CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION AND CULTURAL MISTRUST: A STUDY AMONG NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Counseling is a powerful technique for helping people explore and make decisions about their situational, personal, and interpersonal difficulties. As the counseling field reflects the dynamics of the general population, most counseling service providers are representatives from mainstream America or White Americans. This appears to hold true in spite of demographic changes in this country which reflect dramatic increases in minority populations. Traditional and conservative admissions criteria in counselor education programs are generally slow to change to reflect the populations they serve (Ponterotto & Casas, 1991).

Because the majority of the counselors in most settings are usually White, it is most likely that a minority client will be assigned a White counselor (Ponterotto & Casas, 1991). The determination of whether or not counseling will prove effective for a client may depend on the amount of rapport in the counselor-client relationship. Philosophical, historical, socio-economic, and political differences between majority and minority cultures may influence whether or not rapport is likely when the care giver and care recipient are from culturally different backgrounds (LaFromboise, 1985). Rapport may not be likely between some racial/ethnic minority persons and White counselors.

Many problems in the research relating to racial/ethnic minorities have been noted (Casas, 1985). The lack of responsiveness of the mental health care system to minorities (Rogler, Malgady, Constantino, & Blumenthal, 1987) has been acknowledged for some time. Trimble and Fleming (1989) indicate ". . . that the acculturation of the [Indian] client is a potential contributor to a client's receptivity to counseling in a conventional sense" (p.196). Certainly, trust is a central issue, and how trust varies with the cultural identification of minority clients has been pointed out as a major issue of multicultural research for the 1990's (Atkinson & Thompson, 1992).

The legacy of distrust that American Indian people hold toward White culture is founded on state and federal histories of broken promises. United States government acculturation, assimilation, and termination policies, although detrimental to the American Indian community, nonetheless proved in the end that American Indian culture remains intact (Deloria, 1969).

There are many aspects to the identity of the aboriginal North American Indian. This ethnic group is uniquely characterized by legal status brought about by treaty law and federal and state policy. Descendants of this population are frequently in conflict about their identity and the degree to which they relate to their cultural history (Trimble & Fleming, 1989). When attempting to understand issues relating to Native American Indian people, attention must be paid to cultural identification factors.

Theoretical Foundations

As a theory represents a model for observing and explaining phenomena, this study uses social influence to examine the relationship involved in cultural identification and cultural trust/mistrust factors among Native American Indian college students. Strong (1968) hypothesized that in the counseling situation, clients are willing to listen to a counselor or engage in a counseling relationship when the counselor is seen as expert, attractive, and trustworthy. Once a willingness to participate in counseling is established on the part of a client, the counselor is able to exert a helpful influence over the client. Strong (1968) asserts this as a two-stage counselor model; enhanced counselor perception followed by the ability to influence the client. Cormier and Cormier (1991) in a review of the social influence process in counseling expanded on Strong's (1968) concept and stated that not only do people try to influence one another in all human relationships, but that ". . . the influence process in counseling and therapy is interpersonal--that is, between two persons--and reciprocal, or mutual" (p. 43). This rationale assumes two things in the counseling relationship: First, the counselor brings to the counseling situation certain perceptions about his or her abilities as a counselor; and second, based on this perception the client exerts a willingness to accept the counselor, tries to change the counselor, or rejects the counselor altogether (Cormier & Cormier, 1991).

This study takes one of Strong's (1968) theoretical constructs, trustworthiness or trust, and applies it to the social influence theory in examining cultural identification and cultural mistrust in the Native American Indian college student population. As discussed in Chapter II of this study, trust is identified as an important historical and current issue in the Native American Indian community (LaFromboise & Dixon, 1981; LaFromboise, Dauphinais, & Lujan, 1981; LaFromboise, Dauphinais, & Rowe, 1980; Lockart, 1981) and is not explored in the counseling literature in relation to cultural identification in this population.

Statement of the Problem

Is cultural mistrust related to an American Indian's degree of cultural identification? One might be tempted to assume that there is a linear relationship: The more a Native American Indian person identifies with Native American Indian culture, the more likely that he or she will distrust non-Indians in social service positions, including counseling. Conversely, the more an Indian person identifies with the mainstream American culture, the more he or she will trust non-Indians in social service roles.

However, there are at least two reasons, one logical and one empirical, to question such an assumption. In regard to the first, current theory concerned with cultural identity has moved beyond the simplistic unidimensional models focusing on degree of assimilation. Contemporary thinking, in fact, rejects bipolar models and is concerned with models that are essentially multidimensional. In regard to the latter empirical rational, there is evidence that an Indian person who identifies with both Indian and White cultures will succeed in, adapt to, or persist in educational pursuits more than either a traditionally oriented or assimilated Indian person (White Horse, 1993). If this holds true for education it may also relate to Native Americans who pursue counseling services.

Cultural identification relates to the way in which a Native American Indian sees him or herself. Cultural or traditional values influence this determination and create ways of relating to others (Trimble, 1981). Because of technological advances in this country and the world, the values and traditional beliefs of First Americans are often not considered important enough to acknowledge or to incorporate into the majority system (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). This devaluing of aboriginal culture, then, may provide support for the notion that distrust and hostility are measurable constructs in the attitudes of Native American Indians toward the majority culture and its systems. It may also help to explain the use of counseling services among Native people.

Therefore, it appears that, while the relationship between the acculturation of Native American Indian people and cultural mistrust may be complex, it certainly must be important, since trust is at the core of the helping relationship, including counseling. This study is designed to answer the following question: What is the relationship of cultural identity and cultural mistrust in Native American Indian college students?

Significance of the Study

The question of whether or not culture centered Native American Indian people can be successful in majority culture systems is an important one for at least three reasons. First of all, cultural mistrust is an issue researchers of the '90's are now exploring in the counseling field (Atkinson & Thompson, 1992). Secondly, because the counseling relationship is founded on trust, which is considered an essential variable, it would be helpful in educating counselors to be able to present the trust issue within a cultural context. Research that helps explain trust/mistrust with American Indians in the counseling relationship would certainly provide prospective counselors with an important aspect of cultural knowledge. A third reason to explore the trust issue in counseling is to provide more concrete information to counselors in order to make referrals. Having a basis for understanding the counseling dynamics with American Indian clients would facilitate making appropriate and helpful referrals when needed.

The relationship between the level of trust toward American society and the degree of acculturation of a Native American Indian person could have implications for the dilemma of retaining Native American Indians in critical systems, including education. This issue has never been investigated with Native American Indians. Appropriate cultural mistrust scales have not been developed until recently and cultural identity scales for Native American Indian people have yet to appear in the published counseling literature. Given the pervasive strengths of Native American Indian language and tradition against systematic discrimination and oppression, it appears that Native American Indian culture is a strength that is not "vanishing" and is well worth examining (Trimble, 1987).

In their analysis of the psychological impact of biculturalism LaFromboise, et al. (1993) note that earlier views assumed ". . . that living in two cultures is psychologically undesirable" (p. 395) ". . . and includes a dual pattern of identification" (p. 395). If bicultural persons are less mistrustful of White America, then one implication of the study would suggest that programs which promote biculturalism should be encouraged and developed. However, LaFromboise and her colleagues believe that identification with two cultures is necessary for the successful adaptation of Native American Indians, and the results of this study may speak to this issue. Another implication is that student support services that are staffed primarily with White personnel may be viewed with distrust and, therefore, be of little value to some Native American Indian students who hold a certain cultural identity.

Definition of Terms

Acculturation

Acculturation refers to the process by which racial/ethnic minority persons change their original cultural identification as a result of the influence of the dominant culture (Berry, Trimble, & Olmeda, 1986).

American Indian Cultural Identification

American Indian Cultural Identification refers to the extent that Native American Indian people identify with Native American Indian culture and the dominant White American culture. The Orthogonal Cultural Identification Theory (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991) defines four types of identification.

Bicultural identification. Those persons who have high identification with Native American Indian culture and White American culture are considered to have Bicultural identification.

Traditional cultural identification. Those who have high identification with Native American Indian culture and low identification with White American culture are considered to have a Traditional cultural orientation.

Assimilated cultural identification. Persons with high identification with White America culture and low identification with Native American Indian culture are considered to have an Assimilated cultural identification.

Diffused cultural identification. Those persons with low identification with Native American Indian culture and low identification with White American culture are considered to have a Diffused cultural identification..

Assimilation

Assimilation refers to the process by which racial/ethnic minority persons' original cultural identification is replaced by identification with the dominant culture (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993).

Cultural Adaptation

Cultural adaptation and second-culture acquisition are terms used by Oetting and Beauvais (1991) and LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1992), respectively, to refer to the process of acculturation in order to distinguish it from the acculturation model of cultural identification change.

Cultural Identification

Cultural identification refers to the attitudes, behaviors, and affect (emotions) that a person expresses or experiences relative to their affiliation with a culture. Identification is higher if one feels positively toward the cultural group, speaks of one's self as part of the group, and acts in ways consistent with the customs of the group

(Oetting & Beauvais, 1991). Cultural identity is sometimes used as an equivalent term in order to improve readability and should not be taken to imply that this refers to a special aspect of one's "identity."

Cultural Mistrust

Cultural mistrust, in this context, refers to the lack of trust that racial/ethnic minority persons have of American culture, as manifested by a tendency to be suspicious of Whites in four areas: education and training, politics and law, business and work, and interpersonal relations (Terrell & Terrell, 1981).

Cultural Trust

Cultural Trust refers to the trust that racial/ethnic minority persons have of American culture, as shown by low scores on the Multicultural Mistrust Inventory (Steward & Leach, 1993).

