in a situation where some of the possible variables affecting anomic conditions might be controlled, the investigator administered a questionnaire to 229 white, thirty-six Northern Arapaho and forty-five Shoshone high school students who were living on or near the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. The subjects in the sample were similar with respect to academic performance and occupational opportunities. The Indian students were composed of all who attended school on the testing day; the white students were randomly selected. The students all went to three high schools in the area.

The instrument used was a modified version of the Lee Srole Scale designed to measure self-to-other alienation. However, the investigator notes:

> ... in reality, it would appear to measure the despair and discouragement experienced by people when they are unable to exercise any confidence and trust that their desires and wishes may be realized. It is a measure of anomy subjectively experienced.[1]

The researcher uses the concept of self-to-other alienation and anomy in the manner expressed above.

The analysis of anomy findings reveals that a higher percentage of Arapaho students show self-to-other alienation than Shoshone or white students to a significant degree. Additionally, comparison of questionnaire items from both Indian groups show that on those items that ranked

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[1] Ibid., p. 149.

the majority the same as the white group, a higher number of Arapaho students scored higher on the anomy scale than the others. Thus, the Arapaho students, even when they shared many similar values, showed more despair and disillusionment with their social environment. Among the Shoshone students, eighty-three percent said they desired favorable evaluation by non-tribal members. Yet only nine percent of the Arapaho felt that they received this evaluation, while seventy-five percent of the Shoshone felt they did. The researcher concluded from this:

> Favorable evaluation by the white reference group promotes more overall identification by the members of the subordinate Indian group since such identification brings vicarious satisfaction in the form of high subjective status. . . a negative evaluation by the white reference group lowers self-esteem and brings no vicarious satisfaction. . . Even though members of the subordinate group may feel alienated from the reference groups, some may still strive to gain their esteem.[1]

The author's explanation of the differential evaluation that each of these tribes has on white's view of them, relates to white's in reality seeing each of these tribes in a different perspective. He notes that:

> Over the last century the white community has come to consider the Shoshone tribe as "friend of the white man". . . Moreover, the whites look upon the Shoshone as being more "progressive" since they are considered to have more white "blood." Whatever, the origins of this dual image held by the whites, the fact that they do make different assessment of the Shoshone and Arapaho character has significant consequences for the images the Indians have of themselves.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 155.

[2] Ibid., p. 154.

The investigator notes that the primary purpose of the program was to:

> . . . demonstrate the ability of such a program to effect a
> decrease in the expected high school drop out rate and, secondar-
> ily, to evaluate whether intervention at the adolescent age would
> be able to alter existing behavioral patterns. [1]

Included in the 1968 group were twenty-six Indian, eleven Mexicans, and thirteen Anglos. The 1969 group was composed of twenty-eight Indian, six Mexicans and fourteen Anglos. For each group tests were administered on the first day of the program and repeated after the students had completed the next school year. The criteria measures used were the California Test of Mental Maturity, California Achievement Tests of Reading and Arithmetic, and the California Psychological Inventory. The group originally had been chosed as participants, based on nominations from teachers and counselors, who best met the criteria for academic potential and achievement below potential.

The researcher reports in the findings that on no criteria measure did any ethnic group do significantly less well on the after test. The evidence indicates that even though there was a statistically significant gain in achievement and attitudes toward self, the actual improvement demonstrated by the students was at a lower rate than is expected for the average public-school pupil. The investigator notes:

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[1]Ibid., p. 423.

Further, the ethnic differences in achievement and attitudes toward self, which ranked the Anglos highest and Indians lowest, persist over time. It appears that some success has been achieved in the attempt to alter the expected dropout rate, but these differences indicate that the young people involved in the program remain less able to perform in the usual classroom situation than are their more advantaged classmates. [1]

Analysis

No previous reliability or validity of these tests for use with an Indian population was reported. The selection process of the participants originally depended on the subjective evaluation of the teachers and counselors and was subject to bias. There is no way of knowing if the students they chose were representative of the entire Indian school population or if, in fact, their own bias may not have contributed to selecting those Indian students with lower feelings of self-worth to begin with.

On the basis of these factors, the findings of this study cannot be accepted as being adequately empirically demonstrated. Culturally appropriate tests with a representative sample may have resulted in different, perhaps contrary findings.

Summary

Mason conducted a study to gain information regarding the personality characteristics of participants in Project Catch-Up, a program

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[1]Ibid., p. 427.

designed to raise aspirational level and performance through a six-week

residential program of academic remediation, faciliation, and cultural

enrichment.[1] This study was a replication of a 1966 study. The sub-

jects were 100 thirteen and fourteen year olds who were selected on the

basis of teacher judgement of good academic potential, achievement

below expected ability, evidence of sociocultural deprivation and no

evidence of serious emotional problems. The students were randomly

assigned to participate and control groups and included twenty-two

Indians, nine Mexican-Americans, and sixteen Caucasians, who were

tested with the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) to gain informa-

tion regarding their personality characteristics. The 408 items on the

CPI test for self-acceptance, sense of well-being, self-control, tolerance

and a variety of other factors.

The investigator concluded as a result of this test:

> . . . of greatest importance was the consistent evidence of com-
> plete passivity, negative feelings of self-worth, and social
> ineptness reported by both the male and female American Indian.
> It would appear that the subtle kinds of prejudicial attitudes the
> Indian encounters in a part of the country which claims to be free
> from prejudice is robbing him of personal initiative and self-
> respect.[2]

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[1]Evelyn P. Mason, "Cross-Validation Study of Personality Charac-
teristics of Junior High Students from American Indian, Mexican and
Caucasian Ethnic Backgrounds," The Journal of Social Psychology no. 77
(1969), p. 15-24.

[2]Ibid., p. 24.

The researcher noted in the review of the literature that there is

limited research on minority children and all too often differentiations

between the minorities is not made. Instead,

> What evidence is available usually lumps them together, regard-
> less of ethnic background, and suggests ego development charac-
> terized by lack of confidence and negative self-images. One
> exception to this has been the work of Zintz which summarizes
> differences in the subcultures of southwestern American Indians
> and Mexican-American and concludes that successful educational
> innovation with these groups will depend upon adequate comprehen-
> sion of cultural differences.[1]

Analysis

The children in this study were randomly assigned to the partici-

pant and control groups. However, the selection process initially depended

on the teacher's judgement where bias was not eliminated. Thus, the

teachers could have failed to select Indian students who have a stronger

sense of self within the context of Indian identity but because their mode

of learning or aspirations may differ from the other students, were

passed over. Therefore, the Indian students in the sample may have,

in fact, been those who were on the lower end of the continuum of feelings

of self-worth had all the Indian students been tested.

This study, being a replication of an earlier one, sought to validate

the previous findings but may have only replicated certain inherent weak-

nesses of the methodology such as sample selection and instrument used.

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[1]Ibid., p. 15.

The instrument did not have items dealing with Indian self-concept; thus, self-concept in Indian children is implied to be unidimensional rather than multi-faceted in order to test appropriately children who are experiencing biculturality. Caution should be used in drawing conclusions from this study.

Summary

A study by Martig and DeBlassie addressed the questions: Does Indian ethnic group membership influence self-concept when compared to self-concept and Anglo group membership and are variables of sex and grade levels a significant influence?

Previous investigators show conflicting results in this area. Rationale for these variables being studied was developed from prior studies. Studies by Coleman and Hathhorn found Indian children have lower self-concepts than white children. Hathhorn reported that Indian's low self-esteem was reinforced as a result of the educational process, that is, the number of years spent in school.[2] Havinghurst reported evidence of sex differences, but not with respect to ethnic identity.[3]

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[1]Roger Martig and Richard DeBlassie, "Self-Concept Comparisons of Anglo and Indian Children," Journal of American Indian Education, May 1973, pp. 9-15.

[2]J. R. Hathhorn, "A Comparative Study of Factors Related to Post High School Educational Pursuits of Selected American Indians," Dissertation Abstracts 1971, 31, 4461A. James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Government Printing Office, 1966.

[3]Havinghurst, "Self-Esteem Youth," p. 8.

The sample consisted of sixty-nine Indian and fifty-eight Anglo elementary school children in New Mexico. The Indian children included all Indian children attending the first and fourth grades of one school while the Anglo children were randomly selected from the first and fourth grades of a different school. They were administered a twenty-three item Primary Self-Concept Scale designed by Muller and Leonetti.

According to the researcher, the findings of this study indicated that grade level did not appear to influence self-concept. However, in the first grade level, girls were found to have higher self-concept than the boys. The results of this study indicated that in this sample Indian ethnic group membership does not influence self-concept to a significant degree. The differences with respect to sex, the researcher explains by the later maturity of boys as well as the 'lack of male role models in the schools.

The researchers found no evidence to support Hathhorn's hypothesis but did find similar results to Havinghurst, that is, there was no difference in self-concept with respect to Indian and white students.

Analysis

Concerning the sampling procedure in this study, no mention was made as to why these schools were selected and if the study sample was representative of the Indian population. Possible differences that may exist in the two schools or the similarities between them was not discussed. The researchers did not note why the Anglo children were randomly

selected from among the other students in their classes while the Indian students consisted of the entire classes of the first and fourth grades of their school.

Regarding the instrument used in this study, no mention was made of its previous validity or reliability with any population. In this study it would have been especially important to note any previous usage with Indian children. Teachers and teachers aides helped the senior researcher administer the tests. The ethnic identities of the administrators of the tests was not mentioned.

While the researchers did not generalize to the general Indian population, the compared their findings to studies that were more rigorously conducted. In view of the methodology relating to sampling, instrument and ethnic identity of those administering the tests; possible sources for bias and contamination exist and this weaken acceptance of the findings for any other group except the study sample.

Summary

Withycombe conducted a study which investigated the relationships among self-concept, social status and self-perceived social status of elementary school Indian and white children.[1]

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[1]Jeraldine S. Withycombe, "Relationships of Self-Concept, Social Status, and Self-Perceived Social Status and Racial Differences of Paiute Indian and White Elementary School Children," Journal of Social Psychology, 91 (December 1973): 337-338.