Culture

"Culture is a system of socially standardized ideas, feelings, knowledge, and sentiments which makes the human group possible" (Kupferer & Fitzgerald, 1971, p. 3). Within the Native American Indian context culture refers to a system of values, beliefs, and traditions that persist from the past and are generationally conveyed (Trimble, 1981).

Minority

The term minority refers to those groups of people who are often numerically underrepresented in the general population and who have a history of being either overtly or subtly oppressed by the majority society (Ponterotto & Casas, 1991).

Native American Indian

From a non-Indian reference point it is difficult to define or label adequately the aboriginal native people who originally populated what is now the United States. White Horse (1993) states that Indian people prefer the use of their tribal name and that "Each tribe had its own definition for determining membership, and tribes were the final authority in defining an Indian for their purposes" (p. 9). Trimble and Fleming (1989) also discuss the complexities in defining this population and, with some reservations, settle on the term Native American Indian. In this study Native American Indian will be used as the main term of reference, although through common usage in articles and for the sake of simplicity, American Indians, First Americans, Indians, and Native people also will be used.

Hypothesis

Because little evidence is available on ethnicity and trust variables within the Native American Indian population, no clear predictions are suggested. Therefore, the null hypothesis is tested. No difference in level of cultural mistrust exists among Bicultural, Traditional, Assimilated, and Diffused cultural identification in Native American Indian college students.

Restatement of the Problem

This study addresses cultural trust/mistrust as it relates to cultural identification among Native American Indian college students. As the counseling field reflects the dynamics of the general population it is hypothesized that examining the relationship between cultural trust/mistrust and cultural identification will provide information about the interaction of Native American Indian students in a counseling setting with White service providers.

Organization of the Study

This chapter presents an introduction to the topic under study. The theoretical foundations of the study, statement of the problem, significance of the study, definitions of terms, research question, and limitations are stated. A review of the literature including, trust, culture, and counseling variables, cultural adaptation, and models of second culture-acquisition are presented in Chapter II. The method and instrumentation used for this study is discussed in Chapter III along with the procedure that was followed. Chapter IV presents the findings of the study and a discussion of these results is found in Chapter V. The Appendices contain: the two instruments used in this study, the American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (AICOS) and the Multicultural Mistrust Scale (MMS); the Informed Consent Form; the Institutional Review Board Approval; and the researcher's Vita.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Casas (1985) reviews and discusses numerous deficiencies in the research relating to racial/ethnic minorities. The need to attend to the lack of responsiveness and understanding by the mental health care system to minorities (Rogler, Malgady, Constantino, & Blumenthal, 1987) and Native American Indians, in particular, (Sue, Allen, & Conaway, 1978) is encouraged and has been acknowledged. Exploration of contributing factors to the present situation merits a look at the Native American Indian population. The process of change, or acculturation within this native community bears important information. Certainly, trust is a central issue, and how trust varies with the cultural identification of minority clients has been pointed out as a major issue of multicultural research for the 1990's (Atkinson & Thompson, 1992). This chapter contains a review of the literature on trust, culture and counseling variables, and cultural adaptation relative to American Indian cultural identity and cultural trust/mistrust.

Trust

To be made vulnerable by revealing one's personal inner thoughts and feelings requires a measure of conviction that to do so is safe. When a person comes to counseling, great interpersonal conflict, pain and/or loss may have preceded him or her. Faith in self and others is often weak. At just such a time, in order to begin to heal, the client is asked to develop at least a temporary measure of dependency based on trust in another person, when, in fact, one may least be able to risk trusting and the very inability to trust may even have been a factor that helped create the crisis. Given this situation Lockart (1981) says: "The counselor has to be able to not only provide an atmosphere conducive to trust on a one-to-one basis, but he must also be able to deal with the historic distrust the Indian client may feel toward the dominant society and authority" (p. 31).

Rogers' client-centered theoretical model takes into consideration the client's ability to trust the counselor, and s/he is allowed time to develop this trust at one's own pace (Rogers, 1961). As a social influence model advocate, Strong (1968) establishes that perceived expertness, trustworthiness, and interpersonal attraction are essential to positive counseling outcome, a finding that has been supported by two decades of research (Claiborn, 1986). How trustworthy the counselor is perceived, then, is important to the success of the counseling experience. It is the cornerstone upon which the helping relationship is built (Rogers, 1961). The lack of confidence in the counselor or the potentially helpful aspects of counseling is an aspect of multicultural counseling that merits exploration. This may be especially true with Native American Indians (LaFromboise & Dixon, 1981; LaFromboise, Dauphinais, & Lujan, 1981; LaFromboise, Dauphinais, & Rowe, 1980; Trimble & Fleming, 1989).

Research reveals that cultural distrust exists for all minorities. This has disturbing ramifications for the counseling field. Among 135 Black clients in a community mental health setting, Terrell and Terrell (1984) found significant interaction between counselor's race and high levels of mistrust and premature counseling termination, using the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI; Terrell & Terrell, 1981), a self-report instrument which measures the degree to which Blacks mistrust/distrust Whites. Watkins and Terrell (1988) also use the Cultural Mistrust Inventory with Black students (95 Black males and 95 Black females attending a predominantly Black urban college) to examine the effects of cultural mistrust on counseling expectations. Their findings reveal significant interaction between levels of mistrust and race. When mistrustful Black participants are assigned White counselors, they ". . . view the counselor as less appealing and anticipate a diminished focus on the immediate counselor-client relationship" (p. 196). Their findings also suggest that CMI scores provide a specific level of mistrust toward Whites, as well as, a general measure of mistrust.

To expand the work of Terrell and Terrell (1984) and Watkins and Terrell (1988), Watkins, Terrell, Miller, and Terrell (1989) examine the effects of cultural mistrust on Black students' (60 Black male and 60 Black female students at a predominantly Black college) perceptions of a White counselor's credibility, confidence that the counselor can help them in specific problem areas, and the student's willingness to maintain follow-up visits with the counselor. After reading descriptors of White and Black counselors, participants gave ratings on their perceptions. The authors report that more mistrustful Blacks regard White counselors as less credible and less able to help them, than the reports of Blacks in low mistrust categories. Apparently cultural mistrust limits one's ability to develop confidence in the effects of counseling, as well as a diminished perception of the counselor's ability to help.

As an indigenous and minority population, Native American Indians are sensitive to the issue of trust, as a natural consequence of historical events that have impacted their identity and culture. Lockart (1981) states "When counseling American Indian people, the issue of trust takes on added dimensions" (p. 31). In fact, the counseling profession must examine the importance of trust in the counseling of these native peoples.

LaFromboise, Dauphinais, and Rowe (1980) surveyed 150 American Indian and 50 non-Indian high school students to determine the attributes most desired in a person who they might go to for help. Based on their finding that "Be someone I trust" was the counselor characteristic rated highest, they indicate ". . . that it is of overriding importance that a potential helping person be someone who is trusted" (p.14). They conclude ". . . that trust is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for helping to proceed" (p.14). LaFromboise, Dauphinais, and Lujan (1981) investigated the kinds of things said to American Indian people that are evaluated as not being sincere by using an open-ended instrument with 75 Native American Indian high school students, college students, and adults at an urban Indian center. They suggest that "Indians often bring residual feelings of distrust into counseling which go beyond interpersonal distrust of the counselor and to a historic distrust of the dominant society and authority" (p. 88). They demonstrate that Indian people often interpret statements made with positive intentions by Whites as being insincere. Research has shown that American Indians have not only maintained a positive self-perception (Trimble, 1987), but they have rated counselors more positively when counselors demonstrate trustworthy behaviors in counseling settings (LaFromboise & Dixon, 1981).

Culture and Counseling Variables

Cultural identity is recognized as important in the counseling literature. Helms (1987) states that "A cultural-identification process occurs for all people, regardless of ethnicity or race, although the content of that process may differ" (p. 244). She contends that personal adjustment is influenced by cultural experience not only for present day minorities, but for White majority group members as well.

Cultural identification issues are apparent within all multicultural groups and are multifaceted. In fact, cultural identity has been found to relate to a variety of things. Sanchez and Atkinson (1983) had 99 Mexican-American college students self-report their level of cultural commitment and complete the Attitudes Toward Seeking Professional Psychological Help scale. They report that those students with a strong cultural commitment express a stronger preference for an ethnically similar counselor than those students with commitment to Anglo-American culture, both cultures, or a weak commitment to both. Later, Ponce and Atkinson (1989) studied 169 Mexican-American college freshmen and sophomores and report somewhat different results. Although students are more willing to engage in counseling and regard an ethnically similar counselor as more credible, these attitudes did not appear to be related to cultural identification.

The cultural identification of 94 Hispanic college students was classified as Hispanic acculturated, bicultural, or Anglo acculturated by Pomales and Williams (1989) using an adaptation of the scale developed by Cuellar, Harris and Jasso (1980). Those with the Anglo acculturated orientation were found to rate counselors as more trustworthy than did those with a Hispanic or bicultural identification. Kunkel (1990) studied 213 Mexican-American and 137 Anglo-American college students and discovered little difference in the perceived trustworthiness of counselors between the two groups, as measured by Washington and Tinsley's (1982) Expectations About Counseling-Brief Form. However, when level of acculturation was considered, differences were found in perceptions of counselor empathy and expertise. Kunkel concludes that, "Although some group patterns may be generally present, there is much variability within ethnic categories" (p. 291) and emphasizes "The need to consider within-groups variability attributable to acculturation. . ." (p. 291).

In studies with Black student's attitudes toward counseling and counselor preference, attempts have been made to explain variances in terms of racial identity. Parham and Helms (1981) administered a racial identity scale based on Cross's model of Black identification and a counselor preference scale to 92 Black college students. The results clearly show that preferences for a White or Black counselor is closely linked to one's sense of racial identity. Ponterotto, Anderson, and Grieger (1986) used Parham and Helm's racial identity scale and the Attitudes Toward Seeking Professional Psychological Help scale to survey 107 Black college students. Their findings confirm that racial identity is related to preference for counselor race and also indicate that gender effects may interact with racial/cultural identification. These findings lend substance to the need for multicultural counseling research to examine intragroup variables, as well as individual cultural identity.

Work with Asian Americans point out the complex nature of initial studies with multicultural counseling issues and the need to look closely at the dynamics of the population under study. Atkinson, Whiteley, and Gim (1990) studied 816 Asian-American college students (268 Chinese Americans, 151 Japanese Americans, 108 Korean Americans, 186 Filipino Americans, and 103 Southeastern Asian Americans). Using the Suinn-Lew Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew & Virgil, 1987), they found that level of cultural identification is significantly related to ratings of counselor/psychologist as a help provider. However, those with higher Asian cultural identification rated the counselor/psychologist higher than those with a higher American cultural orientation, a finding in direct conflict with results published earlier (Atkinson & Gim, 1989). This led the researchers to consider differences in traditional influences, language, and socio-economic status as a possible influence on the population sample.

In fact, multicultural research is now seeking to develop approaches that consider the client's level of acculturation, counseling expectations, and the characteristics of treatment. Recognizing the multidimensional aspects of acculturation as it affects the client's response to treatment, i.e. attitudes, perceptions and behavior, has led researchers to develop and use acculturation scales in their work with multicultural populations (Cuellar, Harris & Jasso, 1980; Phinney, 1992; Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew & Virgil, 1987).

In a synthesis of the literature among American multicultural youth, Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) state that ". . . the complexity of identity formation may increase as a function of color, behavioral distinctions, language differences, physical features, and long-standing, although frequently unaddressed, social stereotypes" (p.290). This suggests that Native American Indians, as people with distinct physical attributes, unique language based culture, and pervasive community value systems, may very well experience majority culture bias and identity development adjustment difficulties.

Care must be taken when exploring cultural identification. This is especially true for Native American Indian people who are interrelationally different from one another. Culture, language, and community-based orientation vary substantially, depending upon the ease or difficulty of the transfer of cultural knowledge from one generation to another, geographical considerations, and the stability of the home environment. Research needs to consider a wide variety of cultural identity and development factors to guide theories, awareness of strategies and interventions, and the equitable treatment of minority youth (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

Research conducted with Native American Indian college students reveals the difficulty in exploring the factors that influence cultural perceptions. Initially, Haviland, Horswil, O'Connell, and Dynneson (1983) investigated the counselor preferences of 61 Native American Indian college students and established that both males and females indicate a preference for an Indian counselor. Cultural identification, however, was not included as a within group variable. Later, Johnson and Lashley (1989) surveyed 84 Native American Indian college students and reported ". . . degree of cultural commitment significantly affects preferences for counselor ethnicity" (p 120). This preference also is related to expectations about the counseling experience. An important limitation, however, is that biculturalism was not addressed because the information gathered was reported as a strong or weak commitment to Native American Indian culture. Commitment to White culture was not assessed. This difficulty was avoided by Price and McNeill (1992) who surveyed 80 students from Haskell Indian Junior College representing 46 Indian tribes. They determined that Indian students strongly committed to Indian culture were less likely to seek counseling than those committed to White culture, to both cultures, or to neither culture. However, cultural commitment is determined on the basis of the response to only one question, since no scale of assessing American Indian/White American cultural orientation existed at the time the study was conducted.

Cultural Adaptation

Models of Second-Culture Acquisition

Various models help explain the dynamics by which a particular minority group adjusts to living and interacting in a majority culture environment (cultural adaptation). At various times social scientists have proposed a variety of models to facilitate understanding about the cultural adaptation or second-culture acquisition process. Those that have had the most significance for Native American Indians in determining policy or in academic work are briefly described below.

Assimilation model. Oetting and Beauvais (1991) characterize the assimilation or dominant majority cultural adaptation model as a value laden continuum going from the old/bad minority culture to the new/good majority culture. They contend that the good and bad aspects of this model reflect ethnocentric qualities of dominant culture thinking with judgments of inferiority and superiority, respectively. Movement in this model is presumed to be from a lesser (minority culture) to a greater (majority) state of cultural orientation. "Failure of the individual to accept and incorporate the values, beliefs, and behaviors of the dominant culture implied weakness and inadequacy" (p. 660). The underlying assumption of assimilation models is that members of minority cultures would, and should, lose their original cultural identity as they acquire an identification in the new culture (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). This model is used to describe the assimilation process.

Acculturation model. The acculturation model is similar to the assimilation model of cultural adaptation in that it is based on one-way movement from the minority to the majority culture (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). While there is still an assumption that movement is toward majority culture norms, the acculturation model accepts that the minority culture is of some value. The goal is to assess individuals so as to locate them somewhere between the two cultures and to relate this position to various indices of adjustment. Acculturation stress is said to occur when an individual loses the strength of his/her culture of origin, and, at the same time, is unable to acquire fully the strengths of the majority culture (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991).

Another aspect of acculturation is described by Oetting and Beauvais (1991) as the "Alienation model" (p. 660-661). This model adheres to the assumption of movement from a minority to a majority culture and allows that minority group members are alienated from both cultures, or "anomic" (p.661), when the individual does not have the means to change to majority culture goals.

Multidimensional model. The multidimensional model of cultural adaptation assumes that the transition from one culture to another involves more than just one dimension, but that all of the factors such as speech, dress, customs, group loyalty, and so forth are significant. In this model there is no longer an assumption that one culture is more valuable than another, but individuals are still placed between cultures on many dimensions (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991).

Bicultural model. The bicultural mode of cultural adaptation is similar to the acculturation model in that it is unidimensional, with traditionalism and assimilation at the ends of the continuum, but differs by viewing the middle ground (bicultural) as a position of adaptive strengths rather than cultural stress (White Horse, 1993). While neither culture is seen as superior, there is, however, no explanation in this model for the individual who has low participation in both cultures.

Orthogonal model. In this model, identification with either culture is independent of identification with the other. "Instead of two cultures being placed at opposite ends of a single dimension, cultural identification dimensions are at right angles to each other" (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991, p. 662). Near the point where each dimension originates (the origin of the angle) is a lack of orientation to either culture or cultural alienation. As one's affiliation with either culture increases, any pattern of cultural identification is possible. There can be high identification with either culture, bicultural identification, or low identity with either culture. This conceptualization is consistent with the analysis of Berry (1980) and Berry, Trimble, and Olmedo (1986) and is the basis for the design of this study.

Summary

This chapter presents a review of the counseling literature that relates to cultural identification and cultural mistrust factors in the Native American Indian college student population. Indications of the literature demonstrate a need to examine the trust issue as a central issue within the Native American Indian population and reference is made to other minority groups in this regard.

Issues on culture and counseling variables generate discussion on the importance of the cultural identification process for all minority groups and presents some of the complexities in assessing these constructs. Cultural adaptation as second-culture acquisition models help explain the adjustments made by Native American Indians in a majority culture environment. These models include discussion of within group processes which influence behaviors, feelings, and attitudes that are measurable constructs and serve as the focus of this study.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Introduction

This study is designed to investigate the relationship of cultural identity, using an orthogonal conceptualization, and cultural trust/mistrust in Native American Indian college students. In this chapter the participants are identified, the measurement instruments are described, and the procedure for collecting data is discussed.

Participants

The participants surveyed for this study consist of 226 male and female Native American Indian student volunteers. Qualifications for inclusion require the student to: be between 18 and 32 years of age, attend either a four year state university or college, a predominantly Native American Indian junior college, a state community college, or a private institution; affiliate with at least one tribe or nation; and self-identify as being at least a quarter Native American Indian. No attempt is made to distinguish whether a tribe or nation is federally recognized. Data is used from 150 of the 226 total observations. The 150 observations represent responses from participants who completed the American Indian Cultural Identification Orientation Scale (AICOS; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993), including demographic information, the Multicultural Mistrust Scale (MMS; Steward & Leach, 1992), and a consent form. 76 observations were deemed incomplete.

The 150 Native American Indian college students in this study reflect a wide variety of geographical backgrounds. These diverse backgrounds include on and off reservation domicile; rural, small town, suburban, and big city communities; and combinations of all of these environments. Sixty students indicate association with a reservation home background. Seventy five students associate with a non-reservation home background. The demographic survey does not offer a choice that includes association with both reservation and non-reservation areas, although some students (15) indicate on their survey form that they could identify with both background environments.

Native American Indian students may have difficulty making only one background choice. Several students asked questions about their selection choices. One student (Navajo) commented that a more accurate indicator is a category that allows for identification with both on and off reservation geographic backgrounds, rather than a single option, since many Indians move back and forth between reservation and urban areas throughout a lifetime. This may include Native people who live in Oklahoma or other areas that do not recognize Indian held land as "reservation" land. Although some of those students who associate with reservation backgrounds indicate they grew up in urban to small community environments, the majority of reservation students considered their domicile to be rural. The students who associate with non-reservation home backgrounds reflected a more diverse array of geographic categories. These include rural, small town, suburban, and big city.

The question of background diversity reflects another unique aspect of Native American Indian people, and a potential challenge for those examining this population. Native American Indian people differ from "minority" people in the United States by reason of land holdings, treaty law, and individual cultures and language that may not follow any one system of categorization. Hodgkinson, et. al. (1990) state "While they represent less than one percent of the U.S. population, they have as much diversity as the other 99 percent put together." (p. 1).