Previous studies that were reviewed by the researcher did not agree if self-concept and social acceptance were positively related. In the studies reviewed, Withycombe noted that ethnic differences were not discussed.

This study sample was composed of first and fifth-grade Paiute Indian and white children in a segregated school, and integrated school with a twenty percent Paiute Indian matriculation, and an integrated school with a sixty percent Paiute Indian matriculation. Subjects were tested on the Classroom Social Distance Scale by Cunningham. First graders were measured on This is Me Scale and the fifth graders on the Bills Index of Adjustment and Values--Form EL for self-concept, Becker.

The results of this study note that self-concept and social status were significantly related for the Paiute Indian subjects, while self-concept was not significantly related to self-perceived social status nor were self-perceived social status significantly related for these subjects. For the white students, social status and self-perceived social status were significantly related although self-concept was not significantly related to social status or self-perceived social status.

The investigator observed:

The Paiute Indian children with high self-concepts possibly felt adequate in themselves and behaved in ways conducive to acceptability by their peers of both races, as was indicated by Brownfain to be true of people in general. It is also possible that "popularity" is of little concern in the Paiute Indian culture. Acceptance by others may be assumed by these children, rendering them less

sensitive to actual acceptance by their classmates. Perhaps "popularity" is valued in the Anglo culture and, therefore, white children become quite astute to clues of acceptance or lack of it by their peers.[1]

Analysis

In the report of this study sampling procedures were not mentioned nor were estimates of reliability and validity of the tests noted. The comments made by the researcher are very useful, however, due to her awareness that particular values sought after by members of one culture may not be desired by members of another culture.

Summary

In their study Richek, et al. investigated the perceptions of the disengagement process in aged, healthy, elderly Indian and Caucasian women.[2] The researchers quoting Lowenthal, note the central construct of the disengagement theory to be: ". . . the aged withdraw voluntarily or involuntarily into a social limbo at the other end of which looms death."[3]

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[1]Withycombe, "Relationship's Self-Concept," p. 338.

[2]Herbert G. Richek, Owen Chuculate, and Dorothy Klinert, "Aging and Ethnicity in Healthy Elderly Women," Geriatrics 26 (May 1971): 146-152.

[3]M. F. Lowenthal, "Perspectives for Leisure and Retirement," in Mental Health in a Changing Community, ed. R. Brockband and D. Westby-Gibson (New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1966), pp. 118-126, as quoted in Herbert G. Richek, et al., "Aging and Ethnicity," p. 146.

The sample consisted of thirty-five Indian and fifteen Caucasian women who were free of disabling illnesses and were either residing in their own homes or in so-called Golden Age homes.

The instrument used was the Bown Self-Report Inventory which measures the configuration known as the phenomenal self; that is, the person's perception of the self in the situation in which he is involved and what he sees his relationship to significant others and his environment to be by measuring acceptance, liking, valuing of--oneself, peers, children, authority, work, reality, parents and hope (degree of optimism for the future). The investigators were of the same ethnic background as the respondents and when necessary to enhance communication, Indian languages were utilized.

The findings of this study suggest that as Indian women age, they disengage from peers, work and hope; there is no change towards parents and authority. As Caucasian women age, the disengagement process occurs in different segments of their phenomenal world, e.g., authority, children and parents; there is no change towards work and self. The researchers note that a major methodological flaw exists, that being the serious deficiencies that are known to be inherent in recall data.

Analysis

The investigators note that the sample was small and not randomly selected. However, this study being a preliminary one, suggests possibilities for one more rigorous with a larger sample that controls for

additional variables such as socioeconomic status, education and other variables. Reliability of the instrument was reported. While there was no reported usage of this instrument with Indians, we would judge this not to be a serious limitation due to the self-reporting nature of the test. That is, the items relating to self were not culture-bound, objective criteria, but instead were subjective evaluations.

This study did not pretend to be of a rigorous nature but did take into account such factors as instrument appropriateness and ethnic identity of the interviewer. Therefore, given its limitations of methodology, the findings suggest possible avenues for future research dealing with perceptions of the phenomenal self. The results suggest, if feelings of the phenomenal self operate differentially in an aged population, feelings of self might also be similarly different in these two ethnic groups at a younger age. Thus, there is an indication that self-concept relates very much to ethnic identity and should not be examined apart from the cultural frame of reference of the subjects of any study.

Summary

Many researchers have investigated Eskimos to determine if an Eskimo identity is comfortably and successfully maintained. Some have found that it is while others report considerable ambiguity and confusion in this area.

Parker, in an effort to gain insight into the self-image of Eskimos, conducted a study of sixty Eskimos in two villages.[1] This study was conducted by utilizing cards to elicit stories relating to ethnic identity using a story-telling instrument and participant observation.

The first village of Alakanuk was basically isolated from white culture and from the larger Eskimo populations as well. In this village, English is seldom spoken; prestige is associated with the traditional hunting and fishing. In the second village of Kotzebue, there is an extensive contact with white population; many of the residents themselves being mixed.

The researcher found that in the village of Kotzebue, there was a high degree of attraction (thirty-seven percent) to Western society with a desire to partake in it as opposed to six percent in the village of Alakanuk. He also noted that a generalized hostility was present in the same degree as the foregoing. This hostility was directed to dominant culture as well as towards members of one's own group. Previous studies have noted that hostility in individuals who were attracted to Western society, but did not indicate the direction of hostility. Parker concludes from his study:

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[1] Seymour Parker, "Ethnic Identity and Acculturation in Two Eskimo Villages," _American Anthropologist_ 2 (April 1964): 325-340.

... the present paper also indicates the directions of this hostility and some of its underlying causes. No evidence has been presented about whether or not the original impetus to accept Western goals is motivated by hostility and by disturbed relationships within one's own ethnic group. However, whatever the original motivation, the minority group member attracted to Western society is more likely to develop negative attitudes, toward his own and the dominant ethnic group, when he perceives barriers to his newly-acquired aspirations. ... minority group members who are most desirous of "moving toward" the dominant group often try to disassociate themselves from their own group. ... A devalued ethnic self-image and hostility toward Western society emerge from a situation where individuals set new goals, which they then perceive cannot be reached. [1]

Analysis

In his study Parker conducted interviews with individuals who were contacted through referrals from people who themselves had been previously interviewed. The researcher comments that he was unaware of any circumstances that would have introduced bias in selecting the samples. How representative the original interviewees might have been of the village population would affect validity of the findings.

Without using a valid psychological instrument and proper sampling techniques, this project still gives us some insight by utilizing anthropological insights, as to how ethnic identity is affected by exposure to western culture.

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[1] Ibid., p. 338.

Summary

Friesen's study addressed the issue of differing values in an Indian community, one of which was self-esteem in Blackfoot Indian and non-Indian pupils; Blackfoot Indian pupils and their teachers; Blackfoot Indian pupils and their parents; Blackfoot Indian pupils attending integrated schools versus Blackfoot Indian pupils attending all-Indian schools. [1]

In the review of the literature, the researcher reviewed a variety of writers who, over a period of thirteen years, investigated differing values in minority group communities.

The sample consisted of forty adults, seventy-one pupils and twelve teachers. Although they were mainly Blackfoot, pupils from the Stony band were included as well. The students attended two all-Indian and one city-integrated schools in the Calgary area. The instrument used was devised by Audrey James Schwartz under the title, "Affectivity Orientations and Academic Achievement of Mexican American Youth," in a study of the value system of Mexican American Youth. The original study examined the differences in affectivity orientations and what the effect upon achievement is in Mexican American and Anglo-American youth. The present research project adopted this instrument because of similarity in amount of formal education, high drop-out rates, and severe economic conditions between Mexican Americans and Canadian Indians.

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[1] J. W. Friesen, "Education and Values in an Indian Community," The Alberta Journal of Educational Research 20 (June 1974): 146-156.

The major findings of this research in summary are: In relation to non-Indian children, Indian pupils exhibited a tendency for reduced confidence in self-esteem; however, Indian pupils exhibited less self-esteem than either their teachers or parents. Friesen comments:

> ... the lower degree of self-esteem seems specific to the Indian child. His experiences in the classroom do not seem to have enhanced his concept of himself, and the parallel experience of failing school grades is equally familiar. [1]

Self-esteem was not affected by integrated versus all-Indian school experience, but the researcher found that:

> ... integration for Indian children broadens their concepts of human nature, lessens their dependence on the family, and helps them develop a more realistic concept of the social work-a-day world. These characteristics may be desirable from the standpoint of an assimilationist philosophy of culture; at the same time, they tend to weaken subcultural identity and solidarity. [2]

Analysis

The researcher involved in this study made an assumption that conditions in the Southwest in Mexican American communities parallel Indian communities in Western Canada. This assumption is a difficult one to accept or reject; although there are certain parallels, the Indian community is unique in several ways and it cannot be ascertained if these unique features are important variables in this study.

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[1] Ibid., p. 153.

[2] Ibid., p. 153-154

Even though Freisen did not generalize beyond this particular community, he did not note how the schools where the students attended were selected, so we have no way of knowing if we can generalize to even this community. He did not note the method of including these studied students in the sample. Therefore, it is difficult to have a great deal of confidence in these findings.

Summary

A study by Grindstaff et al. was modelled after Kenneth Clark's investigation of racial identification and preferences of Negro children in the United States. This study examined the racial and cultural preferences among Indian children in Canada. [1]

Thirty-six Indian children, ages three to seven, were examined, and thirty-five white children were used as the control group. The children were offered both Indian and white dolls and asked questions about them; which they liked to play with better, which doll looked like them. The two groups of children responded in a similar pattern; fifty percent of the Indian children and sixty-three percent of the white children liked the white doll better; eighty-five percent of the white children said that the Indian doll looked bad and sixty-six percent of the Indian children made the same evaluation. The Indian children four years and

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[1] Carl F. Grindstaff, Wilda F. Galloway, and Joanne Nixon, "Racial and Cultural Identification Among Canadian Indian Children," Phylon 34 (December 1973): 368-377.

under said that the white doll looked like them but by age seven, only thirty-six percent of the Indian children so responded.