Because of the complexities involved in deciding who to include and who to exclude in any single definition of a "Native American Indian" person, this study focuses on two aspects of this dilemma. First, because this study examines cultural identity as it pertains to trust issues, it is imperative that participants reflect diverse backgrounds in order to represent the diverse attitudes and experiences that characterize American Indians. The researcher reasons that in order to speak from a Native American Indian perspective, one must be affiliated with at least one tribe or nation or band to a minimum degree. Therefore, the participant in this study is asked to list affiliation with at least one tribe or nation. Although it is not standard practise, some tribes or nations or bands require a member to establish a one-quarter blood quantum affiliation with that tribe. In recognition of the complexities in definition, the participant in this study is asked to list affiliation with at least one Native entity and with a minimum of a quarter blood quantum.

A second important consideration in identifying Native American Indian students for this study is the possibility of bias when too many restrictions are made on the individuals who may participate. This study allows a wide latitude of flexibility. As much as practically feasible the student volunteers invited to participate represent Native American Indian groups from a variety of college, tribal and community campuses. Participants also represent students who attended a very well attended, large, and diverse national Indian student conference.

Due to the restrictive and sensitive nature of Indian identification criteria, proof of degree of Indian blood or tribal membership is not requested nor required in this study. Indian identification is self-reported and based on the response to the question: "What is your degree of Indian blood (1/8, 1/4, 1/2, etc.,)?" (AICOS; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993). If the participant self identifies as having a quarter degree of Indian blood or more and designates affiliation with at least one tribe or nation, their profile is included in this study. If the participant does not meet this criteria, they are not included. 150 observations successfully met this and other requirements for inclusion in this research.

Out of 226 Native American Indian college students who originally volunteered to participate in this survey, 76 students were not included in the final calculations. These 76 students did not qualify on one or more of the following criteria: 1) items on one or both of the instruments was incomplete, including missing demographic information; 2) missing or unsigned consent form; 3) participant above the targeted age range; 4) participant not in an undergraduate collegiate program of study; 5) participant's tribal affiliation not at or above the quarter blood quantum level.

81 of the 150 Native American Indian college student participants are male. 69 of them are female. A majority of the 150 participants attend the following higher education institutions: Haskell Indian Nation University in Kansas; University of North Dakota, Oklahoma State University, Sissiston-Wahpeton Community College in South Dakota, Stanford University in California, and the University of Wisconsin. In addition to the above sampling, student participants also came from attendees at the November 1994 American Indian Science and Engineering Society Conference held in San Jose, California. These conference attendees represent a variety of tribal, state, and private higher education institutions across the United States and promote a wide geographic and culturally diverse sampling that characterizes Native American Indian people.

Instruments

Cultural Identity

The American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (AICOS; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993) asks participants to answer 27 items which indicates one of four levels of involvement. Responses range from 4 = "Very strong" to 1 = "Not at all" or 4 = "Very comfortable" to 1 = "Uncomfortable." Scores are derived on two dimensions of cultural identification, the independent variable. These dimensions are designated American Indian (AI) and White American (WA) cultural identification and follow Oetting and Beauvais's (1991) orthogonal cultural identity model. On both the AI and WA scales a high and low cultural identification category is obtained.

Reliability. A preliminary form of this instrument found internal consistency reliabilities of .56 and .61 for the American Indian (AI) and the White American (WA) scale, respectively. The findings of this study support the improved internal consistency of this instrument with an alpha of .89 for the American Indian (AI) scale and .80 for the White American (WA) scale. In light of these findings the American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (AICOS; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993) appears to possess adequate reliability.

Scoring. According to orthogonal model procedure, a median split is performed on both the American Indian (AI) and the White American (WA) scale to determine High and low categories on each scale. This procedure creates four categories: high scores on AI and WA represent Bicultural; high scores on AI and low scores on WA represent Traditional; low scores on AI and high scores on WA represent Assimilated characteristics; low scores on both AI and WA represent a Diffused individual.

Cultural Mistrust

The Multicultural Mistrust Scale (MMS; Steward & Leach, 1993) is designed to meet the need (Atkinson & Thompson, 1992) for an instrument that can assess the level of cultural mistrust of any racial/ethnic minority person in the United States. Until now the only other available test has been the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI; Terrell & Terrell, 1991) which pertains only to African Americans.

The MMS consists of 30 items to which the respondents are asked to indicate their level of agreement (5 = Strongly agree, 1 = Strongly disagree). The level of mistrust is the dependent variable in this study.

Reliability. An alpha reliability of .87 is reported in preliminary studies (M. L. Leach, personal communication, January 8, 1994) on the MMS when administered to 95 minority college students (48 African American, 10 Hispanic, 16 American Indian, and 21 Asian American). An alpha coefficient of .90 was obtained on the data collected for the present study. Five items related to social desirability and one regarding socio-economic status are added to provide needed information to the authors. However, they are not included in the statistical computations in the present study.

Scoring. Although items have been drawn from several domains (business, education, law, etc.) following the organization of the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (Terrell & Terrell, 1981), only one overall mistrust score is reported. Scores may range from 30 to 150.

Ethical Considerations

Native American Indian college students in this study are volunteers. Their participation is invited and the consent form explains that their participation is voluntary (See Appendix C). In the written consent notice it states that individuals are free to withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice. This notice also explains that all responses are kept confidential and that no names are collected, nor associated with a completed instrument. A coding procedure is used for survey item identification purposes. Furthermore, results of the study are available to individuals in the study upon request and upon completion of the study. The Institutional Review Board at Oklahoma State University acknowledges that participants in this study bear no risk (See Appendix D).

Procedure

The Native American Indian college students who participated in this study were contacted by culturally sensitive Native American Indian personnel and student assistants on the campuses of Stanford University, Berkeley University, Haskell Indian Nation University, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Oklahoma State University, Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College, and the University of North Dakota. Additional student participants were contacted and asked to complete the survey instruments at the 1994 American Indian Science and Engineering Society Conference held in San Jose, California. The American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale and the Multicultural Mistrust Scale was primarily administered to individuals and small groups. However, due to the high number of willing participants at Haskell Indian Nation University, the researcher and an assistant, with the help of an instructor, administered the two instruments to two large classes with approximately 50 to 60 students in each class.

The order of presentation to the participant begins with an explanation and reading of the consent form. The participants then agree to their participation by signing the consent forms. Subsequently, the American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale, the Multicultural Mistrust Scale, answer forms for both instruments, and pencils is distributed and instruction is given on how to fill out the answer sheets of both instruments. The student participant is given a reasonable amount of time to complete the instruments, which usually takes 20 to 25 minutes.

Because of the nature of this study, trust/mistrust, care is taken to assure the participant that s/he would not be identified by name. Names are do not appear on survey instruments or answer sheets. A numbered coding system is employed to keep track of instruments and item computations in a given set of materials for each respondent.

Research Design

Native American Indian cultural identity is conceptualized according to the orthogonal model of cultural identification (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991) and operationalized by the American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993). Levels of cultural mistrust are measured using the Multicultural Mistrust Scale (Steward & Leach, 1993). The kind of cultural identification with its four classifications is the independent variable and the level of mistrust (high or low) is the dependent variable.

Cultural identification, the independent variable, has two dimensions. These dimensions are American Indian (AI) identification and White American (WA) identification. Following the orthogonal model, separate scores are derived for each identification scale. On each scale, AI and WA, a high and low identification category is derived by dividing the scores at the median to create a median split.

Since the two scales measuring American Indian identity are regarded as independent, they can be graphically described as lying at right angles to one another. (See Figure 1.) In this orthogonal model, high to low American Indian (AI) cultural identification scores are represented on the vertical axis. High to low White American (WA) cultural identification scores are represented on the horizontal axis. The

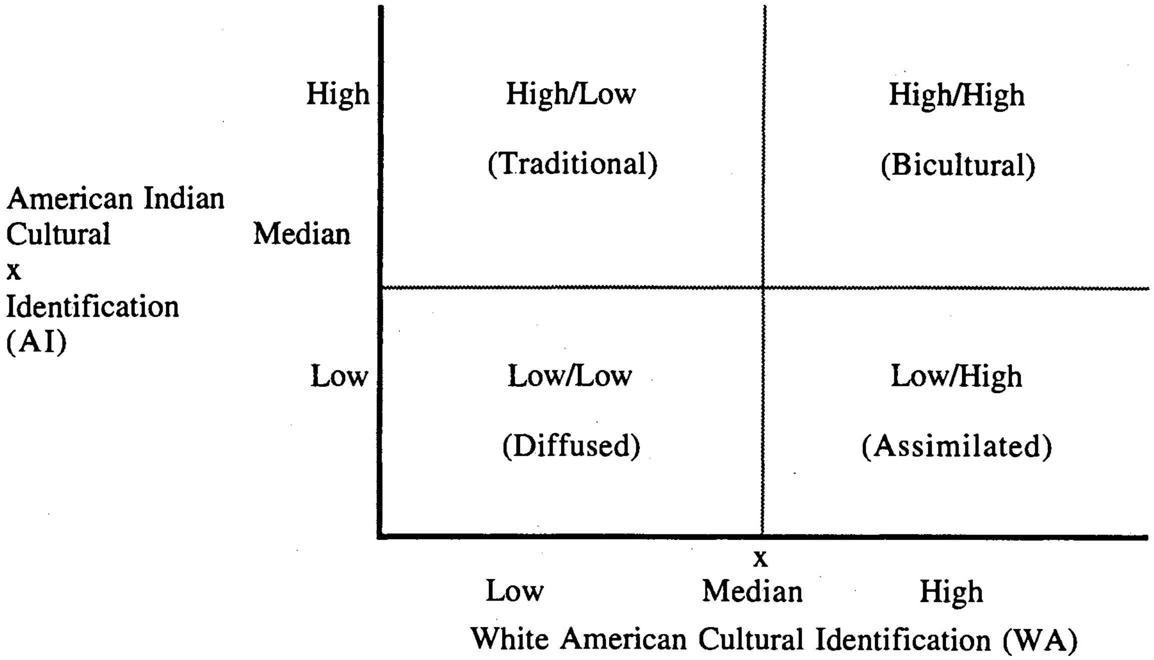

High
High/Low
(Traditional)
High/High
(Bicultural)
American Indian
Cultural
x
Identification
(AI)
Median
Low
Low/Low
(Diffused)
Low/High
(Assimilated)
x
Low
Median
High
White American Cultural Identification (WA)

Figure 1. American Indian (AI) Cultural Identification and White American (WA) Cultural Identification categories with median splits on the American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (AICOS; LaFromboise, 1993).

median score for both the American Indian (AI) and White American (WA) scales can be represented by dotted lines extending out from the median points.

The figure can then be depicted as a four cell matrix with high and low scales for both American Indian (AI) cultural identification and White American (WA) cultural identification. Each cell represents a category of cultural identification: High scores on AI and WA represent a Bicultural orientation; high scores on AI and low scores on WA represent a Traditional identification; low scores on AI and high scores on WA represent Assimilated characteristics; low scores on both AI and WA include individuals with a Diffused cultural identification. These labels should not be regarded as absolute or discrete categories. They are continuous dimensions, as the result of different proportions of identification with each culture.

Data Analysis

To accomplish the investigation of the relationship between cultural identification and cultural mistrust, two scores from the independent variable, cultural identification (high or low White identification and high or low American Indian identification), are used to identify the extent of the individual's association (high or low) with Indian and/or White culture. The separate effects of AI and WA classification on the dependent variable, cultural mistrust, are measured and reported. A 2 x 2 ANOVA factorial design is used to examine the relationship of cultural identification and level of cultural mistrust. The significance level is .05.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Overview

The relationship of cultural identity and cultural trust/mistrust in Native American college students is based on an orthogonal conceptualization of cultural identification. In this chapter the following statistical data are reported: The central tendency of the distribution of scores for each of the measurement scales, including the mean, the range, and the standard deviation. These properties are reported for the Multicultural Mistrust Scale (MMS; Steward & Leach, 1993) and for both scales, American Indian (AI) and White American (WA), of the American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (AICOS; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993).

A 4 cell table listing the number of subjects, mean, and standard deviation in each cell is reported to explain the division of scores (AI and WA). This creates a 2 x 2 matrix. (See Table I.) The relationship of American Indian college students' cultural identity and mistrust of White American culture also is reported and represented in a table. (See Table II.) These results are derived from a two-way analysis of variance to determine significant effects at the .05 alpha level. (See Table III.)

Finally, the influence of gender is examined in this study. A three way 2 x 2 x 2 analysis of variance is used to determine whether there are significant differences between male and female respondents in relationship to cultural identification and cultural mistrust.

TABLE I

TWO-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR CULTURAL MISTRUST

Sources of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Main Effects	6618.624	2	3309.312	13.872	.001
AI low vs high	1192.067	1	1192.067	4.997	.027
WA low vs high	5248.842	1	5248.842	22.002	.001
AI X WA	121.501	1	121.501	.509	.477
Explained	6791.067	3	2263.689	9.489	.001
Residual	34830.826	146	238.567		
Total	41621.893	149	279.342		

TABLE II

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF AICOS AND MMS

Scale	M	SD
American Indian	27.01	6.60
White American	23.02	6.08
Multicultural Mistrust	86.31	16.71

Note. N=150 for all scales.

TABLE III

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION ON MMS BY AICOS

Variable	Value	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cases
For Entire Population		86.31	16.71	150
WA	1.00 (Low)	91.61	15.52	84
AI	1.00 (Low)	87.86	15.51	42
AI	2.00 (High)	95.36	14.77	42
WA	2.00 (High)	79.56	15.82	66
AI	1.00 (Low)	77.74	16.11	35
AI	2.00 (High)	81.61	15.49	31

Note. N=150 total Cases.

Restatement of the Problem

This study addresses cultural mistrust as it relates to cultural identification for Native American Indian college students. As the counseling field reflects the dynamics of the general population it is hypothesized that examining the relationship between cultural mistrust and cultural identification will provide information about the interaction of Native American Indian students in a counseling setting with White service providers.

As current theory concerned with cultural identity moves beyond simplistic unidimensional modes of polarizing toward assimilation or traditional cultural identification it allows for multidimensional models that suggest an Indian person can identify with both Indian and White cultures; can have difficulty identifying with both cultures; or comfortably relate to only one. There is some evidence that the Indian who identifies with both Indian and White cultures can succeed in, adapt to, or persist in educational pursuits more than either a traditionally oriented or assimilated Indian person (White Horse, 1993). If this holds true for education it may also relate to Native American Indians who pursue counseling services.

Cultural identification relates to the way in which a Native American Indian views him or herself and other people and is influenced by traditional and cultural values. In a society where traditional values and beliefs are often devalued or go unrecognized the individual Native American may be sent the message that they are unimportant (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Because counseling services are founded on caring principles within majority culture, the notion of trust and distrust toward the dictates of majority culture are important factors in the attitudes of Native people toward this majority. This study measures the trust/mistrust construct and the degree of cultural identification, as a means of examining the relationship between the acculturation of Native American Indian people and cultural mistrust as it relates to counseling dynamics.

Results

The scores for the 150 valid observations on the American Indian cultural Orientation Scale are divided into two dimensions. Following the orthogonal model, separate scores on both the American Indian (AI) scale and the White American (WA) scale are obtained. The mean for all scores reported on the American Indian scale is 27 with a standard deviation of 6.60. The scores range from a minimum of 6 and a maximum of 39. The mean for all scores reported on the White American (WA) scale is 23 with a standard deviation of 6.10. The scores range from a minimum of 7 to a maximum of 37. (See Table II.)

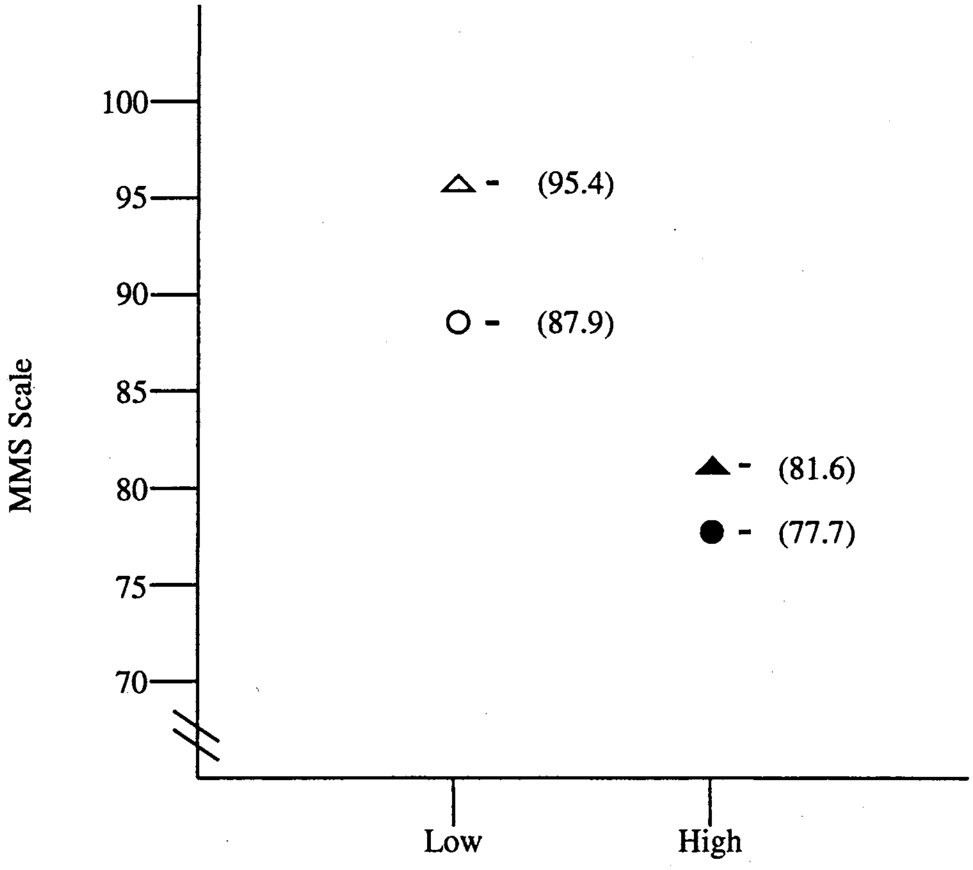
One hundred and fifty scores are reported for the Multicultural Mistrust Scale (MMS; Steward & Leach, 1992). The mean for the group under study is 86.30 with a standard deviation of 16.71. The minimum observed score is 42 with a maximum score of 129. For complete psychometric characteristics of the AICOS and MMS see Table IV.