The researchers, on the basis of this study, concluded that Indian children responded to self-identification as Indians in a negative way and have a low value of themselves. They write, "The dominant group's stereotyped negative attitudes and values toward Indians have been communicated to the Indian children. . . and these attitudes have been accepted by these children."[1]

The investigators inferred that the Indian children deny their own racial membership because although they recognize the Indian doll racially, they do not identify with it in a positive manner. They note that in the Clark study, Black children deny their racial membership as well.

Analysis

The sample for this study was randomly selected from a public and parochial school on an Ontario reserve. No mention was made as to the representativeness of the sample. This particular test has not been previously used with an Indian population so its reliability and validity are in question.

The examiner in this study was not Indian and while the researchers made reference to the fact that better responses may have been given if the examiners had been Indian, this could not be feasibly arranged. They note:

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[1] Ibid., p. 377.

However, an adequate rapport proved to exist between the experimenter and the subjects. Both white and Indian subjects appeared highly enthusiastic and, for the most part, did not hesitate to respond to the requests of the experimenter. [1]

It might be suggested that the ethnicity of the examiner could have influenced the children to respond in a manner that they believed would please her, especially since there was a rapport established. Since children often seek to please adults whom they like, respect or fear often in disregard of their true feelings, we cannot accept the findings of this study as significant due to the ethnic identity of the examiners.

Summary

In a review of the literature by Dreyer and Havinghurst, they note that few studies dealing with self-concept have attempted to measure it with psychological instruments. A number of researchers have applied personality tests to Indian children that are inappropriate and suggest that the Indian is in a disturbed state psychologically relative to the "normal" and desirable referent for the white child. They quote Spilka who writes:

> These notions are both insulting to Indians and conceptually inappropriate. Lost sight of are the heritage of the Indian groups, the conditions under which they currently live and their general place and status relative to the mainstream of American society. . . . The use of "mental health," "medical" and "adjustment" models of behavior for explanatory purposes plus psychological

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[1] Ibid., p. 369.

instruments that surreptitiously introduce such assumptions simply work to hide the truth and protect the existing order.[1]

The researchers note that in particular the Minnesota Multiphasic Inventory is especially dysfunctional in measuring the self-concept of Indian youth due to the language which is difficult for students who are not good readers to understand.

This study collected data from 2,007 Indian students from eight to twenty years of age who attended public, mission and BIA schools from Alaska to North Carolina. The students were randomly selected. A non-Indian control group consisted of 168 youths. A comparison between Indian and non-Indian groups was made in an effort to explore the uniqueness of Indian culture within dominant society.

The instruments used were a Twenty-statement Self-Esteem inventory modelled after a similar instrument developed by Coopersmith, and an instrument that was a semantic differential inventory utilizing Osgood's evaluation. Only moderate degrees of reliability and validity were shown, leading to the conclusion that the two instruments were measuring different aspects of the same construct. Thus, a third score was made up which combined the two scores and which was constructed from data taken from Indian groups, which was labelled "combined self." This combined self was used to describe "self-esteem" in the study.

[1] Philip H. Dreyer and Robert J. Havinghurst, "The Self-Esteem of American Indian Youth: The Personal-Social Adjustment of American Indian Youth," National Study of American Indian Education. Final Report, November 1970, pp. 1-14.

The findings as reported by the researchers are:

An investigation of the "adolescent crisis" hypothesis revealed that Indian student "self-esteem" did not drop significantly from pre-adolescent to adolescent years for most groups and tended to increase slightly during adolescence, while the Non-Indian Control group decreased slightly in "self-esteem" over the years from ages eight to seventeen. These findings contradicted the hypothesis proposed by Bryde.[1]

The data also revealed that there was a significant sex difference in "self-esteem" rating with girls generally rating themselves lower than boys. The data also showed that

. . . rural and small city Indians who were in the majority in their schools had significantly higher "self-esteem" scores that urban Indians and rural and small city Indians who were in the minority among students in their schools, while boarding school students who were in the majority at their school had lower "self-esteem" scores than any of the other groups.[2]

The researchers, while they took into account cultural variables, note that cultural bias still may exist with these instruments which may not be measuring factors which best describe "self-concept" within the context of Indian culture. They urge extreme caution in examining this concept in groups of a different cultural context.

Analysis

This project, awesome in its proportions, was rigorous in its methodology. The subsequent discussion of the pitfalls of examining such

[1] Ibid., p. 9.

[2] Ibid.

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a complex subject in a population as culturally unique as the Indians is highly recommended.

The findings in this careful study can be accepted due to the procedure. The only reservations that exist are the same that have been articulated by the researchers themselves and rest solely on the complexity of the subject and the possibility of unknown variables, bias and influences that may be as yet unknown but may be explored by future research in the area.

Summary

Dreyer's report was one of a series of studies collected for the National Study of American Indian Education.[1] The data were collected from the same group of 2,007 students. The instruments used were the same as in the aforementioned study.

The questions this study sought to answer were:

1. How did Indian students view their future when compared to their self-evaluation in the present?
2. How did Indian students rate Indian and White cultures, and did their self-esteem ratings correlate more with one culture than the other?
3. How did Indian student self-esteem relate to school achievement as measured by rank in class?[2]

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[1]Philip Dreyer, "The Relation of Self-Esteem to Personal-Social Adjustment Among American Indian Students; The Personal-Social Adjustment of American Indian Youth," National Study of American Indian Education. Final Report, pp. 1-23.

[2]Ibid., p. 1.

These questions emerged from the previous study on phenomenal self. This study represents an attempt to find out more about the relationship of "self" to other aspects of Indian students thoughts and experiences.

Many researchers have characterized Indian youth as being alienated and viewing the future with a sense of hopelessness. The results of this study did not bear that out. The findings of this study show no difference between the Indian students and the white students in the control group; both view the future with feelings of hope and optimism. They look towards the future when life will be better than it now is and when their aspirations will be fulfilled. The second question to be answered in this study indicates that:

> Indian students generally related their "self-esteem" to both White and Indian cultures about equally and did not seem to be identified more with one culture than the other. The only exception to this was the Urban Indian group which had a higher correlation between "self-esteem" and Indian Culture for every age group and which seemed to be the only group that was clearly identified with one of the two cultures, in this case Indian culture.[1]

The investigator, in light of his findings of urban Indian youth's identifying with Indian Culture only, sought as a possible explanation, the fact that Indians in an urban setting are in a minority and as an outgroup suffered discrimination. Thus, he examined the data collected

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[1]Ibid., p. 8.

from students in rural setting where they too, were in the minority. There was no indication that they identified predominately with the Indian Culture. Thus, the identification of urban Indian youth was a unique situation.

Since most of the students related their self-esteem equally to both cultures, further investigator took place in order to determine if one culture was rated more positively than the other by the students. It was found that the Minnesota-Wisconsin Group, North Carolina Group, Urban Indians, all rated Indian culture more positively to a degree that was statistically significant. The Southwest group rated both cultures the same and the Oklahoma Indians rated white culture more positively than Indian culture. Age and sex did not seem to be any significant variable in the culture rating.

The urban Indians and the North Carolina Indians not only rated Indian culture positively as did the Minnesota group, but rated white culture considerably less favorably than did the other group. The urban Indians in particular seemed to have a clearer sense of cultural boundaries and saw themselves as definitely belonging to one culture and not the other. The North Carolina group, being unique as they lived in a county that had all black, all white, and ninety-five percent Indian schools, was the most favorable towards Indian culture and the least towards white. It was supposed that their heightened awareness of color and race made them feel more favorable towards their own group.

Upon closer examination, it was found that the low scores of the urban Indian students towards white culture came mainly from one school. Upon looking into the situation, the researcher learned that this school was characterized by hostility on the part of the Indian students. The students seemed to have observed a good deal of militancy on the part of their parents, Milwaukee being known to be more militant than any other city, and the children seemed to have mirrored their parents attitudes. Many of the students felt that their teachers were prejudiced towards them, yet oddly, on the teachers questionnaires, the teacher attitudes towards Indians appeared to be more favorably disposed than other teachers in the Minnesota-Wisconsin area. The parents also had a low evaluation of these teachers.

Widely reported in the literature is the finding that self-esteem is positively related to school achievement. Thus, it is often thought that a student with a positive self-image has a higher self-esteem and does well in school. Most of the studies relating self-esteem to school achievement were done with white students. This study attempted to find out if there was this same relationship with Indian students as well. The findings that are reported show:

The figures for the total Indian group showed that self-esteem scores did tend to decrease with rank in class, a decrease which was significant from top to middle but not significant from middle to bottom thirds. The figures for the various geographic area groups revealed that three out of the six groups showed such a decrease in "self-esteem" scores from top to middle thirds of the class but little difference between the middle and bottom thirds. Of the remaining three geographic groups, two showed an increase

in "self-esteem" from top to middle thirds, and one showed a
decrease across all thirds of the class. Thus, while there
appeared to be a trend in the direction of a positive relationship
between "self-esteem" and class rank, the relationship did not
appear to be very strong, nor did it appear to be consistent
across all groups. [1]

The researcher concluded from these findings that for Indian

students "self-esteem" was not related to school achievement, at least

not to the extent that it has been reported to be related to the achieve-

ment of white students.

The researcher ends with the following comments about Indian

students:

The value placed upon the "self" by Indian students seemed to be
quite separate from performance in school and led to the hypothe-
sis that scholastic achievement was not an important factor in the
overall thinking of Indian students... They seem to have made
only tentative and weak commitments to the values of the school
and the White culture which it represents. They do not appear
to be heavily "future oriented" in the sense that they are "wrapped
up" in plans for the future which involve vocational preparation
and school success...this study did not find evidence to support
the often-made remarks about Indian students being mal-adapted,
"alienated, " or negativistic... the Indian students did not appear
to be "alienated" from school so much as directed towards other
activities and values which have not been clearly defined. [2]

Analysis

This study, rigorous in its methodology, adds much to the limited

literature on the self-concept of Indian youth. The findings can be accepted

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[1] Ibid., p. 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 23.

with confidence and many provocative questions have been raised that

can be explored by future researchers.

Summary

Dreyer, in his review of the literature of studies dealing with

self-concept of American Indians, notes that:

Attempts to define operationally or measure the "phenomenal
self" have produced a wide variety of tests and instruments, many
of which are critically evaluated in Wylie's survey of the research
in this area. As she points out, however, operational definitions
of the self-concept have seldom used common instruments whose
reliability and validity have been adequately demonstrated. As
a result, self-concept studies have tended to produce a confusion
of measuring instruments, most of which lack precision and
validity, so that any confidence which might be placed in the
inferences which are so often drawn from their results is severely
undermined. [1]

Several of the studies reviewed used a concept that could be called

a self-concept which has been defined in various ways. None of these

studies, however, used a psychological instrument to measure the

"phenomenal self" which this study, quoting Rogers, defines as:

The self-concept of self-structure may be thought of as an organi-
zed configuration of perceptions of one's characteristics and
abilities; the percepts and concepts of the self in relation to
others and to the environment; the value qualities which are pre-
ceived as associated with experiences and objects; and goals and
ideals which are perceived as having positive and negative valence. [2]

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[1] Wylie as quoted by Philip H. Dreyer, "The Meaning and Validity
of the 'Phenomenal Self' for American Indian Students, The National
Study of American Indian Education, Series III, No. 7, Final Report,
pp. 1-15.

[2] Rogers as quoted by Philip H. Dreyer, "The Meaning and Validity
of the "Phenomenal Self ', " p. 2.

The sample used in this study was the same 2,007 students previously mentioned. The first instrument was modeled after Butler and Haigh's Q-sort test of phenomenal self-regard and was adapted from the version of this instrument developed by Coopersmith. The second instrument was a semantic differential inventory. These two instruments, it was hoped, would provide two separate yet complementary measurements of the Indian student's "phenomenal self." Reliability of these measures was tested in an earlier study with 334 Indian students.

The investigator notes that if students had a "phenomenal self," results of the two separate instruments would correlate with each other to a high degree. Thus, the study sought to determine the "concurrent validity" of the two instruments, the hypothesis being that the two instruments would correlate highly.

The researcher concluded that

... it was possible to define the construct of the "phenomenal self" operationally with English language instruments that were originally designed for white samples and obtain results with American Indian students which appeared to have concurrent validity, indicating that the instruments did measure self-concept among American Indian students. At the same time the results of this study revealed that the concurrent validity of the two instruments varied from one Indian group to another, so that it appeared that the "phenomenal self" was not measured to the same degree for every group by the two instruments.

[1]Dreyer, "Phenomenal Self," p. 14.

The analysis of these findings led Dreyer to conclude that the "phenomenal self" was not always the same for all Indians, the cultural context of the group being the significant variable. It appeared that some of the students had an idea of more clear-cut boundaries as to what was individual and what was societal, and the nature of these boundaries between self and others emerged as one of the significant variables in determining the nature of the "phenomenal self."

In closing his analysis, the researcher notes that this study

... was able to establish concurrent validity between its measures of the "phenomenal self," it was clear that the measures tapped only part of the Indian students' total self-concept, so that these conclusions must be taken as tentative until more research in the area of self-concept is completed. The meaning which the "phenomenal self" has for a given individual appeared to depend upon the extent to which he preceived clear boundaries between himself and others and the values which his society stressed with regard to individual differences and interpersonal relations. Thus, while this study found that the "phenomenal self" did exist for most of the Indian students studied, the exact meaning which that self had depended to a great degree upon factors which our instruments did not completely measure.[1]

Analysis

The nature of Indian societies being unlike dominant society, in terms of which values in that society are most stressed makes examination of the "phenomenal self" difficult without viewing the individual within the context of his cultural setting. The researcher noted in his analysis,

[1]Ibid., p. 15.

that factors exist that were not measured by the instruments employed in this study. Whether or not the concept of "phenomenal self" can in fact be measured fairly in an Indian community has not yet fully been answered. Yet, due to the reliability and "concurrent validity" of these aforementioned instruments, used with a large sample, by a researcher cognizant of the difficulties--the measuring of this concept, has partially been completed. Future researchers, in examining different components of the phenomenal self, would do well to build on this careful study.

Ways of Measuring Self-Concept

Summary

Havinghurst's study was part of the National Study of American Indian Education.[1] This project evaluated the self-image of the Indian student using the Semantic Differential by having them describe themselves and make comparisons with other non-Indian groups. The sample of Indian students was the same as in the previous study by Dreyer.

Indian students are often pictured as alienated especially when they reach adolescence. The researcher notes that statements made about Indian youth often assert that they are below the level of dominant culture youth in the matter of self-confidence, that they lack identity and other

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[1]Robert J. Havinghurst, "The Indian Self-Image as Evaluated with the Semantic Differential," The National Study of American Indian Education, Series III, No. 9. Final Report, pp. 1-9.

negative statements without comparative data. This study attempts to collect such comparative data.

In an attempt to compare Indian youth with other youth, control groups consisted of white students from the same schools in Chicago and Colorado that Indians in this group attended; students from upper working-class families; students from middle-class families; boys who were judged to be maladjusted. In addition, youth from Buenos Aires from upper working-class families were given the test in Spanish; and students from three different areas in Puerto Rico from upper working-class families.

The researcher concluded from this study:

The Semantic Differential, when used to compare the self-evaluation of Indian teen-agers with the self-evaluation of non-Indian teen-agers of comparable socioeconomic status, indicated that Indians have about the same level of self-evaluation as non-Indians. When the self-evaluation of Indian boys are compared with those of a distinctly maladjusted group of Anglo-American boys, the Indian boys appear to be in a relatively favorable situation. There is some evidence that Indian girls are slightly more self-critical than Indian boys--as this is measured by the SD.[1]

There were some interesting differences between the Indian groups. For instance, the Hoopa group and the North Carolina group were reliably different from the other Indians in a favorable direction. The researcher suggests that there are influences in those particular communities that enhance self-confidence and self-esteem. The Minnesota group and the

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[1]Ibid., p. 6.

School C group were noticeably in the unfavorable direction. The implication is that negative influences exist in the life situations of these youth.

In summary, the investigator notes:

We may summarize the comparisons of Indian boys and girls with Anglo-American youth as follows: There is no reliable difference, on the average, between Indian boys and Anglo-American boys of the same socioeconomic level. For girls there is a slight but statistically reliable difference, the Anglo-American girls rating themselves more favorably.[1]

Analysis

We accept the findings of this study based on the rigor of the methodology. In this study, as in all of the studies conducted for the National Study of American Indian Education, the only factor that could have been addressed more carefully, is the ethnic identity of the tests administrators. It may be, in fact, that those that administered the tests were Indian, however, this was not reported. Even in light of this, every issue involving tests with minority groups, has been taken into account.

Summary

An article by Bromberg and Hutchison discusses the differences between white and Indian psychology due to the differential cultures and

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[1]Ibid.

frames of reference.[1] They hypothesized, among Indians,

. . . a different communication modality, other than the striving for precise verbality among the whites, was basic. . . It was further hypothesized that predilection for "feeling" would be reflected in terms of body image.[2]

In their discussion they note that:

The Indian accent on feeling as the important unit of human function, their identification with Nature, and an appreciation of the nonreal world, leads to a unified experience in the Indian mind, not unlike the Gestalt experience.[3]

They see white psychology as having a different emphasis. They note that it

. . . compartmentalizes feelings (including unconscious affects), thoughts and volition as it analyzes human mental function, is based on false or at least unusable hypotheses. . . it appears obvious that the atomisation of elements of human behavior for purposes of scientific analysis, is meaningless for the Indian. The interrelatedness of man and nature is automatically understood by all Indians.[4]

The researchers discussed what led them to form their hypothesis. They note that a psychology course was being taught at a college devoted to preserving Indian identity and considerable resistance was observed. They observed that the Indians wanted to stress feeling-states, not descriptive psychology and confirmed their observations in encounter

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[1]Bromberg and Hutchinson, "Self-Image of the American Indian," pp. 39-44.

[2]Ibid., p. 41.

[3]Ibid., p. 40.

[4]Ibid.

groups with the same students. Here the emphasis was on feeling and communication on a non-verbal level.

In order to test their hypothesis, drawings from twenty-eight Indians and twenty-five whites were collected in an unstructured way from social and community gatherings and compared. The instrument used was the Draw-A-Person (Goodenough-Machover) projective test, ". . . which is roughly predicted on the tendency in man to view the world in his own image."[1]

Among the main findings; the body height in the drawings by the Indian was 6.8 inches and 5.5 inches among the whites. The size of the body indicates self-esteem, a large figure--a healthy self-esteem. Other findings will not be presented here include the areas of social dominance, intellectual power, involvement with the world and personality types. The researchers note that body size might indicate the importance of the body as a unit of social interchange and further notes:

> . . . the brief series of drawings studies do show less variation between individual Indian drawings than are found in a similar group of white drawings. The wholeness of self-image and its acceptance, suggested in these drawings, was borne out in graphic styles in our group therapy experiences.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 40.

[2] Ibid., p. 44.

Analysis

The researchers note that strict validation of this test has not been accomplished; but we would accept as they do that its correlation with clinical studies is widespread enough to accept it as a well-defined projection of the drawer's self-image. This being a preliminary study, the sample was small and not randomly chosen. Still, the findings suggest that studies that show Indian self-image as lower than whites may be ignoring the Indian's perception of the world and his role in it as quite different from that of dominant society. Thus, his self-image is affected by how he views himself as interacting with the universe and tested appropriately, his self-image may be higher than is often supposed by researchers.

Summary

The purpose of Cress and O'Donnell's study was to test the validity of the Self-Esteem Inventory among Oglala Sioux adolescents.[1] This measure was devised by Coopersmith and relates to his theory that power, significance, competence and virtue define success which within White American culture is also associated with academic success and peer-group popularity. The researcher sought to establish if criteria of success among the Sioux Indian was the same as dominant culture youth.

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[1] Joseph N. Cress and James P. O'Donnell, "The Self-Esteem Inventory and the Oglala Sioux A Validation Study," The Journal of Social Psychology, no. 97 (1975), pp. 135-136.