A 2-way analysis of variance utilizing two levels (high and low) of American Indian identity (AI) and two levels (high and low) of White American identity (WA) is performed, using degree of cultural mistrust (high and low) as the dependent variable. Participants identified as Traditional are found to have a mean MMS score of 95.40 with a standard deviation of 14.77. Those identified as Diffused have a mean MMS score of 87.90 and a standard deviation of 15.51. Bicultural participants have a mean score of 81.60 (standard deviation = 15.49), while those classified as Assimilated have a mean of 77.70 with a standard deviation of 16.11. This information is graphically displayed in Figure 2.

TABLE IV

THREE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR CULTURAL MISTRUST

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Main Effects	6169.594	3	2056.531	8.690	.001
AI	1339.746	1	1339.746	5.661	.019
WA	4330.406	1	4330.406	18.298	.001
Gender	378.004	1	378.004	1.597	.208
Two-way Interactions	528.894	3	176.298	.745	.527
AI X WA	149.754	1	142.754	.603	.439
AI X Gender	334.273	1	334.273	1.412	.237
WA X Gender	42.954	1	42.954	.181	.671
Three-way Interactions	552.194	1	552.194	2.333	.129
AI X WA X Gender	552.194	1	552.194	2.333	.129
Explained	8015.510	7	1145.073	4.838	.001
Residual	33606.383	142	236.665		
Total	41621.893	149	279.342		



Note: AI Scale:

● and ○ = Low
▲ and △ = High

Key:

△ = Traditional
▲ = Bicultural

○ = Diffused
● = Assimilated

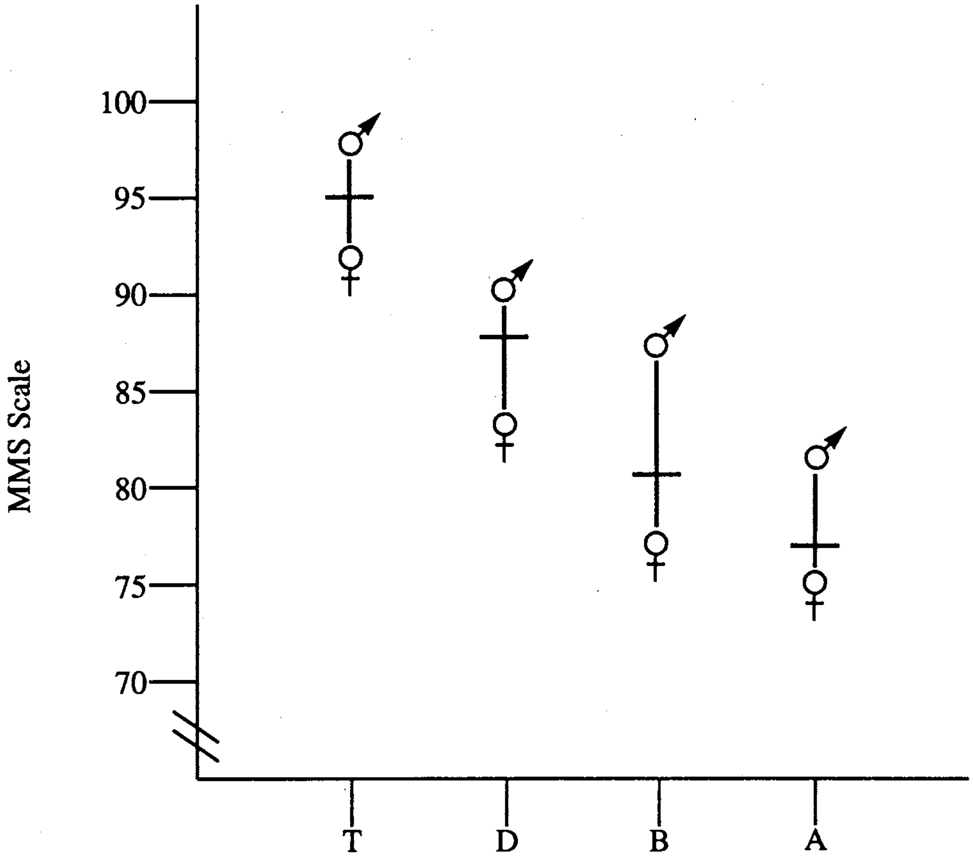
Figure 2. Cultural Identification and Level of Cultural Mistrust.

The results of the ANOVA are presented in Table I. As can be seen, main effects for both AI and WA are found, thus indicating that scores on both scales are related to cultural mistrust. In particular, low scores on WA are associated with higher levels of mistrust, while higher WA scores are associated with less mistrust. The results of this ANOVA are graphically displayed in Figure 3 and Figure 4 and illustrate that no significant interaction is involved.

As noted above, the mean score for the AI scale is 27. However, an analysis by gender reveals the mean for males is 28.46, but only 25.76 for females. To determine whether significant gender differences exist, especially in regard to American Indian identity, a 3-way (AI x WA x Gender) ANOVA is conducted. The results appear in Table IV and indicate no significant effects for gender while supporting the findings of the previous analysis.

		WA Scale	
		Low	High
AI Scale	High	95.4 (14.77) N=42 (Traditional)	81.6 (15.49) N=31 (Bi Cultural)
	Low	87.9 (15.51) N=42 (Diffused)	77.7 (16.11) N=35 (Assimilated)

Figure 3. Means, standard deviation, and number of observations for the two-way ANOVA. N=150 total cases.



Note: T = Traditional
D = Diffused
B = Bicultural
A = Assimilated

Figure 4. Cultural Identification and Level of Cultural Mistrust for Male and Female.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study examines the relationship between cultural identification and cultural trust/mistrust among Native American Indian college students. Early studies by Strong (1968) indicate that in the counseling situation, clients are willing to engage in counseling when the counselor is seen as expert, attractive, and trustworthy. Trust is also an important historical and current issue in Native American Indian communities (LaFromboise & Dixon, 1981; LaFromboise, Dauphinais, & Lujan, 1981; LaFromboise, Dauphinais, & Rowe, 1980; Lockart, 1981) and, previously, has not been explored in counseling literature in relationship to Indian cultural identification. This study focuses on the issue of trustworthiness or trust as it relates to Indian cultural identity and how this may serve as a beginning point for making statements about this population in the counseling setting.

Since trust is an important core consideration in the helping relationship and because Native American people represent a population who may have trust issues based on the impact of harsh American political policies and social realities, it was determined that exploring trust issues in this population may reveal important information. By examining attitudes that the Native American Indian may hold toward majority culture, it may be possible to understand attitudes that a Native American Indian counselee may hold toward representatives of majority culture, i.e., White American counselors, in the counseling setting. Cultural mistrust scales used with

Native American Indian college populations have not been examined in the counseling literature.

Because Indian cultural identification is a complex and dynamic variable, this study also includes an investigation of cultural identification in the Native American Indian college student population. Cultural identification surveys that allow for multidimensional scales and identification with more than one culture are fairly recent concepts in the counseling literature. The relationship between cultural mistrust and cultural identification with Native American Indian populations has not been explored, but is an area that easily lends itself to make statements relative to counseling, where trust is a significant variable in the counselor/client relationship.

To accomplish the chosen task for this study two recently developed instruments are used, i. e., the American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (AICOS; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993) and the Multiultural Mistrust Scale (MMS; Steward & Leach, 1993). These instruments represent scales that describe the constructs under study and report adequate reliability findings.

The Native American Indian students who participated in this study matriculate at Berkeley and Stanford University in California, Haskell Indian Nation University in Kansas, the University of North Dakota, Oklahoma State University, Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College in South Dakota, and the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Other participants were attendees at the 1994 American Indian Science and Engineering Society Conference held in San Jose, California.

Of the 226 observations made, 150 met the criteria for participation and are analyzed in this study. A majority of the 150 valid observations were freshmen (69), as compared to a minimum of observations from the junior class (14). In the studied age range, from 18 to 32 years, the most representative ages (medians) are the 20 year old category with 33 students and the 19 year old category with 27 students. The least represented ages are the 27, 29, and 30 year old with 2 observations each.

The most frequently reported tribal affiliations are Navajo or Dene' (25) and Lakota/Dakota (22). 20 participants report a primary affiliation with a tribe reported only once and represent a variety of tribes and nations such as the Agua Coliente, Arikara, Cree, Crow, Pomo, Seminole, White Bear Saskatchewan, and Zuni. Geographically, Arikaras populate certain areas in North Dakaota, Pomos are native to northern California, White Bear Saskatchewan are from Canada, Zunis live in the southwest, and Seminoles live in Florida and Oklahoma. This sampling alone reveals great geographic diversity.

38 of the 150 Native American Indian participants in this study self-identify as one-quarter (1/4) Indian. 44 participants self-report a one-half (1/2) blood quantum, 14 report themselves as three-fourths (3/4) Indian, and 37 report themselves as being a full-blood (4/4). The remaining 17 participants self-reported various degrees between those listed above. With good representative sampling across tribes, nations, and bands, and with measurable blood quantums, this study may be considered to contain a fair representation of Native American Indian college students.

Gender is also fairly representative. Of the 150 valid observations 81 are male participants and 69 are female. Gender differences are found in the results, but they are not significant at the .05 alpha level. This may suggest that male and female Native American Indian college students experience similar American Indian and White American identification scale scores on the Americal Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (AICOS; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993) and similar high/low levels of trust/mistrust on the Multicultural Mistrust Scale (MMS; Steward & Leach, 1993). If there are no significant gender differences it may be feasible to generalize the results to Native American Indian college students, 18 to 32 years of age, who are affiliated with at least one tribe, nation, or band and who self-report at least one-quarter degree of Indian blood.

Limitations

As a study of first impression in regard to the measurable constructs of trust/mistrust and levels of cultural identification there is much to be learned. The following discussion addresses the limitations acknowledged in this study.