One hundred and four high-school students from the Pine Ridge

Indian Reservation in South Dakota were tested. The researchers

report:

> Each subject completed a measure of sociometric status, and
> two self-report inventories, the Self-Esteem Inventory and
> Thinking About Yourself. Teachers rated subjects on the
> Behavior Rating Form. Each subject's grade-point average,
> on a 100-point scale, was obtained from school records.[1]

The findings of this study indicated that correlations between the

Self-Esteem inventory and measures of success were not significant.

The investigators note that:

> Correlations between the Self-Esteem Inventory and measures of
> success were not significant. The validity of Coopersmith's Self-
> Esteem Inventory rests upon its inter-correlations with such
> measures of success as sociometric and grade-point average.[2]

The researchers concluded that since these correlations had not

been obtained, the Self-Esteem Inventory is not a valid measure for

Oglala Sioux adolescents.

Analysis

There was no report by the researchers of the method of selecting

the sample. However, they did not generalize beyond Oglala Sioux

adolescents. Traditional values within Sioux Culture are based upon

bravery, generosity and individual autonomy, thus the criteria for success

would appear to be related to these values not those determinants of

self-esteem as explicated by Coopersmith in his theory of self-esteem.

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[1] Ibid., p. 135.

[2] Ibid., p. 136.

Summary

Paxton investigated self-concept of the southwestern Indian ado-

lescent. The following hypotheses were tested: (1) that a selected

sample of self-reference statements can be used to obtain the composite

self-concept of the Indian adolescent; (2) that the composite self-concept

varies according to tribal groups; and (3) that a self-concept rating

system can be obtained from the derived data.[1] The emphasis in this

study, instead of being on the population, or group of subjects, was on

the population, or group, of self-reference statements. The researcher

saw the main value of the study as being what the adolescent himself

considered to be his view of himself.

A fifty-item, self-reference Q-instrument was developed and

administered to 411 Indian adolescents from five southwestern Indian

tribes. The Q-sorts were scored, and item-analysis made, and the

Q-scores were used to establish a norm group. A self-concept rating

system was established by the investigator. The investigator in describ-

ing Q-theory writes:

> In Q-methodology the single concrete person is studied in his
> own right in factor terms. . . one factor term can be the "actual
> self," another factor term can be the "ideal self." Q-theory

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[1] S. Gabe Paxton, Jr., "A Study of the Composite Self-Concept of
the Southwestern Indian Adolescent," in Indian Education, Issue 429-S
(Lawrence, Kansas: Publications Service of Haskell Institute, February 15,
1966), p. 14.

states that factor analysis is applicable to man's wishes, hopes, attitudes, delusions, beliefs, and all else pertaining to his self-concept.[1]

The researcher notes that the Q-technique, based on a Q-methodology of factor analysis, has been a desirable method of investigating the self-concept. He notes that:

Q-theory states that behavior of all kinds can be experimentally studied in concrete settings without constructing a single scale or measuring instrument of any kind based upon individual differences; and that we experiment with a particular person, or an interacting group of persons, who operates with samples of Q-statements.[2]

The investigator developed a Q-instrument; accepted a group response if it was more than sixty-seven percent or less than thirty-four percent in determining the composite Indian adolescent. The researcher found that while there were important variations as to tribal perceptions of themselves, there were some self-concepts common to all five sub-groups. The tribes involved were the Apache, Hopi, Navajo, Papago, and Pima.[3] However, at the .01 percent confidence level, there were no significant sex or tribal differences in test performance.

Paxton reports that the composite Indian adolescent of this study perceives himself:

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[1] Ibid., p. 3-4.

[2] Ibid., p. 4.

[3] For more detailed data on each of these tribes, refer to Appendix 1.

. . . positively: I do not run away from my problems; I like people; I am glad I am an Indian; I want to improve myself; it is not like me to wish I were not born; I feel that my family likes me; and I think my friends do not get me into trouble. He perceived himself negatively as follows: I am not smart; I am not important; and I feel the other person doesn't like me when I am on a date.[1]

The investigator concluded ". . . that a Self-Concept Rating Scale can be devised from the derived data, and that this is desirable."[2]

The researcher notes that there are possible implications for curriculum development for Indian adolescents so that the self-esteem can be enhanced through the educational process. He notes that Q-methodology and the Q-instrument show signs of being a valid and reliable measurement approach in the testing of self-concept in Indians, and that continued emphasis should be made on so perfecting such instruments.

Analysis

The researcher notes that behavioral responses of Indians may differ due to their different cultural framework and that this must be taken into account when utilizing testing instruments. The construction of this instrument, consistent with the theory it evolves from, deals with the many ramifications of self-concept, that is, included in this concept

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[1] Ibid., p. 15.

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

is one's sense of Indian identity. He notes criticisms of self-concept

studies center on the matter of construct validity and writes:

> . . . self-concept cannot be directly observed; therefore, it must
> be inferred. The investigator must measure a stated class of
> variables, therefore making the investigator dependent upon the
> self-report responses. This immediately places a limitation
> upon the investigation, and the investigator is at a disadvantage
> as he has no way of independently checking the self-reports. This
> verifies the observation that the individual doing research in the
> self-concept encounters problems of method that are much more
> complicated than those encountered in many other fields. Research-
> ers are beginning to develop lower order hypotheses instead of
> trying to do too much at one time. Thus in this study, the investi-
> gator concerned himself with a lower order hypothesis of a single
> factor, the "actual" self-concept rather than multiple factors of
> "actual-ideal-other" self-concepts. [1]

The researcher, cognizant of this issue, has made strides in the

development of an instrument that is appropriate for use with an Indian

community. Paxton, himself an Indian, is fully aware of the variation of

behavioral responses of Indians being different from those in dominant

culture, and has taken this into account in the construction of the instru-

ment.

Variables to be Considered in Examining
Self-Concept in an Indian Population

Summary

A study by Lefley tested the hypothesis that minority self-concept

may vary as a function of implicit ethnic and nonethnic evaluative criteria

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[1]Ibid., p. 3.

by administering native language and English versions of an instrument

tapping personal and Indian self-concept by Anglo and Indian examiners. [1]

In her review of the literature the investigator notes that previous

researchers

> . . . have questioned findings of negative self-concept in minority
> group children on the grounds that the subjects are typically
> asked to evaluate themselves within a particular cultural context,
> that is, in a school setting, in standard English, and usually by
> Anglo teachers. These authors conclude that children in ethnic
> cultures may have multiple self-evaluations, contingent on per-
> ceived role expectations and implicit comparison groups. [2]

A variable not much explored in the literature but reported on in

an interactional setting has been examined by Ervin-Tripp as quoted by

Lefley who notes the research:

> . . . indicates that projective responses to the same verbal
> materials may vary widely not only with respect to the presenting
> language but as a function of the ethnicity of respondent and
> interviewer. [3]

A number of investigators, including Lefley, have questioned find-

ings of negative self-concept of minority children on these grounds.

These researchers contend that children have two self-concepts, one

within their own cultural framework and the other in dominant culture

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[1]Harriet P. Lefley, "Differential Self-Concept in American Indian
Children as a Function of Language and Examiner," Journal of Personality
and Social Psychology 31 (1975): 36-41.

[2]Ibid., p. 36

[3]Ervin-Tripp, S.M.,"An Analysis of the Interaction of Language
Topic, and Listener," American Anthropologist 66 (1964): 86-102.

framework. They suggest that children may see themselves as inadequate in terms of the dominant culture and thus testing would reveal devalued self-concepts. These same children tested within the context of their own culture, it is suggested, would reveal a normal distribution of personality variants.

The tests were administered to seventy-two children, ages seven to fifteen, on two Mikasuki-speaking reservations, by Indian and Anglo teachers in Native language and English. The subjects consisted of the full populations of two ungraded reservation schools. Students were then randomly assigned to language order groups. The instruments used were the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale, a modified version of the Sarason and Ganzer Word-Rating Scales and the Coopersmith Behavior Rating Form. The tests were pre-tested for cultural appropriateness, other tests having been eliminated after this process.

The results indicated that across reservations, females were scored significantly higher than males; younger subjects (seven-ten) scored significantly higher than older (eleven-fourteen) subjects; consistently across all age-sex groups, geographic location, the subjects were significantly higher in personal concept in their native language. On the Indian self-esteem scale, both reservation groups were significantly higher in the English language testing.

In comparing these two Indian groups with groups of Anglo children previously tested by these instruments the researcher notes:

With respect to school achievement as a behavioral indicator, the correlations between self-esteem and grade point average on the two reservations were .15 and .16 both considerably lower than .30 for a middle-class Anglo population. Despite significant differences in the language-examiner conditions, it may be noted that in both languages, the Indian subjects were significantly below the Piers-Harris norms for children of the same age.[1]

The investigator in discussing her findings notes that:

The hypothesis that perceived role expectations in an Anglo context would evoke lower self-esteem than those in an ethnic context appeared to be confirmed with respect to personal, but not to Indian, self-concept.[2]

The researcher notes that language and examiner were treated as a unitary effect but in retrospect observes that examiner ethnicity may have been a critical variable in the Indian self-esteem scale since

. . . the subjects were likely to be defensive, in rejecting such items as "I am sometimes ashamed to be an Indian," when these words were uttered by Anglo teachers. Alternatively, however, it is possible that while the subjects may have felt more inadequate personally under conditions implying Anglo evaluation, conditions imply Mikasuki evaluation may have generated guilt about their self-concept as Indians. Thus within the Anglo or "school" context they were likely to be defensive about their Indianness; while within the Mikasuki or "tribal-family" context they may have felt that they were "bad Indians," both because of their feelings of inadequacy in fulfilling the Indian role expectations of their family and tribe.[3]

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[1]Lefley, "Function of Language and Examiner," p. 39.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 40.

From this study the investigator suggests that in future research on the self-concept of the minority group child, both the identity area tapped and the implicit evaluative criteria of the testing conditions may be salient variables.

Analysis

This study was conducted utilizing pretest-posttest design. The age-sex matched groups were randomly assigned to two-language order conditions. Careful attention was paid to the cultural conditions that might bias any aspect of the study. The researcher notes that school achievement indicators are unrelated to self-esteem in an Indian community while items like "I can do good beadwork" might be appropriate. The findings of this study can be accepted because of their careful methodology and consistent awareness of inappropriate behavioral correlates, and culturally patterned and context-bound response tendencies in most research on minority group children.

Summary

Another study by Lefley was based on the assumption that personal and ethnic identity are related components of the self-concept and covary in a lawful fashion. It investigated the

> . . . effects of a cultural heritage program from American Indian children by using a battery of instruments that (a) were selected, modified or designed in terms of cultural appropriateness; (b) administered under conditions optimal for the perception of ethnic as well as "school" (Anglo) evaluative criteria; and

(c) tapped discrete components of self perceptions; global self-concept (SC), personal self-esteem (SE), and Indian self-esteem (ISE).[1]

Seventy-two children all attending the only schools on the reservations from two tribes in Florida were tested; the two tribes being homogeneous in terms of culture and language. The children were the first generation to attend school and to experience psychological distance from their Indian heritage. The major difference is that the Seminole school has no special Indian culture program while the Miccoskee school does.

The children were tested with materials that were selected by Indian informants from a battery of self-concept instruments on the basis of cultural appropriateness. Self-concept was tested by the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale and the Sarason and Ganzer Word-Rating Scale. Ethnic self-esteem was tapped by two measures, rationally developed and pre-tested with the aid of qualified Indian informants. The teachers used the Coopersmith Behavior Rating Form, rating each child for self-esteem and Indian self-esteem.

This study noted in the review of the literature that there has been a recent emphasis on ethnic studies with the belief that exposing children to the positive aspects of their cultural heritage would lead to a subsequent

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[1]Lefley, "Effect of a Cultural Heritage Program on the Self-Concept of Miccosukee Indian Children," Journal of Educational Research 67 (July-August 1974): 462-466.

rise in their self-esteem. Most studies have not found a significant rise in self-esteem, yet the subjects report enthusiastically about the programs and renewed pride in self and ethnicity in posttest verbalizations. The incongruence of these findings raises serious questions as to the cultural appropriateness, validity and reliability of the measures which indicate that self-esteem has not been increased, and the efficacy of a didactic intervention in actually modifying deeper levels of self-perception.

After a ten week cultural enrichment program, the Miccosukee children showed a significant increase in self-esteem (diminished actual-ideal self discrepancy) and in positive response to Indian stimuli, while the Seminole, the control group, showed a significant decrease in self-esteem. There was no change in either group on the "me as I am now" scale.

The researcher notes that the Miccosukee increase and the Seminole decrease were related to the modification of the ideal self based on the order of test presentation, the Miccosukee having been exposed to Indian stimuli for which they were differentially reinforced. Thus, greater satisfaction with self results as a result of renewed satisfaction with Indian identity. The Seminoles resolved their dissonance between personal and ethnic identity by a decrease in satisfaction with self.

The investigator in her discussion notes:

> These data point up the subtle and complex changes that may occur in self-concept following a cultural intervention, but that may not be readily apparent unless a variety of measuring instruments are used. . . The findings also tend to suggest that the self-concept is

> multidimensional rather than unitary. . . The findings also underline the need for development of sensitive, multi-dimensional, and culturally appropriate instruments to measure such changes. . . In the research on ethnic studies programs cited earlier, it is quite possible that had the parameters of self-concept change been more fully explored the negative findings might have emerged as positive ones.[1]

Analysis

In reviewing the methodology of this study--the sampling testing procedure, ethnicity of administrators of tests--the rigor employed in all aspects, we accept the findings of the researcher. Further investigators would do well to consider building on the early reports of these tests' validity and reliability for use with an Indian population. As the researcher has noted, the testing of self-concept in Indian children must be done with extreme caution to account for all the cultural variables involved.

Summary

The purpose of Bryde's study was to investigate the causes of the "cross-over" phenomenon by Oglala Sioux Indian adolescents. This "cross-over" refers to a drop in achievement by students which occurs concurrently with the adolescent crisis, a time in which the researcher believes that conflict between white and Indian cultures comes to a focus.[2]

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[1]Ibid., p. 465.

[2]Bryde, "The Sioux Indian Student," pp. 1-40.

This assumption led the researcher to form the following hypotheses:

1. A comparison of Sioux Indian and white adolescents on achievement and Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) variables would reveal significant differences in the undesirable direction on the part of the Indian students;
2. that these differences would correlate in the undesirable direction with degree of Indian blood;
3. that Indian dropout, in comparison to the Indian students who stayed in school, would reveal significantly greater disturbance. [1]

The sample consisted of 164 eighth grade Oglala Sioux Indian students from the seven federal grade schools and one mission school on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota; 159 ninth grade Oglala Sioux Indian students from the two high schools (one federal, one private) on the same reservation. Control groups consisted of seventy-six white eighth grade students and 126 ninth grade students from small towns bordering the reservation. Additionally, ninety-two Sioux Indian senior students were tested for profile comparisons with the Indian eighth and ninth graders as well as with Indian dropouts. Students were divided into groups depending upon their degrees of Indian blood: one-quarter, one-half, three-quarters and full blood.

The main testing instrument was the MMPI; it was administered by someone trained in its administration.

The findings reported by the researcher indicate support for all of his hypothesis. Indian students scored significantly higher than national

[1] Ibid., p. 53.

test norms from the fourth through the sixth grade. At the eighth grade level, they scored significantly lower. On the personality variables, Bryde reports:

In all of the six white-Indian group comparisons, the Indian students scored consistently and significantly more disturbed on more variables than their white counterparts. . . Indian girls showed themselves as more disturbed than Indian boys, especially in feeling anxious, depressed, and more dependent, socially and self-alienated. . . Among the blood groups, there were no significant differences on the achievement variables. On the personality variables, however, the more Indian blood one had the more disruption he revealed, especially in feeling depressed, psychasthenic, rejected and alienated. Indian dropouts, compared to all Indians who stayed in school and to Indian twelfth graders, showed the greatest disturbances of all, in feelings of rejection, depression and alienation. [1]

Analysis

The researcher devotes a great deal to attention to reviewing the literature on the use of the MMPI and notes that it has wide and accepted usage whose correlations fit with a great deal of other data. However, he does not report previous usage with any Indian population. Havinghurst has raised the issue that

The Minnesota Multiphasic Inventory is especially open to criticism as a measure of the Indian adolescent's feelings about himself because many of the items are expressed in language which is difficult for poor readers to understand. Therefore when given to Indian youth in the eighth or ninth grade, it generally lacks validity. This is seen in the fact that the "f-scale" which is designed to discover respondents who (quoting the authors of the test) were

[1] Ibid.

"careless or unable to comprehend items," shows many high scores for the Indian adolescents and therefore indicates that the MMPI is not valid for use with these young people.[1]

Havinghurst further notes that the scores of the Indian students continue to be invalid until the twelfth grade, when the F-score drops to a valid level.[2] It is at this same time that Indian students no doubt read better and comprehend the test more fully.

The researcher, being a member of the clergy, chose not to administer the test, ". . . lest a socially desirable response set be generated by his presence."[3] Since the researcher noted that the subjects might be influenced by the person administering the tests being a member of the clergy, the possibility existed that ethnic identity might likewise influence them.

Concerning the researcher's findings regarding blood groups, what he might designate as disruption and depression particularly in the full bloods, may be due to unknown variables that relate instead to Indian self-concept. Testing within this context may indeed show positive, not negative feelings of self within this population.

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[1] Havinghurst, "Semantic Differential," p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 9.

[3] Bryde, "The Sioux Indian Student," p. 146.

Despite the fact that this study was methodically conducted in most respects, the findings rest entirely on an instrument without any reported validity or reliability in this population. Thus, it is our thinking that this study does not add to the body of knowledge regarding Indian self-concept even within the particular group studied.

Summary

The purpose of the study by Corrigan was to determine a measure of the self-concept of a group of American Indian students.[1]

The researcher notes:

. . . utilizing the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) it seeks to determine whether differences in self-concept occur between students who have attended public schools for their entire elementary education (grades one through six) and those who have attended Bureau of Indian Affairs schools throughout their academic careers.[2]

In addition, this study investigated the influence of age, sex, tribe, Intelligence Quotient and compared these variables within the Indian group with non-Indian students drawn from all social, educational, intellectual levels from various parts of the country. A proportional random sample of 104 American Indian students from public school backgrounds and 145 American Indian students from Federal (Bureau of Indian Affairs) were tested.

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[1] Francis Vincent Corrigan, "A Comparison of Self-Concepts of American Indian Students from Public or Federal School Backgrounds," (D. Educ. dissertation, George Washington University, School of Education, 1970), pp. 1-160.

[2] Ibid., p. 24.

The major findings of the researcher were:

Indian students from BIA school backgrounds scored significantly higher on the Moral-Ethical Self scale than Indian students from public school backgrounds. . . On three dimensions of self-concept--Physical Self, Family Self and Total Positive Self-- where a significant interaction between school background females and public school background males consistently appeared to possess more positive self-concepts. . . The Indian student group displayed a significantly greater conflict than the normative group.[1]

Analysis

The researcher concluded that sex may be a more important determiner of self-concept than school background with the exception of moral-ethical self. Moral-ethical self relates to relationship to God and feelings of being a good or bad person. The researcher did not discuss what subtle religious influences may occur in the BIA school setting that may affect scoring.

In other respects, there appeared to be no difference among groups based on school background. However, since the test employed was reviewed by one Indian consultant, but did not have demonstrated validity in use with the Indian community, the findings may be cautiously accepted.

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[1] Ibid., p. 145.

Summary of Research Findings

Of the studies reviewed there was considerable variation in the foci: some researchers examined different aspects of Indian self-concept while others concerned themselves with instrumentation. The research methodology covered a wide range of activity, some researchers selected their samples carefully--others capriciously. A diversity of variables were examined. Some researchers took into account the ethnic identity of the test examiners and the cultural appropriateness of the testing instruments; others did not. Some researchers addressed the issue of Indian self-concept's being multidimensional and the necessity of having instruments to measure it. The studies conducted by Havinghurst and Dreyer, certainly the most rigorous in their methodology with the largest samples, suggest that Indian self-concept is not lower than self-concept in dominant culture individuals. Other studies offer the more pervasive view that the Indian possesses a low self-concept. The most careful researchers suggest that if proper testing mechanisms were utilized, studies which indicate that Indians have a low self-concept, might, in fact, show the reverse, a high self-concept, with different instrumentation.