It was originally hypothesized that the participants in this study might complete the instruments as a matter of polite conformity or out of a sense of obligation to the individual who invited their participation. This did not occur. Although students at Haskell Indian Nation University were encouraged to fill out the survey instruments as part of a class activity, students filled out the instruments voluntarily and expressed themselves openly if they were unwilling to participate. The few students who decided not to participate after surveying the instruments indicated their intention by returning the instruments. It did not appear that polite conformity or a sense of loyalty motivated students to participate.

It is noted that failure to completely answer the survey instruments, fill in demographic information, or sign consent forms might be viewed as a gentle way of not fully participating. The Multicultural Mistrust Scale (MMS; Steward & Leach, 1993) is theoretically based on trust. Because this is an important and sensitive issue for Native American Indian people, it is hypothesized that participants may have difficulty responding openly and honestly to either or both of the survey instruments. This observation is moderately supported by comments such as: "What are you trying to prove here?" and "This was hard to answer because I'm half White." or "A lot of my friends are White." Presumably, these students felt "bad" about some of the direct questions pertaining to White culture because they have a parent , friend, or significant person in their life who is White.

Some students appeared reluctant to list their degree of Indian blood on the American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (AICOS; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993).

Several students didn't know how much Indian they were. One student indicated they didn't think it should matter and asked, "What differences does it make?". Native people have been subjected to biases because of the various interpretations of "Indian" (Trimble & Fleming, 1989), and this may influence the participant's response to some questions. It would be interesting to see how Native American Indian students would respond to the administration of the instruments by an non-Indian or White American.

Since most of the unusable surveys and critical comments came out of the large class administrations at Haskell it might be presumed that more individualized attention and instruction to the participants may increase the number of completed survey sets. It might also be plausible that in smaller groups, Native students may be less willing to decline to participate than in larger groups. Either way, the group setting appears to influence the survey completion rates.

In this study 76 survey sets were deemed unusable primarily because of incomplete questionaires. Large and small group dynamics among Native people may reveal important information to service providers and may warrant further investigation. The relationship between large and small groups and the generation of trust/mistrust in these groups is another dimension for exploration among Native Americans.

Although every attempt was made to survey only Native American Indian students who represented a quarter blood or more of at least one tribe, in the classroom setting at Haskell, it was not feasible to dismiss those in the class who did not meet the minimum blood quantum. It was felt this would have been disrespectful to the individual.

The extent of the diversity of the Native American Indian population makes it difficult to select subjects who are representative of this native population, in general, and even more so as a reflection of all Native American Indian college students.

Therefore, the results of this study are not generalizable to the overall population under study, even though there was wide representation of native tribal affiliations.

Another limitation of this study was the early decision to ask participants to list the tribal affiliation with which the participant "mainly " identified. Therefore, whatever tribe or nation listed first was the tribe assumed to be the individual's "main" affiliation. Some participants stated their affiliation with two, three, and, sometimes, four different tribal entities. Because combining all of one's tribal affiliations, be it one or four, into individualized categories would create an indefinite number of categories and would detract from the main focus of the study, individuals were identified with only one tribe or nation. However, it is important to note that this procedure minimizes the diversity represented by these students.

The American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale (AICOS; LaFromboise & Rowe, 1993) and the Multicultural Mistrust Scale (MMS; Steward & Leach, 1993) are experimental instruments and up to the present study have not been used formally in any published work on Native American Indian people. However, in spite of the unknown qualities about these instruments, the reliability factor of these three scales, expressed as an estimate of internal consistency, has shown to be adequate and useful in the study of cultural identification and trust/mistrust issues with Native populations.

The findings of this study support the concept of orthogonal cultural identification for Native American Indian students put forth by Oetting and Beauvais (1991). It was demonstrated that the participants in this study relate to both American Indian cultural identification and White American cultural identification and that the resulting combinations provide a framework for a meaningful analysis of significant variables such as cultural mistrust.

The findings of this study also suggest the need for an expansion of the linear cultural identification models that place Traditional and Assimilated individuals on opposite ends of a continuum. This bi-polar explanation does not allow for those individuals who are neither Traditional nor Assimilated. The Diffused individual by definition has low identification with American Indian culture and White American culture. Conversely, the Bi-cultural individual highly relates to both American Indian culture and White American culture. An important finding of this study, then, is that Diffused individuals are likely to be quite mistrustful of the majority American culture while Bicultural individuals tend to be more trustful.

According to LaFromboise, et al. (1993), past views of biculturalism assumed "... that living in two cultures is psychologically undesirable" (p. 395). The findings in the present study suggest there is support for LaFromboise and her colleagues and their rejection of this assumption. They go on to hypothesize that identification with two cultures is necessary for the successful adaptation of Native American Indians. If this can be further demonstrated, it suggests the notion that culturally adapted skills training programs may have indirect benefits beyond the specific goals for Native American Indian clients.

Another finding of this study supports the connection between levels of cultural identification and levels of trust/mistrust toward majority culture or White Americans. In the Bicultural individual this connection is shown by high identification with American Indian culture and low association with mistrust of White culture.

The role of identification with mainstream American culture is particularly noteworthy. Those who rank low on this scale are very likely to be most mistrustful. Apparently it is not high identification with Indian culture that is critical to the development of mistrust. Rather, it is the low identification with White American culture. This emphasizes the potential biculturalism has in the adjustment and adaptation of Native American Indian people in majority systems.

It is also worth noting that those students classified as Bicultural were quite low in mistrust, but Bicultural males were noticeably more distrustful than Bicultural females. Although Gender differences in mistrust levels were found to be statistically non-significant, the data suggest that Bicultural males may perceive American society differently than do Bicultural females. The difference in trust/mistrust scores for males and females is shown graphically in Figure 2. A follow up study with equal ratios of male to female participants and an increased number of participants could determine whether this slight trend is leading to a significant finding

Conclusions and Recommendations

The implications of this study suggest the necessity of looking more closely at minority clients, especially Native American Indians who seek the services at a counseling center. Cultural identity was found to be associated with cultural mistrust among 150 Native American Indian college students from a wide variety of tribes, nations, and bands and geographic backgrounds, including reservation and non-reservation areas. Assessing the level of cultural identification that a Native American Indian client holds would provide important information about the Native client's adaptability to counseling. Because cultural mistrust is found to relate to these levels of cultural identity, the service provider would be alerted to the potential harm to the counseling relationship that mistrust of White American culture might create. This may be especially true when counseling is provided by White majority culture service providers at centers that follow traditional majority culture counselor training technique.

The Native American Indian client would also benefit from having a part of their identity validated through the recognition that cultural identity does, in fact, exist. Acceptance by the professional counseling community and other service providers of cultural identification apart from the extremes of stereotypic categories, such as: "We're all human. Indians are not different." and "All Indians avoid eye contact and are passive. They just won't talk." would bring the scope of counseling perspective up to date with changing demographic phenonmena. However, recognizing diversity alone is only a beginning point.

Minority and Native American Indian people have traveled the same path in their knowledge and acceptance that they are different from White culture. This awareness has not always been shared by members of the White dominant culture in a positive way. Too often different has meant "less than," and has been viewed as the burden of minority people and Native Americans in this country to "fix" or "correct" or "change."

As a profession, counseling continues to research ways in which to better serve clients and/or help structure appropriate treatment. Heightened counselor awareness of cultural identity differences and their effect on trust/mistrust issues can assist this counseling process. In the case of highly Traditional individuals or those who show a markedly Diffused cultural orientation on the American Indian Cultural Orientation Scale, the high levels of mistrust toward White culture may make effective counseling highly unlikely. Counselors need to be able to realistically assess potential barriers to counseling in order to enhance counseling retention where possible and to facilitate specific referrals or other alternatives when trust of traditional White counseling methodology or personnel is low and makes continued counseling improbable.

Efforts to provide indigenous, or other non-white counselors, for Traditional and Diffused Native American Indian clients may be a good, but somewhat limited alternative. This is due to the small numbers of trained non-White counselors available in the work force, and a somewhat overly simplified and linear assumption. Although Native American Indian clients may not trust in or relate to White American counselors because of levels of cultural identity, this is not the same as suggesting that Native American Indian clients would automatically relate to and trust in a non-White counselor.

Over simplification might also lead one to assume from this study that whereas Traditional and Diffused Native American Indian clients may not be likely candidates for traditional majority counseling, Bicultural and Assimilated Native American Indian clients are. Again, linear reasoning restricts and polarizes counseling options.

The use of the multidimensional cultural theory model was intended to look at the counseling options for Native American Indian clients with new perspective. This new perspective introduces a wider range of treatment considerations for the Native American Indian client than have been employed in the past. Viewed in this light, referrals to tradtional healers in the Native American community shouldbe considered a viable treatment option. Recognition of and respect for the client's cultural identity would over-ride mistrust issues and secure a proper referral of the Traditional client to traditional native healing alternatives. The Bicultural Native, because of high levels of identification with American Indian and White American culture could be helped by traditional White American counseling or traditional Native American Indian healing practices or both types of service.

The findings in this study also suggest that training programs take a close look at the racial-ethnic makeup of their trainees. If, in fact, trust issues are barriers to effective counseling with a significant proportion of Native American Indian people, it seems a reasonable proposition to promote and support the recruitment and training of Native American Indian counselors to work with Native American Indian clients. As decades of social, family, and economic hardship build on the influences of historical trauma in Native American communities, the emotional and mental health of this population is at risk. The American Indian counselor may come with diverse levels of cultural identity, but can easily expand upon his or her natural commitment to the Native American community and make a significant difference in the services provided Indian people.