In the following and final chapter, conclusions and implications for future research will be discussed.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Many, if not most, Indians have successfully merged the two cultures they simultaneously live in. Some have reached a point of self-actualization through the harmonious fusing of the most valued qualities of both cultures, that would have been more difficult to achieve in either culture alone. The main point we wish to make clear in this review is: all Indians must go through a process of consolidating both Indian and dominant culture to some extent. The alternatives are totally moving towards dominant culture, thus, assimilation, to complete withdrawal to traditional Indian society, thereby escaping the harsh reality of modern dominant society.

Should not this awareness of Indians living in two cultures influence the direction that research on Indians takes? The best studies of self-concept addressed this issue. Indian self-concept is unique, complex and must be measured within the context of Indian life. Anglo-Saxon theoreticians have developed the body of literature from which modern psychology has evolved. Self-concept theory itself is a reflection of Anglo-Saxon thinking and may not be necessarily appropriate to relate it to the Indian community. Perhaps, self-concept cannot or should not be measured

by dominant culture researchers, but it will not begin to be measured by using only dominant culture instruments, language and concepts.

One of the major issues in testing minorities is the problem of the appropriateness of the instrument for use with a particular minority population. From reviewing the literature, one might suppose that this issue as it relates to the Indian community, is a very recent one. However, in 1920, D. Thomas Garth, referring to a 1912 study made by E. C. Roe testing 268 children that concluded that the Indian was of inferior ability to whites, noted:

> The Binet tests used were more linguistic, educational and cultural in their character than desirable for measurement in general. They may be applied legitimately to children enjoying the same mental and physical environment, hence they are more fair for the white children measured than for the Indians. In the next place, that which merely aggravates the foregoing, evidently existed, and that is the white group was probably a selected group since the ones tested were taken from the Training School of the Normal School.[1]

It seems obvious, in reading of this study, that the sample was non-representative and the findings therefore biased. Still, in reviewing the recent studies of self-concept, the samples were not necessarily more carefully drawn. While the researchers, perhaps, did not generalize their findings to all Indians, still they compared their findings to other studies whose methodology was more rigorously conducted. It seems odd that Garth, a psychologist in practice during the infancy of his profession,

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[1] Thomas Garth, "The Psychology of the Indian," *Indian School Journal* 20 (June 1920): 157-160.

should be keenly aware of a situation that contemporary, sophisticated professionals do not always take note of even now.

Thus, if researchers are using tests that have demonstrated reliability and validity only with dominant culture, the results may have no significance in terms of the Indian community. If, the Indian, as a member of both societies, is seen to have a multidimensional self-concept, both areas should be tapped. To do less is a great disservice to the Indian community. For the great danger here, once one is viewed as having a low self-concept, particularly by teachers is a "self-fulfilling prophesy." Thus, if Indians, in fact, do have a low self-concept, it may be as a result of others believing that he does.

Testing of the Indian

There is a particular risk in testing self-concept in an Indian child by unsuitable tests, finding it low, and then reacting towards him accordingly. However, it is not only in this area that testing of the Indian community has come under attack. Tests for academic performance may be equally hazardous. Havinghurst notes:

> . . . test scores and data on educational level are not fully adequate for evaluation of Indian education, since the various Indian tribes have values and life styles different from the Caucasian majority. [1]

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[1] Fuchs and Havinghurst, To Live on This Earth, p. 346.

The Indian community has been gravely concerned regarding bias in testing of Native Americans. In 1971, a special task force was created, producing a number of documents proposing rules, regulations and procedures to guide the BIA in the testing of Indians. Among the recommendations proposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs Task Force on Testing (TNT), are:

> Projective and other psychological tests will be used only in diagnostic screening for preschool children, and in diagnosis of acute behavioral problems and related difficulties in older students which are of long duration and stubbornly resistant to change. In general, psychological tests shall not be allowed for diagnosis and subsequent classification of students into categories which can be used to deprive them of their freedom or their equal opportunity rights. . . Such psychological or projective tests must be administered by persons skilled in their ability to interpret the tests within the sociocultural context of the student. [1]

Other guidelines developed by TNT, dealt with such areas as access to records, destruction of records, testing frequency, research and development. The primary positions in regard to testing policy are:

1. That standardized tests developed on population norms, having as their primary purpose the ranking of students on inferential scales so they may be compared with one another, should be phased out in an orderly but firm manner except as specified herein.
2. That criterion-referenced tests tied to curriculum content and integral with education and behavior objectives become the tests of choice. [2]

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[1] Non-Discriminatory Educational Assessment of Native Americans - Proposed Rules and Regulations, Bureau of Indian Affairs, January 1976.

[2] Testing of Native Americans Policy Recommendations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Task Force on Testing, July 1972, p. 2.

The task force recommended that any testing procedure should be student-centered; students should be explained the nature and reason for the test and results gained should be given back to the student as soon as scoring is completed.

Although the task force has been instrumental in advising the BIA in correcting testing procedures, unfortunately, this improvement may not extend to the independent research community, as witnessed by some of the research reviewed.

This is not to imply that all researchers ignore cultural differences. Havinghurst takes the most scrupulously careful precautions himself and offers a word of advice when he writes:

Paper and pencil instruments to measure aspects of personality must be used with the greatest caution in the study of people who have a different culture of life style from the people for whom the instrument was originally devised. There have been a good many mistaken interpretations and conclusions drawn from such tests when these precautions were not observed.[1]

This refusal to recognize cultural differences and needs relates to areas covered in the early part of this paper; again we note that attitudes and perspectives are translated into activities, behaviors and policies. Thus, if members of the research community do not see the Indian as culturally unique and multidimensional, research methodology and, thus, the findings will reflect these limitations. In turn, programs and institutions will not address the real needs of the Indian community but rather reflect the bias of dominant culture.

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[1]Fuchs and Havinghurst, To Live on This Earth, p. 346.

In order to aid the reader in comprehending the cultural duality that composes the experience of the American Indian, a brief review of several sociological theories conceptualizing this idea will follow.

The "Marginal Man" and the "Sojourner"

A noted sociologist, Robert E. Park, in 1928,[1] identified a personality type he called the "marginal man"[2] which Stonequist, in 1935 quoted him as noting:

. . . the "marginal man" (is) defined as one who is living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples, never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now seeks to find a place.[3]

Park went beyond merely identifying this personality type. He offered his views that the marginal man plays a crucial role in cultural change and societal progress and notes: "It is in the mind of the marginal man--where the changes and fusions of cultures are going--that we can best study the processes of civilization and progress."[4]

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[1]Robert E. Park, "Migration and the Marginal Man," The American Journal of Sociology, May 1928, as quoted in Everett V. Stonequist, "The Problem of the Marginal Man," The American Journal of Sociology, July 1935, p. 2.

[2]"Marginal Man" is the term used by Park and later theoreticians. "Marginal Person" would perhaps be a more contemporary and useful term. However, in the interest of clarity, the original designation will be used.

[3]Park, "Migration and the Marginal Man," p. 892.

[4]Ibid.

Stonequist relates the concept of the marginal man with Cooley's "looking-glass" theory in the following way:

> The process of seeing one's self reflected in the attitudes of others toward one is so habitual with the ordinary person he is unaware of it, . . . but with the marginal person, it is as if he were placed simultaneously between two looking-glasses, each presenting a different image of himself. The clash in the images cannot help but make the individual somewhat conscious of the process--conscious of the two mirrors and conscious of the two clashing images. [1]

Numerous theoreticians have written on the concept and have disagreed as to whether it is positive or negative for an individual to experience bicultural living.

The noted sociologist, Bernard, takes a strong position that the marginal person is unfortunate when she writes:

> There is no happier fate for any man than to live his life in a culture never challenged, a culture he is never called upon to justify; to eat and speak and dress and pray without ever realizing that there are other ways of doing these simple things. [2]

The concept of marginality has been used in terms of American Indians in a negative perspective also. Bryde quoting Wallace noted:

> The "Marginal Man," indeed is an ideal type constructed to label persons caught precisely in the vortex of such dilemmas, unable

[1] Charles Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Charles Schriber's & Sons, 1922), as quoted in Everett V. Stonequist, "The Problem of the Marginal Man," The American Journal of Sociology, July 1935, p. 2.

[2] Jessie Bernard, "Biculturality: A Study in Social Schizophrenia," in Jews in a Gentile World, eds. I Graeber and S. H. Britt (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 264.

old culture, yet, because of experience of the new, unable to be happy in either. [1]

French conducting a study of Cherokees noted that in certain families "the cultural identity problem is greater for the marginal Cherokee female than for her male counterpart in that she suffers the more visible and lasting stigma with cultural failure on the reservation." [2] He observes of marginality, that it has not been positive in these families and views marginal Cherokees as:

> . . . caught between two unobtainable cultural objectives: the traditional, conservative harmony ethic and the dominant, protestant ethic. Pressure to conform to the dictates of the dominant cultural value system with its emphasis on assimilation yet with limited avenues for such, and the increasing inaccessibility to the traditional, conservative Cherokee lifestyle spells failure for many reservation residents. [3]

Simmel sees the potential good in marginality. One consequence of this "stranger" as Simmel called him, is his objectivity. He observed:

> He is not radically committed to the unique ingredients and peculiar tendancies of the group and therefore approaches them with the specific attitudes of "objectivity." But objectivity does not simply involve passivity and detachment; it is a particular structure composed of distance and nearness, indifference and involvement. . .

[1] A. Wallace, Culture and Personality (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 162 as quoted in John F. Bryde, S.J., The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, Department of Psychology, 1966), p. 15.

[2] Laurence A. French, "Social Problems Among the Cherokee Females: A Study of Cultural Ambivalence and Role Identity," paper presented at the 69th American Sociological Association Meeting, Montreal, Canada. (Mimeographed.) p. 1.

[3] Ibid.

Objectivity may also be defined as freedom: the objective indivi-
dual is bound by no commitments which could prejudice his per-
ception, understanding and evaluation of the given. [1]

Seeman not only theorized that marginality had or could have a good
effect upon an individual, he conducted an empirical study to demonstrate
it. He was particularly concerned that the negative view was more
dominant in the literature in 1955 when he examined it. He hypothesized
that those individuals who have successfully dealt with the conflict of
values that marginal status imposes will be reinforced by this success
and as a simple learning phenomena learn the value of questioning the
givens in society and will seek creative solutions. He concluded from his
study;

> . . . individuals who have not solved the problems which their
> marginality imposes are low in intellectual perspective; while
> those who have experienced marginality and resolved it are high
> in intellectual perspective. [2]

An article in 1975 by Willie also sees marginality as potentially
enhancing both for the individual and society. He writes:

> Marginal people who fall between the cracks may be alienated,
> but marginal people who rise above the cracks are synthesizers.
> The concept of the marginal person as synthesizer recognizes that

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[1] George Simmel, The Sociology of George Simmel, ed. K. H. Wolff
(Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959), p. 404-405.

[2] Melvin Seeman, "Intellectual Perspective and Adjustment to
Minority Status," Social Problems, January 1956, p. 143.

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members of the out-group do not have to behave as if they were
members of the in-group, and that members of the minority do
not have to think and act like members of the majority to be
effective participants in society. [1]

The impact of biculturality has not only been explored by social
scientists but is reflected in popular literature as well. A recent play
by Kopit--a fictionalized account, although in broad respects an histori-
cally accurate chronicle of dominant society's treatment of the Indian,
notes Sitting Bull as saying to Buffalo Bill:

> I'd agreed to go onto the reservation. I was standing in front
> of my tribe, the soldiers leading us into the fort. And as we
> walked, I turned to my son, who was beside me, "Now," I said,
> "you will never know what it is to be an Indian, for you will never
> again have a gun or pony. . . " Only later did I realize why I'd
> said. These things, the gun and the pony--they came with you.
> And then I thought, ah, how terrible it would be if we finally owe
> to the white man not only our destruction, but also our glory. [2]

Whether or not these exact words were ever said does not matter.
We do know, however, that the Indians, early in their history with the
white man adopted many aspects of the dominant culture--often incompat-
ible and destructive to their own; already in a state of flux, thanks to the
intrusion of the white man.

A review of the literature reflects various writers utilizing the
concept of the "marginal man" to describe the American Indian--caught

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[1] Charles V. Willie, "Marginality and Social Change," Society,
July-August 1975, p. 12.

[2] Arthur Kopit, Indians (New York: Hill and Wang, 1969), p. 105.

between two cultures. Some of them have viewed this concept positively, others have not. However, we propose to employ another theoretical concept, that of the "Sojourner," as described by Siu, to further describe American Indians. This designation does not eliminate the appropriateness of utilizing the concept of the "marginal man" in certain instances. However, the concept of "Sojourner" adds one additional dimension that we feel is more precise in describing some Indians--particularly those that leave the reservation to go to towns and cities for a period of time and return home--perhaps making this round trip numerous times in their lives.

Siu describes his concept as:

> The Sojourner, to be sure, is characteristically not a marginal man: he is different from the marginal man in many aspects. The essential characteristic of the sojourner is that he clings to the culture of his own ethnic group as in contrast to the bicultural complex of the marginal man. Psychologically, he is unwilling to organize himself as a permanent resident in the country of his sojourn. When he does, he becomes a marginal man.[1]

Siu uses Chinese laundrymen as an example of individuals who move to another country and yet remain "Sojourners"; strangers. The Chinese and other nationalities who typically remain in colonies are indeed sojourners. We suggest, though, in addition to these individuals from other countries, American Indians are the only minority in the United States that are or can be sojourners because of their tie to the reservation;

[1]Paul C. P. Siu, "The Sojourner," American Journal of Sociology, 58 (July 1952): 34.

the concept of "Indian Country" represents a geographic dimension not applicable to other groups.[1]

.The literature on urban Indians notes that they seldom participate in the affairs of the larger community and tend to stay with groups of other Indians. This situation is analogous to Siu's characterization of the Sojourner as one who

> . . . tends to think of himself as an outsider and feels content as a spectator in many of the community affairs. . . the colony is an instrument to establish or to re-establish some sort of primary-group relationships in the matrix of homeland culture--an effort to create a home away from home. . . the desire to live together becomes not only a social need but also a natural thing.[2]

Conclusions

In synthesizing the previous writer's theories, we have reached certain conclusions that are germane to this research project on self-concept. American Indians if self-placed on an acculturation continuum, which can be related to the Spindlers' formulation of four acculturation types, would locate themselves as acculturated in varying degrees.[3] Of course, those who were totally assimilated would cease to identify as Indian. All others--who were acculturated to some extent--would be

[1]Mexican Americans may take exception to this. However, the writer views individuals who move back and forth to Mexico as Mexicans who are sojourners; thus, they are not an American minority but are colonists. Once they remain in this country long enough to be considered an American minority, either by time or by some degree of acculturation, they are "marginal men" not sojourners.

[2]Siu, "The Sojourners," pp. 35-36.

[3]Spindler and Spindler, "American Indian Personality Types," pp. 49-50.

marginal, that is, always relating to two cultures simultaneously or else "sojourners"; those Indians who seek to isolate themselves as far as possible from dominant society. This latter group, although they may live in urban areas, return frequently to the reservation where they maintain strong ties.

Polinquaysa Quyawayma, a Hopi Indian woman, tells of her lifelong struggle to bridge the gap between the two cultures.[1] The experiences she notes, suggest that Siu's conception of "Sojourners" is an appropriate one to use. Early in her life she was attracted to the ways of dominant culture and left the reservation and became a teacher. Many times she was drawn back to the reservation, yet when she returned she no longer felt that she fit in. It was only in her later years that she was able to end her quest for a personal identity--to cease to be a "Sojourner." She returned to the reservation--at peace with herself.

By the previous discussion, we do not mean to imply that there is any tendency for Indians to seek their entire lives for a personal identity or that conceptualizing Indians by the foregoing theoretical formulations brands them with a unique Karma from which they cannot escape. Instead, the purpose of this discussion has been to enlighten the reader to some of the complexities of being an Indian in America today, as seen through the eyes of a non-Indian researcher.

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[1]Polinquaysa Quoyawayma, No Turning Back, as told to Vada Carlson (Albequeque: University of New Mexico, 1964).

The potential that marginal man has for enhanced creativity, as Seeman proposes is possible. It should and can be made a reality for all Indians. We have noted, though, that the perspective of dominant society towards the Indian is biased, impractical and is usually self-serving to the dominant culture rather than reflective of Indian culture as it is. Cultural differences, while they exist, need not have operated in such a way to aid dominant culture in further exploiting the Indian. Instead of trying to take something away from the Indian community-- dominant society could have allowed the Indian to teach it some lessons it was and is in need of learning; lessons in harmony, patience and sharing to name just a few. Unfortunately, as was discussed previously, the views of dominant society have been translated into federal policies that have determined the educational programs of the Indian. As now presently operating they often do not help him to maintain his cultural identity while at the same time preparing him to participate successfully in American society. All of the institutions at the disposal of dominant society acted as its handmaidens; handmaidens to do its bidding to further rob the Indian community of power, wealth, autonomy, independence, cultural identity and dignity. This is not to suggest that all of these attributes are now lacking in the Indian community--they are not. However, it is always an uphill struggle to achieve and maintain any of them. The academic community has, along with other institutions and individuals in modern American society, fortified and solidified the myoptic viewpoint

of the Indian. As long as some researchers in the social sciences persist in perceiving Indians as not being differentiated from dominant society members to the extent that culturally inappropriate standardized tests continue to be carelessly used--the Indian community will continue to suffer at the hands of the "experts."

Suggestions for Future Research

1. Research on Indians should be conducted by Indians whenever possible. This is not to suggest, however, that non-Indians should be entirely eliminated from all phases of research on Indians. This, of course, would be ridiculous. Nor do we intimate that merely being an Indian assumes one has expertise in research. What we do advocate is the most carefully constructed and designed research projects that propose to measure increasingly multidimensional and subtle aspects of Indian self-concept. The test construction at certain points in time and administration of tests must be conducted by qualified Indian researchers.

2. Research methodology should be as rigorous as resources allow. If research is designed in such a way to be able to draw generalizations from the results, it has far greater use to the Indian community. Due to tribal and regional differences there is perhaps less generalizability than with other minorities--researchers need not add to this handicap by careless research procedures. A research project that selects its sample haphazardly tells us little that is reliable about that particular community and nothing that we can generalize to others. This is not only in the

interest of increasing our knowledge to distribute scarce resources intelligently,[1] but there is no need to add to the myths and stereotypes that already exist about Indians; often merely to fortify politically minded, racial positions.

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[1]Resources for the Indian community are scarce. This should not be the case because the law states that Indian tribes are eligible for resources, yet they are excluded because of requirements that are often unjust to tribes.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

In addition the item analysis revealed these tribal variations in their composite self-concept:

1. Positive - I am happy. (Navajo and Hopi only.)

   I don't run away from my problems.
   (Navajo, Papago, and Pima only.)

   I am not bad. (Navajo and Apache only.)

   I don't want to be somebody else. (Pima only.)

   I like my body. (Navajo only.)

   I want to improve myself. (All groups but Apache.)

   It is not true I wish I were not born. (All groups but Apache and Pima.)

   I feel all right (Navajo only.)

   I am not angry. (Hopi only.)

   I think my friends do not get me into trouble.
   (Not true of Hopi and Apache.)

   It is not like me to feel I can't eat when people watch me. (Navajo and Hopi only.)

   I am a good worker. (Navajo only.)

2. Negative - I am not smart. (All groups but Hopi.)

   I feel people don't like me. (Apache only.)

   I worry. (Papago only.)

I think my teachers don't like me. (Hopi only.)

I feel the other person doesn't like me when I am
  on a date. (All groups except Hopi.)

I think boys don't like me. (Papago, Pima, and
  Apache only.)

I think girls don't like me. (Papago only.)

I do bad things. (Navajo only.)[1]

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[1]Paxton, "Composite Self-Concept."

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