The most general, but potentially powerful implication of this study is the suggestion that counselor training programs could benefit from multicultural programs in the training of their counselors. This notion is supported by the detectable levels of trust toward White American counselors and the importance of this in the development of effective treatment with minority clientele, especially Native American Indians.

Multicultural training programs expand counselor perspective and go beyond the limitations of unicultural vision. It allows trainees to prepare to work in a multicultural society and to experience new points of view as they pertain to people who are not all the same. If a counselor trainee is from a rural or unicultural environment, the introduction of multicultural perspective, perhaps for the first time, may prepare that individual to explore his or her own identity formation and learn to value the culture or ethnic backgrounds of those people who do not think, act, or look like them. In reality, this is a reflection of the world view and an issue of importance where counselor trainees are trained to work in this world.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A - INSTRUMENTS

Questionnaire I

394

General Information: Age____ Male____ Female____

College:
____Freshman
____Sophomore
(Check one.) ____Junior
____Senior

Degree of Indian Blood: (i.e., 1/8; 1/4; 1/2; 1/1, etc,.)
____

Tribal Affiliation: (List only those you feel really connected to, main one first.)

____

Where did you grow up? (Check one in each column.)

I	II
____On Reservation	____Rural
____Off Reservation	____Small Town
	____Suburbs
	____Big City

Darken the circle of the letter on the answer sheet that best applies to you.

1. How would you rate your involvement or connection to American Indian culture?

   A. Very strong B. Strong C. Not strong D. Not at all

2. How would you rate your involvement or connection to White American culture?

   A. Very strong B. Strong C. Not strong D. Not at all

3. How comfortable are you in a group of all Indian people?

   A. Very comfortable B. Comfortable C. Not very comfortable D. Uncomfortable

4. How comfortable are you in a group of all White people?

   A. Very comfortable B. Comfortable C. Not very comfortable D. Uncomfortable

5. How well do you understand your native history and traditions?

   A. Very well B. Quite well C. Not very well D. Not at all

6. How much do you live by or follow the White American way of life?

   A. Very much B. Quite a lot C. A little D. Not at all

7. How well do you understand your native language?

   A. Very well B. Quite well C. Not very well D. Not at all

8. How sure are you that your White friends would help you out when you need it?

   A. Very sure B. Sure C. Unsure D. Very unsure

9. How many of the people you hang around with are Indian?

   A. Most all B. Many C. A few D. Practically none

10. How many of the people you hang around with are White?

    A. Most all B. Many C. A few D. Practically none

11. How strong is your sense of belonging to your native culture?

A. Very strong B. Strong C. Not strong D. Not at all

12. How important is it for you to feel good toward both Indian and White cultures?

A. Very important B. Important C. Not very important D. Unimportant

13. How strong is your sense of belonging to White American culture?

A. Very strong B. Strong C. Not strong D. Not at all

14. How confident are you that you can be successful in the Indian world and still be yourself?

A. Very confident B. Confident C. Not very confident D. Not at all confident

15. How confident are you that you can be successful in the White world and still be yourself?

A. Very confident B. Confident C. Not very confident D. Not at all confident

16. How comfortable are you joking around and teasing (in good humor) with Indian people?

A. Very comfortable B. Comfortable C. Not very comfortable D. Uncomfortable

17. How comfortable are you joking around and teasing (in good humor) with White people?

A. Very comfortable B. Comfortable C. Not very comfortable D. Uncomfortable

18. How successful are you at being a contributing member of the Indian community?

A. Very successful B. Successful C. Not very successful D. Unsuccessful

19. How successful are you at being a contributing member of the White community?

A. Very successful B. Successful C. Not very successful D. Unsuccessful

How often do you take part in the following activities? Darken the circle of the letter on the answer sheet that best applies to you.

		Never	**Seldom**	**Often**	**A lot**
20.	Pow Wows	A	B	C	D
21.	Indian religious activities	A	B	C	D
22.	Non-Indian dances	A	B	C	D
23.	Non-Indian religious activities	A	B	C	D

How much do you enjoy the following? Darken the circle that best applies to you.

		Not At All	**Not Much**	**Much**	**A lot**
24.	Indian music	A	B	C	D
25.	American Indian oriented places	A	B	C	D
26.	Non-Indian music	A	B	C	D
27.	Non-Indian oriented places	A	B	C	D

Questionnaire II Form 1193

Write the number that best expresses your opinion according to the following:

Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Not Sure	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. ____ You can not count on anyone to do what they say.
2. ____ You can trust people.
3. ____ Most people will cheat you if they get a chance.
4. ____ People are generally honest.
5. ____ When a person tries to be friendly, you need to be careful.
6. ____ You can't count on anyone, regardless of race.
7. ____ White people are usually fair to all people.
8. ____ Probably the main reason Whites want to be friendly is so they can take advantage of you.
9. ____ White store owners, salesmen, and business people tend to cheat minorities whenever they can.
10. ____ It is best to be on your guard when among Whites.
11. ____ White school administrators (principals) do not give advantages to White students.
12. ____ White politicians are just as dishonest with minorities as they are with Whites.
13. ____ Whites establish businesses in minority communities so that they can take advantage of us.
14. ____ Whites can be trusted as much as people from any other ethnic group.
15. ____ White teachers teach subjects so that it favors Whites.
16. ____ White police will slant a story to make you appear guilty.
17. ____ You can usually trust your White co-workers.
18. ____ You should not confide in Whites because they will use it against you.
19. ____ When a White teacher asks you a question, it is usually to get information which can be used against you.
20. ____ We have been deceived by White politicians.
21. ____ You don't need to work hard to get ahead because Whites will take what you earn anyway.
22. ____ White people are usually honest with minorities.
23. ____ White teachers deliberately ask minority students difficult questions so that they will fail.
24. ____ White police can be relied on to try to arrest those who commit crimes against minorities simply by a handshake.
26. ____ You should have nothing to do with Whites since they can not be trusted.
27. ____ If you try, you will get the grade you deserve from a White teacher.
28. ____ Whites deliberately pass laws designed to work against minorities.
29. ____ White business people will steal the ideas of their minority employees.
30. ____ There are some Whites who you can trust enough to have as close friends.
31. ____ Minority parents should teach their children not to trust White teachers.

Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Not Sure	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

32. ____ Minorities can rely on White lawyers to defend them to the best of their ability.
33. ____ There is no need to be more cautious with White business people than with anyone else.
34. ____ Whites will say one thing and do another.
35. ____ You can talk to a White teacher in confidence without fear that it will be used against you later.
36. ____ You can not trust a White judge to evaluate you fairly.
37. ____ If a White person is honest in dealing with you, it is because of fear of being caught.
38. ____ You should be suspicious of a White person who tries to be friendly.
39. ____ White teachers are likely to slant things to make minorities look inferior.
40. ____ White politicians will promise minorities a lot but deliver little.
41. ____ White police will make a serious effort to arrest Whites who commit crimes against minorities.
42. ____ A promise from a White person is about as good as a three-dollar bill.
43. ____ Whether you should trust a person or not has nothing to do with race.
44. ____ You can't trust White people or even people of your own minority group.

APPENDIX B - INFORMED CONSENT FORM

INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

Subject: Cultural Identity and Cultural Mistrust

Department: Applied Behavioral Studies in Education, College of Education, Oklahoma State University

Principal Investigators: Judith Dobson, Dissertation Chair

Winona Simms, Ph.D. Candidate

Project Director: ______________________________

Affiliated Institution: ______________________________

The purpose of this study is to learn about a variety of attitudes held by American Indian students. To participate in this project you will read a number of statements concerning cultural identity and cultural trust and will be asked to indicate the degree that you agree with each. The forms will take about 20 minutes to complete and your responses will be completely anonymous. No identifying information will appear on the questionnaires and no one will know the information you provide.

The knowledge we hope to gain from this project will help increase our understanding of some important aspects of counseling with American Indian students, and so we would appreciate your assistance by responding to each statement according to what you really think, not what you feel you should say.

However, your participation is voluntary, and there is no penalty for not participating. In fact, you may stop your participation at any time with no problem.

If you have any uncertainty about this or your rights as a participant, please inform the person administering these materials. You may also contact University Research Services, 001 Life Sciences East, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK 74078/Phone (405) 744-5700.

I have read and fully understand this consent
form. A copy has been given to me.

Name______________________________(Print)

Signature______________________________Date________

APPENDIX C - INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW

Date: 03-23-94 **IRB#:** ED-94-080

Proposal Title: CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION AND CULTURAL MISTRUST: A STUDY AMONG NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

Principal Investigator(s): Judith Dobson, Winona F. Simms

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

APPROVAL STATUS SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AT NEXT MEETING.
APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR AFTER WHICH A CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED FOR BOARD APPROVAL. ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL.

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reasons for Deferral or Disapproval are as follows:

Signature: ______________________ Date: March 30, 1994
Chair of Institutional Review Board

VITA

Winona F. Simms

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosopohy

Thesis: CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION AND CULTURAL MISTRUST: A STUDY AMONG NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

Major Field: Applied Behavioral Studies

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on October 20, 1947, the daughter of Beulah Mae and Yahola Simms.

Education: Graduated from Okmulgee High School, Okmulgee, Oklahoma in May 1965; received Bachelor of Arts degree in English, May 1975 and Master of Education from University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma in May 1986. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in December 1995.

Experience: Raised in an Air Force military family; employed throughout degree programs; presently an assistant professor in the Department of Counseling at the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota.

Professional Memberships: Society of Indian Psychologists, American Counseling Association, National Association of Indian Education.